

THE ERECHTHEUM





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MEASURED, DRAWN, AND RESTORED

BY

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TO THE MEMORY OF

JAMES RIGNALL WHEELER

THEODORE WOOLSEY HEERMANCE

PREFACE

NEXT to the Parthenon, the Erechtheum is undoubtedly the most famous of the buildings erected on the Athenian Acropolis during the fifth century, B.C. As the Parthenon represents the highest development of the Doric order, so the Erechtheum is commonly held to be the most perfect example of the Ionic, and its forms have been imitated again and again by modern architects. To record these forms exactly, to collect the epigraphical and literary testimony relating to the building, and by interpreting the evidence thus presented in the light of modern archaeological and historical knowledge, to reconstruct, so far as possible, the original appearance and the history of the temple is the purpose of this volume and the accompanying plates.

To the making of this book many men have contributed, and a brief account of its origin and development will serve to explain the form in which it is now published. A fuller account is preserved in the American School at Athens. The original notes made by Mr. Stevens, his drawings for the figures in the text, and negatives of many of the photographs used for the other illustrations are also deposited there. The original drawings for PLATES I-XXXII are in the School of Applied Arts of the University of Cincinnati.

The inception of this study of the Erechtheum is due to Dr. Theodore W. Heermance, Director of the School from 1903 to 1905. In the autumn of 1903, he suggested to Professor James R. Wheeler, the Chairman of the Managing Committee, that the plan adopted by the Greek authorities for a thorough reconstruction of the North Portico of the Erechtheum offered an opportunity for a detailed architectural study of the building. Professor Wheeler enthusiastically endorsed Dr. Heermance's proposal and asked the officers of the Carnegie Institution whether they would grant the funds necessary to send a competent architect to Athens. The Carnegie Institution at once approved the plan, and at the suggestion of Mr. Charles F. McKim of the well-known firm of McKim, Mead and White, Mr. Gorham P. Stevens was appointed the first Fellow in Architecture of the School on the grant of the Carnegie Institution. Mr. Stevens reached Athens in November, 1903, and his drawings for the plates which were originally planned (PLATES I-XXX) were exhibited at the School during the Archaeological Congress in Athens in the spring of 1905. His last notes on his study of the building during this period were handed to Dr. Heermance at the end of July, 1905.

As the work was originally planned by Dr. Heermance, the volume of text was to contain a fairly full description of the temple, serving as a commentary on the plates; notes on the methods of construction employed by the builders of the Erechtheum and a brief history of its later transformations; some account of the descriptions by early travelers and

of the more important modern discussions; a brief chapter on the sculptured decoration; and the text of the inscriptions relating to the building, with a commentary. The section on the sculpture was from the beginning entrusted to Professor Harold N. Fowler, Annual Professor at the School in 1903-04, and his chapter, in its first form, was completed before the end of 1905. The remaining four sections Dr. Heermance planned to write himself, and during the whole period of Mr. Stevens's residence in Athens, they discussed together the many problems involved, and Dr. Heermance prepared a preliminary draft of the first section, arranged and classified a large number of notes for the second, and collected some material for the third.

The sudden death of Dr. Heermance in September, 1905, made necessary a complete change of plan. In October of that year, Dr. Lacey D. Caskey was asked to undertake the section on the building inscriptions, and the greater part of this chapter was completed in 1908, although much of it has since been rewritten. After the appointment of Mr. Bert H. Hill as Director in 1906, the members of the School devoted a considerable part of their time to the study of the building, and this study resulted in the publication of several papers in the *American Journal of Archaeology* and elsewhere, all of which are duly noted in the following pages. But apart from these activities, no progress was made during the next five years in the actual preparation of the text.

In 1910, the Managing Committee of the School, acting on the recommendation of the Publication Committee, appointed Dr. James M. Paton as editor of the book and also asked him to prepare a chapter on the history of the Erechtheum; and during the next few years the scheme of the work was considerably modified. It was decided, among other changes, to include a fairly complete bibliography of the published material relating to the Erechtheum, without, however, attempting to discuss the many theories that have been proposed about the building.

Between 1910 and 1914 considerable progress was made in preparing the text in accordance with this scheme. Chapter I was practically completed and the chapter on the sculptures entirely revised. But the outbreak of the war made effective coöperation difficult, and between 1914 and 1920 little was accomplished except the drafting of Chapter II and a part of Chapter V by Dr. Paton. During all the years from 1905 to 1920, moreover, further work of restoration on the building itself under the direction of Mr. Balanos, the Greek architect in charge, and the careful investigation of the foundations carried on by the American School necessitated constant changes both in the plates and in the text. Not until 1920 could the final work of revising and completing the various parts be seriously undertaken.

This account of the genesis of the book will explain why no definite author can be named for the first two chapters. The foundation of Chapter I is the first draft of Dr. Heermance, based on Mr. Stevens's notes. But this has been much enlarged and completely rewritten by Dr. Paton, with the help of criticism and correction by Mr. Stevens and Dr. Hill, whose sug-

gestions have sometimes been adopted verbatim. Chapter II was written by Dr. Paton from Dr. Heermance's rough notes, but here again the statements in the text have been revised by Mr. Stevens and Dr. Hill. In fact throughout the entire work Dr. Hill by his thorough knowledge of the building and his sound judgment has given invaluable assistance to the editor. The Appendices and the Indices have been prepared by Dr. Paton.

The authors wish to make grateful acknowledgment to the Greek Government, Mr. N. Balanos, and the Ephors in charge of the Acropolis for their liberality in granting unrestricted access to the building during and since its restoration and thus affording opportunity to study all its details, as well as for their kindness in offering every facility for the examination of the fragments of the sculpture; to Professor W. B. Dinsmoor for the drawings which are published in PLATE XXXII and in the text, for his contribution in Additional Note III, and for his assistance in verifying measurements and in other ways; to Dr. C. W. Blegen, for help in preparing the chapter on the sculptures and in obtaining many photographs; to Dr. L. B. Holland, for the use of several drawings; and to Professor A. B. West, for preparing Additional Note II. They are also much indebted to the following institutions and individuals for their courtesy in communicating material and their ready permission to photograph or copy whatever was desired for use in this volume: The British Museum, and especially Mr. A. H. Smith, Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities; the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington; the Royal Institute of British Architects; Sir John Soane's Museum; the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; the Bibliothèque Nationale; the Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts; the Louvre; Stadtbibliothek, Strasbourg (in 1914); the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut; the Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco, Venice; Messrs. Maurice Skene-Tytler of Keith Marischal and Felix Skene of Send, Woking; Geheimrath Ludwig Pallat, Berlin; Professor Kurt Müller, Göttingen; and Professor Richard Förster, Breslau.

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Publication Committee.

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The numbers in parentheses refer to the Bibliography in Appendix C.

PLATE and Fig. refer to the plates and figures in this book.

pl. and fig. refer to plates and figures in works cited.

<i>A. J. A.</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
<i>Abh. Berl. Akad.</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.</i>
<i>Abh. Münch. Akad.</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i>
<i>Amelung, Catalog</i>	<i>Amelung, Die Sculpturen des vaticanischen Museums.</i>
<i>Annali</i>	<i>Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica.</i>
<i>Ant. Denk.</i>	<i>Antike Denkmäler herausgegeben vom deutschen archaeologischen Institut.</i>
<i>Arch. Anz.</i>	<i>Archaeologischer Anzeiger, in Jb. Arch. I.</i>
<i>Arch. Ztg.</i>	<i>Archaeologische Zeitung.</i>
<i>Ath. Mitt.</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts; Athenische Abteilung.</i>
<i>B. Arch. Com.</i>	<i>Buletino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma.</i>
<i>B. C. H.</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.</i>
<i>B. S. A.</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens.</i>
<i>B. Soc. Ant. Fr.</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France.</i>
<i>Baumeister, Denkmäler.</i>	<i>Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.</i>
<i>Ber. sächs. Ges.</i>	<i>Berichte über die Verhandlungen der sächsischen Gessellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig.</i>
<i>Berl. phil. W.</i>	<i>Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.</i>
<i>Berl. Winckelmannsprogramm</i>	<i>Winckelmannsprogramm der archaeologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin.</i>
<i>Beulé</i>	<i>Beulé, L'Acropole d'Athènes (153).</i>
<i>Bibl. Éc. B.-A.</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École nationale des Beaux-Arts.</i>
<i>Bibl. Nat., Estampes</i>	<i>Bibliothèque nationale, Paris; Département des Estampes.</i>
<i>Bibl. Nat., MSS., Fonds fr.</i>	<i>Id., Département des Manuscrits, Fonds français.</i>
<i>Nouv. acq. fr.</i>	<i>Id., Département des Manuscrits, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises.</i>
<i>Bötticher, Untersuchungen</i>	<i>Bötticher, Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis von Athen im Frühjahr, 1862 (175).</i>
<i>Bonn. Jb.</i>	<i>Jahrbücher des Vereins der Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande.</i>
<i>Br. Mus., Gr. Inscr.</i>	<i>The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.</i>
<i>Br. Mus., MSS., Add.</i>	<i>British Museum, Additional Manuscripts.</i>
<i>Br. Mus., Sculpture</i>	<i>Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.</i>
<i>C. I. G.</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, ed. A. Boeckh.</i>
<i>C. R. Acad. Insc.</i>	<i>Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.</i>
<i>Casson, Catalogue</i>	<i>S. Casson, Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum, II.</i>
<i>Cavaignac, Trésor d'Athènes</i>	<i>Cavaignac, Études sur l'histoire financière d'Athènes au V^e siècle. Le trésor d'Athènes de 480 a 404.</i>

Cavaignac, <i>Trésor d'Eleusis</i>	Cavaignac, <i>Études sur l'histoire financière d'Athènes au V^e siècle. Le trésor sacré d'Eleusis jusqu'en 404.</i>
Cavvadias and Kawerau	Ἡ Ἀνασκαφή τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως ἀπὸ τοῦ 1885 μέχρι τοῦ 1890 (<i>Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis vom Jahre 1885 bis zum Jahre 1890</i>).
Choisy, <i>Études</i>	Choisy, <i>Études épigraphiques sur l'architecture grecque</i> , III (199).
Clarke, <i>Assos, 1882-1883</i>	J. T. Clarke, <i>Report on the Investigations at Assos, 1882, 1883</i> (Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, Classical Series, II).
Clarke, <i>Travels</i>	E. D. Clarke, <i>Travels in various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa</i> , Part II, Section II (42).
<i>Cl. Phil.</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i> .
Δελτίον Ἀρχ.	Δελτίον Ἀρχαιολογικὸν ἐκδιδόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς Γενικῆς Ἐφορείας τῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων.
Dickins, <i>Catalogue</i>	G. Dickins, <i>Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum</i> , I.
<i>Dict. archéol. chrét.</i>	F. Cabrol, <i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> .
Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge</i>	G. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . (The edition is indicated by a suspended numeral.)
Dodwell, <i>Tour</i>	Dodwell, <i>A Classical and Topographical Tour in Greece</i> (57).
Donaldson, <i>Ancient Doorways</i>	Donaldson, <i>A Collection of the most approved Examples of Doorways from Ancient Buildings</i> (89).
D'Ooge, <i>Acropolis</i>	D'Ooge, <i>The Acropolis of Athens</i> (251).
D'Espouy, <i>Fragm. arch. ant.</i>	H. d'Espouy, <i>Fragments d'architecture antique</i> (222).
D'Espouy, <i>Mon. ant.</i>	H. d'Espouy, <i>Monuments antiques</i> (263).
Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.	Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική.
Frazer, <i>Pausanias</i>	<i>Pausanias's Description of Greece</i> , translated by J. G. Frazer (223).
Funk, <i>Const. Apost.</i>	F. X. Funk, <i>Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum</i> .
Furtwängler, <i>Masterpieces</i>	Furtwängler, <i>Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture</i> (220).
Furtwängler, <i>Meisterwerke</i>	Furtwängler, <i>Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik</i> (217).
<i>Göt. gel. Anz.</i>	<i>Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen</i> .
<i>Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i> .
Heberdey, <i>Porosskulptur</i>	Heberdey, <i>Altattische Porosskulptur. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der archaischen griechischen Kunst</i> .
<i>I. G.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> .
<i>I. G.</i> , I ² , II ²	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Vols. I et II, editio minor.
Inwood	H. W. Inwood, <i>The Erechtheion at Athens</i> (80).
Inwood, <i>ed. maj.</i>	The edition of 1827, with the introductory text.
Inwood, <i>ed. min.</i>	The edition of 1831, containing only the plates and descriptive text. The numbers and descriptions of the plates are the same in both editions.
<i>J. H. S.</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> .
<i>J.-M.</i>	Jahn et Michaelis, <i>Arx Athenarum a Pausania descripta</i> (228).
<i>J.-M., App. Ep.</i>	Id., <i>Appendix Epigraphica</i> .
<i>J.-M., Atlas</i>	Id., <i>Tabulae arcem Athenarum illustrantes</i> .
<i>Jb. Arch. I.</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts</i> .
<i>Jb. kl. Alt.</i>	<i>Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik</i> .

Judeich, <i>Topographie</i>	Judeich, <i>Topographie von Athen</i> in Müller, <i>Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft</i> , III, 2, ii (245).
Julius, <i>Erechtheion</i>	Julius, <i>Ueber das Erechtheion</i> (189).
Kühner-Blass	Kühner, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Dritte Auflage, I^{er} Teil</i> , von Blass.
<i>Kunstblatt</i>	<i>Kunstblatt, Beiblatt zu Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände</i> .
Laborde, <i>Athènes</i>	L. de Laborde, <i>Athènes aux XV^e, XVI^e et XVII^e siècles</i> .
Lambert, <i>Mémoire</i>	Lambert, <i>Mémoire sur l'Érechthéion</i> ; Manuscript in Bibl. Éc. B.-A. (187).
Legrand, <i>Gal. ant.</i>	Legrand, <i>Galerie antique, I, Monumens de la Grèce</i> (35).
Le Roy, <i>Ruines</i>	J.-D. Le Roy, <i>Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce</i> (3).
Lethaby, <i>Greek Buildings</i>	Lethaby, <i>Greek Buildings represented by Fragments in the British Museum</i> (254).
Locatelli	A. Locatelli, <i>Racconto storico della Veneta Guerra in Levante</i> (App. A, VII).
<i>Mél. Arch. Hist.</i>	<i>Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire</i> .
<i>Mém. Acad. Insc.</i>	<i>Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i> .
<i>Mém. Soc. Ant. Fr.</i>	<i>Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France</i> .
Mendel, <i>Mus. imp. ott., Sculptures</i>	Mendel, <i>Musées impériaux ottomans; Catalogue des sculptures, grecques, romaines et byzantines</i> .
Michel, <i>Recueil</i>	Michel, <i>Recueil d'inscriptions grecques</i> .
Middleton, <i>Athenian Buildings</i>	Middleton, <i>Plans and Drawings of Athenian Buildings</i> (226).
<i>Mon. Inst.</i>	<i>Monumenti Inediti, pubblicati dall' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica</i> .
<i>Mon. Piot</i>	<i>Monuments et Mémoires, publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Fondation Piot</i> .
<i>Museum</i>	<i>Museum, Blätter für bildende Kunst</i> .
<i>Olympia</i>	<i>Olympia. Die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung</i> .
Omont, <i>Athènes</i>	H. Omont, <i>Athènes au XVII^e siècle. Vues et plans d'Athènes et de l'Acropole</i> .
Omont, <i>Florilegium . . . Melchoir de Vogüé</i>	<i>Florilegium ou Recueil de travaux d'érudition dédiées à M. le Marquis Melchoir de Vogüé, . . . 18 Octobre, 1909</i> .
Overbeck, <i>Antike Schriftquellen</i>	Overbeck, <i>Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen</i> .
Pauly-Wissowa	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> .
Penrose, <i>Ath. Arch.</i>	Penrose, <i>An Investigation of the Principles of Athenian Architecture</i> . Second edition (209).
Petersen, <i>Burgtempel</i>	E. Petersen, <i>Die Burgtempel der Athenaia</i> (249).
Πρακτικά	Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας.
Prokesch von Osten	Prokesch von Osten, <i>Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient</i> (107).
Prokesch von Osten, <i>Briefwechsel</i>	<i>Briefwechsel zwischen Julius Schneller und seinem Pflegsohne Prokesch</i> (93).
Von Quast	A. F. von Quast, <i>Das Erechtheion zu Athen</i> (116).

<i>R. Arch.</i>	<i>Revue archéologique.</i>
<i>R. Ét. Gr.</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques.</i>
<i>R. I. B. A.</i>	<i>Royal Institute of British Architects.</i>
Rangabé, <i>Ant. hellén.</i>	Rangabé, <i>Antiquités helléniques</i> (121).
<i>Report Gr. Comm.</i>	Πρακτικά τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑρεχθείου ἐπιτροπῆς κ. τ. λ. (150).
<i>Rh. Mus.</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.</i>
Rivoira, <i>Orig. Arch. Lomb.</i>	Rivoira, <i>Le Origine della Architettura lombarda e delle sue principali derivazioni nei paesi d'oltr'Alpe.</i> First edition.
Roberts-Gardner, <i>Greek Epigraphy</i> ...	E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner, <i>Introduction to Greek Epigraphy</i> , Part II.
<i>Röm. Mitt.</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts; Römische Abteilung.</i>
<i>Röm. Quart.</i>	<i>Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte.</i>
Roscher's <i>Lexikon</i>	<i>Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie.</i>
Rose, <i>Inscr. gr.</i>	Rose, <i>Inscriptiones graecae vetustissimae</i> (78).
Ross, <i>Arch. Aufs.</i>	Ross, <i>Archäologische Aufsätze</i> (159).
<i>Sitzb. Berl. Akad.</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.</i>
<i>Sitzb. Münch. Akad.</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Classe der bayerischen Akademie zu München.</i>
Spon.....	J. Spon, <i>Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant</i> , etc. (App. A, III).
Stuart and Revett.....	J. Stuart and N. Revett, <i>The Antiquities of Athens</i> (16).
Stuart and Revett ²	Stuart and Revett, <i>The Antiquities of Athens</i> , edited by W. Kinnard (79).
Tétaz, <i>Mémoire explicatif</i>	M. Tétaz, <i>Mémoire explicatif et justificatif de la restauration de l'Érechthéion d'Athènes.</i> Manuscript in Bibl. Éc. B.-A. (132).
Thiersch, <i>Epikrisis</i>	Thiersch, 'Epikrisis der neuesten Untersuchungen des Erechtheums.' <i>Abh. Münch. Akad.</i> , VIII, 2 (166).
Thiersch, <i>Erechtheum</i> , I, II.....	Thiersch, 'Ueber das Erechtheum auf der Akropolis zu Athen.' <i>Abh. Münch. Akad.</i> , V, 2; VI, 1 (135, 138).
Thiersch, <i>Sendschreiben an Boeckh</i> ...	Thiersch, 'Ueber die neuesten Untersuchungen des Erechtheums . . . Sendschreiben an . . . A. Boeckh.' <i>Gelehrte Anzeigen Münch. Akad.</i> (151).
Unger, <i>Zeitrechnung</i> ²	Unger, <i>Zeitrechnung der Griechen und Römer</i> , in Müller, <i>Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft</i> , I. Zweite Auflage.
Venturi, <i>Stor. Art. Ital.</i>	A. Venturi, <i>Storia dell'Arte italiana.</i>
Walpole, <i>Memoirs</i>	R. Walpole, <i>Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey.</i>
Wheler.....	G. Wheler, <i>A Voyage into Greece</i> (App. A, IV).
Wiegand, <i>Poros-Architektur</i>	Wiegand, <i>Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen.</i>
Wilkins, <i>Prolus. Archit.</i>	Wilkins, <i>Prolusiones Architectonicae.</i>
Wolfe, <i>Note-book</i>	J. L. Wolfe, <i>Note-book in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects</i> (App. A, XVII).
<i>Z. Alterthumswissenschaft</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft.</i>
<i>Z. Bauwesen</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Bauwesen.</i>
<i>Z. bild. Kunst</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst.</i>

THE ERECHTHEUM

CHAPTER I

DESCRIPTION OF THE ERECHTHEUM

MIDWAY on the north side of the Acropolis of Athens and close to its surrounding wall stands the Erechtheum, the joint sanctuary of Athena Polias and Poseidon-Erechtheus. No other Greek temple displays more striking peculiarities or offers greater difficulties to a complete and satisfactory comprehension. The main building is a rectangle, 24.078 m. long from east to west, and 13.004 m. wide from north to south, measured at the bottom of the lowest step (PLATE II). The east front with its wall and portico of six Ionic columns is that of a hexastyle, prostyle temple, but a glance at the ground plan (PLATES I, II) shows that at the west there is a wide departure from accepted norms. Here the façade is formed by a plain wall surmounted by four half-columns between antae, the intervals being closed by a wall broken by windows in the three central intercolumniations (PLATE IV).¹ The unusual character of this western end is further accentuated by the presence of a portico on either side — *ad humeros*, according to the usual interpretation of the phrase of Vitruvius.² From the south wall there projects the little Porch of the Maidens, so called from the six female statues (*κόραι*) which support its roof. These Caryatids — to use their modern name — stand on a marble podium, four in line facing south, and one behind each corner figure. An opening in the podium close to the northeast corner gives access to the interior of the porch, whence steps descend through a doorway leading into the west room of the temple. On the other side of the main building rises the great North Portico. Its columns are arranged in the same manner as the statues of the Maidens, four on the north front, and the other two on the east and west respectively. In the southeast corner is a small underground chamber, or crypt, visible through an opening in the pavement and accessible through a small doorway in the foundations of the north wall. In the centre of the south side of the portico was the principal entrance to the western part of the temple, as is clearly shown both by the size of the doorway and by the exceedingly rich decoration in which it is framed (PLATE XXV). Unlike the Porch of the Maidens, which on the west aligns with the West Façade of the main building, the North Portico projects considerably beyond this line (PLATE II), and from this extension a second, much smaller, and wholly unornamented doorway leads into what was in ancient times an enclosed precinct immediately west of the Erechtheum (PLATES I, II). These two porticoes on the north and the south, in spite of their striking effect both in plan and elevation, are yet clearly marked as accretions to a structure com-

¹ In the original Greek façade there was a low wall between the columns, and above this wooden grilles except in the southern intercolumniation which was left open (PLATE XIII); see pp. 60 ff.

² Vitruvius, IV, 8, 4. See below, Ch. V, p. 477.

plete in itself, since both end below the cornice of the main building, so that its roof is not affected by their presence but is that of a normal temple. In addition to these exceptional features in its plan, the Erechtheum is unique in that the ground on the east and south is much higher than on the west and north, the difference between the two levels, measured at the bottom of the lowest step of the East and North Porticoes respectively, being 3.24 m.¹ The conditions outside the building were reflected in the interior, which was divided into two unequal parts by a transverse wall 7.318 m. from the east front (PLATE II). Naturally the floor of the East Cella was given a height appropriate to that of the East Portico, while the floors in the three western rooms (PLATE I) corresponded to the lower level of the North Portico, from which they were usually entered (PLATE XV).

The explanation of these and other peculiarities in construction must be sought in the functions which the new temple was designed to fulfill, and in the previous history of the site on which it stood; but an essential preliminary to any discussion of these topics is a critical examination of the existing remains, in the endeavor to recover from their evidence the original appearance of the building. It is the purpose of this chapter and the accompanying plates (I-XXX) to set forth the results of such an examination. The text, however, is not complete in itself, since it does not attempt to describe fully all the facts about the building which the plates exhibit, still less to repeat all the dimensions there figured, and its perusal can in no way serve as a substitute for the study of the plates. Rather is it to be regarded as a detailed commentary in which attention is called to such points as seem important or unusual in the construction of the building, and the significant facts are collected and examined with a view to presenting all the data upon which the restorations in the plates are based and to justifying the interpretations there adopted. In all this the building itself has been regarded as the chief and far the best source and the testimony of the stones themselves as the most reliable, though for what has now disappeared recourse has naturally been had to the inscriptions relating to its construction and to the descriptions and drawings of those who saw the building before it had received its worst injuries.

Even at the risk of being tedious it has seemed advisable to present the evidence and the arguments for the reconstructions at considerable length, if only as illustrating the method employed. Experience has proved that such exhibitions of method — instances will readily occur to those acquainted with the publications on Greek architecture — are valuable to the student, especially the student in the field, by enabling him to begin his researches equipped with the knowledge of the processes employed by his predecessors as well as of the results attained. Moreover, quite apart from these considerations of method, a detailed description should render it easier for the reader to distinguish between the observed facts and the inferences drawn from them, and thus to determine more surely the line between the certain and the hypothetical, however well supported.

¹ The pavement of the enclosed precinct west of the Erechtheum was 0.793 m. above the ground around the North Portico; see Ch. V, p. 425.

I. FOUNDATIONS AND CREPIS

The foundations of the Erechtheum are generally of poros, laid in regular courses of ashlar masonry, resting directly on the hard limestone of the Acropolis, which here descends somewhat rapidly from southeast to northwest.¹ Examination of the exposed portions of the bed shows that the rock was carefully dressed to receive the foundations, although since this dressing naturally follows to a certain extent the inclination of the rock, the horizontal beds have not a uniform level, but are cut into steps here and there (PLATES IX, X). In a few cases, to avoid deep cutting into the rock, slight hollows have been filled with small blocks of stone or, where the block covering the hollow was firmly supported at both ends, with earth and chips. Since only the necessary bed was cut horizontally, it sometimes happens that the bottom of the block resting on the bed is hidden by the uncut portion of the rock in front, thus producing the impression at first glance that the block has been cut to fit an inclined bed.²

Beneath the north wall (PLATE XI; Fig. 88) the foundation proper³ (course 23) east of the west cross-wall⁴ consists of a single course of poros, except at the sides of the opening leading into the crypt beneath the North Portico, where marble is employed. East of the east cross-wall this course, so far as can be seen, is composed exclusively of headers; west of that wall it consists of stretchers on the inside backing headers on the outside (PLATE VII).⁵ The roughly chiselled south face of this course projects somewhat beyond the face of the wall above (Fig. 1), but while west of the east cross-wall this projection is fairly uniform, east of that wall it steadily diminishes from west to east.⁶ The next course (22), consisting wholly of poros headers, forms the backing of the lowest marble step on the outside (Fig. 1). The blocks of this course are not perfectly uniform and, where they extend beyond the face of the wall inside the building, have been left somewhat irregular both in height and projection (PLATE XI).⁷ Underneath the wall and the second marble step, however, they

¹ At the entrance to the crypt under the North Portico the rock is 1.20 m. lower than at the southeast corner of the main building. The inclination within the Erechtheum varies between $10\frac{1}{2}$ and 14 per cent.

² A good example of this deceptive appearance may be seen in the foundation beneath the North Door (PLATE XI; Figs. 98, 105), where the lowest stone on the right really rests on a horizontal bed which is concealed by the uncut rock on the south. So far as can be seen, only once, at the extreme southern end of the west wall, has a block been cut for a short distance to fit an inclined bed (PLATE X).

³ Courses 21 and 22, although hidden on the inside of the building, were visible outside (Fig. 1) and strictly speaking belong rather to the superstructure than to the foundation proper.

⁴ West of the cross-wall, beneath the North Door, the foundation, owing to the greater depth of the rock, is composed of two courses of stretchers somewhat irregularly fitted at the east end (PLATE XI), and above them a course of headers, on which rests a course of marble ranging with the middle step of the North Portico.

⁵ The two western headers are of full height; the four to the east have been cut down to receive blocks of the marble pavement. Owing to the inclination of the rock there are two additional courses of poros below the headers on the outside of the building east of the North Portico, and one within the Portico, east of the doorway to the crypt (PLATE VII).

⁶ The projection of the several blocks, reading from west to east, is as follows: 0.24 m., 0.22 m., 0.25 m. (the three stretchers, the westernmost in great part hidden by the late concrete pier); 0.85 m., 0.40 m., 0.18 m., 0.11 m., 0.065 m. (the five visible headers); see Fig. 88, course 23, blocks 2-4, 5-9.

⁷ The height of this course varies from 0.44 m. to 0.51 m., but is generally about 0.49 m. Its roughly chiselled face projects from 0.19 m. to 0.32 m. south of the wall, the average projection being 0.27 m.

have been cut down to a height of one Attic foot (Fig. 1) in order to align with the top of the lowest step, and furnish a true bed for the second step and its poros backer (course

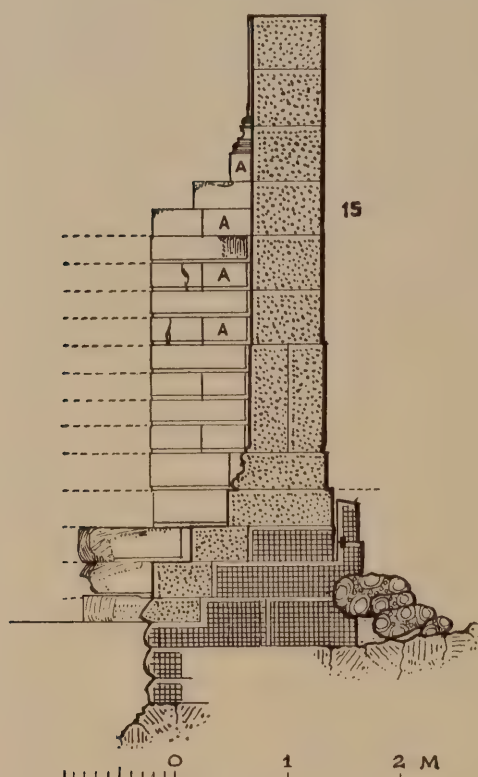


FIGURE 1. SECTION THROUGH NORTH WALL, LOOKING EAST. AT A, BLOCKS OF WALL EXTENDING INTO PODIUM

21). Upon the projecting part of this course (22), and therefore behind the upper part of the backer of the middle step (21) and the lower part of the top step (20), is a thin course of poros blocks, set on edge and neither clamped nor bonded into the wall (PLATE XI; Figs. 1, 2, 101).¹ The upper part of the north face of these blocks has in numerous instances been trimmed away to facilitate the setting of course 20, the marble upper step. These thin blocks were secured with lead which was run between the vertical joints and into the irregular bottom and top joints, and the westernmost existing block has at its northwestern lower corner a mass of lead which serves after a fashion as a dowel.² This lead dowel has been chiselled off on the north side in a way impossible except when that side was free, or in other words before the backer of the middle step was placed (Fig. 3).³ From these facts it follows that these thin blocks are no later addition but were in their present position when the middle step and its backer were laid. It is probable that they were even set before the blocks below were cut down to serve as backers to the bottom and as bed to the middle step.⁴

Under the East Portico a single massive foundation sustained the columns, pavement, and east wall. When the Erechtheum was transformed into a church,⁵ the five upper

¹ The course seems to have extended originally from the lintel of the opening into the crypt to the foundations of the East Portico. The block, or blocks, at the west end probably disappeared when the late pier was constructed at this point (p. 138), and a block on the line of the east cross-wall (Fig. 93) when another concrete pier was built there. Some of the peculiarities of this course were noted by Penrose (*Ath. Arch.*, p. 11, fig. 17): "The top course (i. e., east of the doorway into the crypt beneath the North Portico) has been partly broken away, and exhibits a very peculiar construction forming a thin lining of poros stone which covers the marble which forms the outside wall and is fixed to it by being run with lead. This appears to have been intended for the support of a pavement flush with that of the western apartment." See also *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 44; pl. 4, π.

² The lead dowel measures 0.145 m. × 0.065 m. × 0.065 m.; of the height, 0.026 m. is above and 0.039 m. below the bottom joint of the stone.

³ This photograph was taken during the excavations of 1914, when it was found necessary to lift the thin block, in order to clear it of earth and the caper roots which were forcing it out of place. The photograph shows the north side of the block with the chiselled lead and the upper part of the face cut back when the top step was laid.

⁴ The explanation of this peculiar course, as well as of other unusual features in the foundations, depends upon conditions in the interior when the Erechtheum was built and is therefore discussed in the section devoted to the interior of the building, pp. 142 f.

⁵ For a description of this church, see Ch. V, pp. 492 ff.



FIGURE 2. FOUNDATIONS OF NORTH WALL, INSIDE, FROM WEST (SEPTEMBER 2, 1922)

courses of this foundation were in great part removed to make room for the apse (PLATES II, IX, XXXI; Fig. 30), and many of the blocks were used to build the low walls between the nave and the aisles. Their variations in height, which agree with the variations in the height of those parts of the courses still *in situ*, make it possible to determine the courses in which they were originally placed. Not all the stones removed were thus used, for the aggregate volume of the material in the walls of the church is much less than the amount taken from the temple. The east foundations are generally laid in alternate courses of stretchers and headers. At the north end, so far as can be seen, they continue the coursing of the north wall, but in the lower courses this alignment extends for only about 1.15 m., at which point there is regularly a slight break in the horizontal jointing.¹ The top of course 18, which



FIGURE 3. NORTH FACE OF WESTERNMOST INSERTED POROS BLOCK, SHOWING LEAD AT LOWER RIGHT CORNER

ranges with the top of the orthostates in the north wall, was apparently the first to continue in an unbroken line across the east end, and the top of course 17 the first to retain the same level in north, east, and south walls (PLATES IX, XI, XII). Owing to the greater elevation of the rock at the southeast corner, the two lowest courses (23, 22) do not extend the full width of the building (PLATE IX). Course 23 — of stretchers resting in a series of steps cut in the sloping rock — ends about 5.35 m. from the north wall; course 22 reaches 0.67 m. farther, and is composed of headers, except at the south end where a stretcher 0.975 m. long² crosses a slight gap (0.27 m.) between the end of the course below and a shelf cut in the adjacent rock. The next two courses (21, 20) have a small block inserted at the south end of each, since the normal succession of stretchers or headers does not fill the space to the south wall (Fig. 4). This indicates that the corresponding courses of the south wall were already in position when these courses were laid, and also that the construction of these two courses of the east wall proceeded from north to south. The blocks of the lowest course vary considerably in height, since they rest on the irregular bed in the sloping rock, but the

¹ In PLATE IX the irregular jointing is partially concealed by mediaeval masonry.

² This block rests for 0.305 m. of its length on the course below and for 0.40 m. on the rock to the south.

other three courses are uniform and approximately equal.¹ The top of course 20 is dressed to a smooth bed only beneath the blocks of course 19, which is set back from 0.15–0.24 m. as measured in the apse, leaving a low uneven ledge on course 20. The prepared bed and the rough border can be plainly seen in the centre of the foundations, where the blocks of course 19 have been removed. The height of course 19, 0.455 m., is practically that of the courses below. The next course (18) overhangs the course below by about 0.30 m.² It



FIGURE 4. FOUNDATIONS AT SOUTHEAST CORNER, FROM INSIDE

is only about 0.42 m. in height, being the lowest course in the foundation, probably because it was cut down to align with the top of the orthostates in the north wall.³ At its south end the usual headers are replaced by a very long stretcher (Fig. 4), which extends into the south wall an unknown distance, and was obviously laid before the corresponding and slightly lower course of that wall. The next two courses (17, 16) align with the corresponding courses of the side walls, and have their west faces exactly above that of course 18.

¹ The height of course 22 is about 0.47 m.; of course 21 about 0.48 m.; of course 20 about 0.46 m. The variations amount to only a few millimetres.

² At the north end the hollow thus caused between courses 18 and 20 is still in great part filled by mediaeval rubble and mortar (PLATE IX).

³ For a discussion of these and other peculiarities in the arrangement of courses 18 and 19, see below, pp. 144 ff.

Curiously enough, the lower of these courses is composed of headers at the north end and of stretchers at the south. All these courses of the foundation extend approximately 0.65 m. beyond the inner face of the east wall. Course 15, composed of poros headers, does not now project west of the wall (Fig. 30), but cuttings for dowels in the top of course 16 (PLATE II) indicate that it once had much the same extension as the courses below, and it has been so restored in PLATE XV. Since it serves as backing to the two lower steps of the East Portico, it hardly forms part of the foundation proper.

The foundations of the south wall (PLATE XII; Figs. 5, 100) east of the east cross-wall consist of six courses of poros upon which rest two courses of marble, backing the three marble steps and the moulded base of the exterior (p. 48). The lowest course of poros (21) rests on a bed cut in the rock ¹ except for about 2.35 m. east of the cross-wall, where, so far as can be seen, it is carried over hollows in the rock by a short series of blocks, apparently taken from older constructions (PLATE XII; Fig. 5).² From east to west this series is composed of two small dark brown stones ³ and two larger blocks of soft yellowish poros now a strong red on parts of their surface from exposure to fire.⁴ The first of the latter is deeply worn on the under surface and is almost certainly an old step reversed. It lies partly on the rock and partly on a filling of earth and chips. The other block (Fig. 100, A), probably also an old step, rests partly in a bed cut for it in the rock and near its northwest corner has been further secured by running lead between it and the uneven rock. West of these old blocks and extending a short distance under the line of the east cross-wall is now a small gap in the foundations (PLATES II, XII; Figs. 5, 100, B). This gap is 0.57 m. wide from the burned stone on the east to the poros block on the west, 0.23 m. high, and from 0.17 m. to 0.21 m. deep. Its southern boundary is formed by a vertical scarp, the line of which is not parallel with the wall but diverges about 10° toward the southeast. The visible length of the scarp is 0.54 m. and its height 0.20 m. On the east it apparently extends for a short distance (about 0.04 m.) behind the western burned block, which has been trimmed away at the southwest corner to avoid it. Its north face and the bed of the rock in front of it ⁵ have been carefully dressed with a pointed chisel, the marks of which are still surprisingly fresh and distinct, although it seems certain that this dressing was done before the blocks on either side were laid; in fact the difference in orientation suggests that it is earlier than

¹ The top of this course is horizontal, but the height varies, being about 0.37 m. at the cross-wall and about 0.475 m. where it rests on the rock farther east.

² It is probable that these blocks simply fill out on the north a bed cut for course 21 in the higher rock to the south.

³ These stones are about 0.25 m. long. The height of the eastern one is from 0.05 m. to 0.09 m., that of the western about 0.135 m. They rest on undressed rock and earth.

⁴ The first block is 0.675 m. long and about 0.21 m. high; the second is 0.52 m. long, 0.22 m. high, and about 0.50 m. wide from north to south. This part of the foundations and the rock on the north are shown in plan and section by Heberdey, *Porosskulptur*, pp. 175, 176; figs. 184, 185. The two burned stones are his C₃ and C₂; the brown stone north of the foundations (see below) is C₁.

⁵ The dressing in the rock is about 0.44 m. wide at the foot of the scarp and rises from 0.02 m. to about 0.04 m. above the rock on the east and west. The scarp continues for 0.10 m., or perhaps more, to the southeast beyond the dressed surface of the rock.

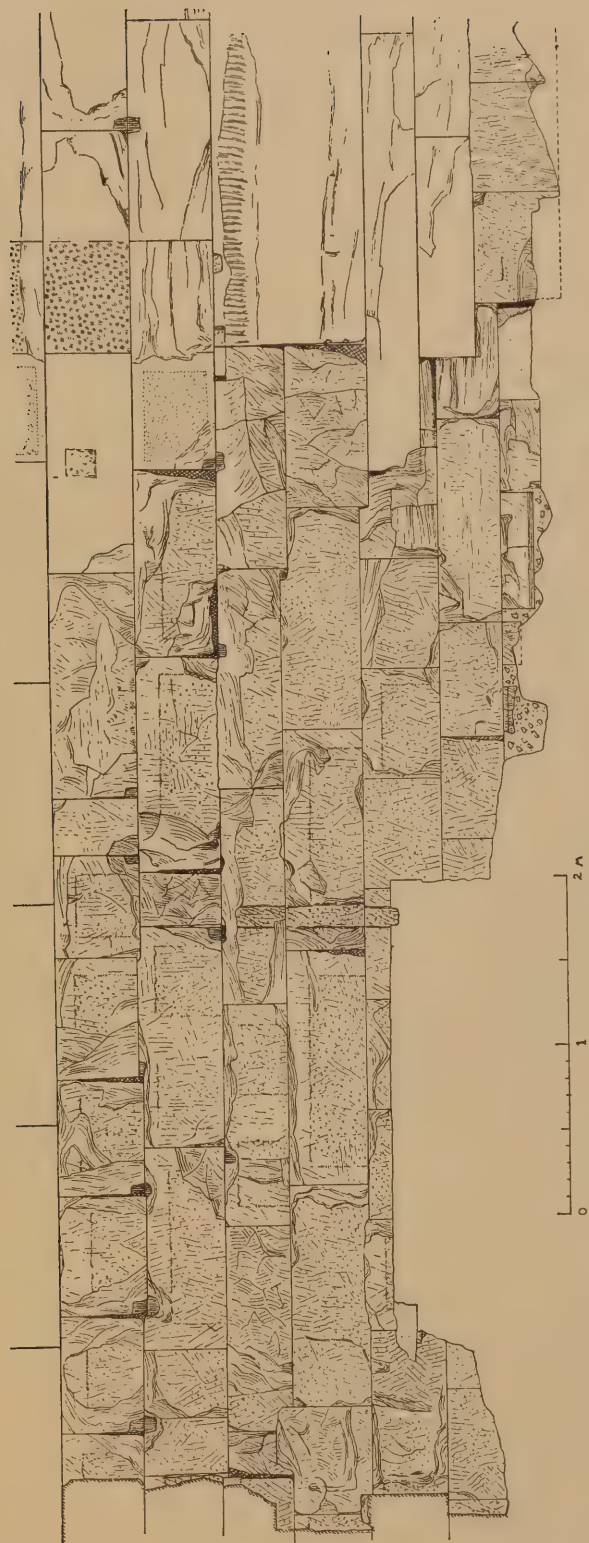


FIGURE 5. FOUNDATIONS OF SOUTH WALL, EASTERN HALF, INSIDE: ELEVATION

the planning of the present Erechtheum. So far as can be seen, neither the scarp nor the dressed bed ever extended farther west. A little to the north, in the aisle of the church, lies a block of soft dark brown poros (PLATE II; Figs. 100, C, 215),¹ which by its dimensions might have once filled the gap in the foundations, though in that case it would have projected farther north into the interior than the adjacent blocks. When discovered it rested in part on a shallow bed of earth in which were found bits of Byzantine pottery, so that the block was clearly not in its original position. Even if it were formerly in the foundation, there is nothing to show that it is the block for which the cutting in the rock was first made, or that it differs in this respect from the re-used blocks farther east, which were certainly placed in their present position by the builders of the Erechtheum.

From the east cross-wall to the east jamb of the doorway in the Porch of the Maidens the foundations of the south wall are only two courses high, since the low level of the floor in this part of the building left exposed the greater part of the inner face of the wall (PLATE XII; Fig. 100). The lowest course (21) is composed of poros headers, apparently of standard size (4 Att. ft. long, 2 Att. ft. wide, $1\frac{1}{2}$ Att. ft. high), set in a bed cut in the rock and laid from east to west, as appears from the insertion of a poros wedge at the latter end to meet an adjoining foundation, now missing. The eastern block (Figs. 5, 100, D, 215) lies partly under the cross-wall, and in setting it the lower part of the exposed north face was roughly cut away. The upper part of this face has also been trimmed back, so that it projects only from 0.11 m. to 0.08 m. beyond the lowest marble course (PLATES II, XII; Figs. 100, 215). The rest of the course (Figs. 100, E, 215) extends from 0.34 m. to 0.44 m. into the interior of the temple, except west of the west cross-wall, where its original projection has been cut away in the construction of the cistern. The next course (20), of marble stretchers four Attic feet long, was also laid from east to west, since its eastern block is set into a cutting in the poros block on the east (PLATE XII; Figs. 5, 100, F), while its western block is fastened at the west by two dowels² to the course below (PLATE IX; Fig. 6). The three eastern blocks rest on the dressed surface of the poros blocks, but the rest of the course is countersunk to a depth of about 0.025 m.³ The blocks in this course vary in height from 0.334 m. at the extreme east to 0.359 m. just east of the west cross-wall.

A continuous foundation thus extends under the north, east, and south walls of the main building as far as the east jamb of the door into the Porch of the Maidens. West of this jamb the original foundation has in great part disappeared without leaving any trace on the rock or any indication that it keyed into the foundation east of the door. Traces on the west face of the wall beneath the east jamb and on the under side of the threshold of

¹ The position of the stone when discovered is shown in PLATE II, and by Heberdey, *op. cit.* It has since been turned so that its long axis now runs from northwest to southeast instead of from northeast to southwest (Fig. 100, c).

² A third dowel cutting, farther south (Fig. 6), was never used, apparently because it was too close to the joint in the course below.

³ There is a similar countersinking in course 20 of the north wall for the fourth block from the North Door in course 19, and also in the cornice of the East Portico for the central block of the pediment; see below, p. 187.

the door show, however, that below the threshold the wall continued for at least one course, which, together with its foundation, was later replaced by a rude mediaeval or Turkish wall composed of fragments of stone and brick set in mortar.¹ This wall once extended to the southwest corner, but was in great part removed during the restoration of 1909, when a poros pier was built beneath the west jamb of the door (PLATES VII, IX, XII; Figs. 6, 99). The original foundation must also have extended nearly or quite to the same corner, since otherwise the threshold of the door and courses 13 to 18 of the south wall



FIGURE 6. REMAINS OF PREHISTORIC WALL BELOW SOUTH DOORWAY, FROM SOUTHWEST

west of the door would have been without support (PLATE VII).² The absence of the usual dressed bed in the rock suggests that the lower part of this foundation at least was not contemporary with the Erechtheum, and this supposition is confirmed by the presence of two pieces of undressed Acropolis limestone, the lower resting upon the native rock, beneath the south side of the remnant of the mediaeval wall, and separated by a little clean earth

¹ The Greek Commissioners of 1852 found that this wall resembled those in the cistern. It was not part of the restoration by Pittakis. See *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 12.

² The upper courses of the west end of the south wall rest on the lintel of the door, which is fully supported on the east by the lower courses of the south wall (PLATE XII) and on the west by the great block which spans the opening at the south end of the west wall (PLATES IV, VII, X).

from the later masonry above (PLATE VII; Fig. 6, 1, 2).¹ Now it is characteristic of the Helladic walls on the Acropolis that they are built of undressed blocks, usually of Acropolis limestone, laid on the natural rock without any prepared bed. It seems reasonable, therefore, to see in these two stones the scanty remains of an early wall which was utilized by the builders of the Erechtheum.² This wall probably never extended farther east, for between the east face of the lowest block of Acropolis limestone and the west face of the poros foundation beneath the jamb³ a small wedge of poros (Fig. 6, 4) has been inserted, evidently to close the gap between the new foundation of the Erechtheum and the far earlier wall.

There are also no signs of any foundation for about 0.75 m. beneath the south end of the west wall, but here it is unlikely that one ever existed, for the blocks of the west wall which extended across this gap to the southwest corner (PLATE IV, courses 16–19; Fig. 78) are amply supported by the southern part of the existing foundations,⁴ and furthermore it seems certain that the entire construction at this corner was influenced by the presence of an irremovable obstacle.⁵ The foundation of the west wall is composed of three courses of marble⁶ on the south of the west door and four courses of poros on the north. All the blocks are stretchers, an unusual construction which seems to have been adopted here because it was deemed necessary to keep the foundations thin and thus avoid encroaching on the precinct to the west of the Erechtheum. It was possible to adopt such a construction with safety, since the weight of the west wall with its columns was less than that of any of the other three walls. At the north end, as at the south, this foundation was not connected

¹ On the identification of these primitive remains see L. B. Holland, 'Erechtheum Papers, I,' *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 13–15.

² It is by no means improbable that other stones from this prehistoric wall were removed along with the mediaeval remains when the area was cleared in 1909, since at that time their exact nature could hardly have been recognized. It is, however, also possible that beneath the west end of the south wall the foundation may have been of marble, which was removed when the cistern was built. The rock at this point is sufficiently level to receive a foundation which was not to support any great weight. Moreover, if the "sea" (p. 170) was in the southwest corner of the temple, the foundation at this point would have been visible from the interior, and it seems unlikely that rough prehistoric masonry would have been left thus exposed to view. If the cutting in course 20 of the west wall (note 4, below) held one end of a bar which aided in supporting the south end of that wall, the other end of the bar would also apparently require a support of solid masonry rather than the looser construction of an Helladic wall. These considerations have led to the conjectural restoration of a marble foundation at this point in PLATES XIII and XV, but the possibility of the presence of a primitive wall cannot be excluded.

³ This block (PLATES IX, XII; Fig. 6, 3) is at present 0.88 m. long from north to south, 0.63 m. wide, and 0.47 m. high, but the north part has been roughly cut away, doubtless in constructing the cistern. It is probable that the prehistoric wall also extended northward and was similarly cut away or torn out, thus endangering the support beneath the door. Otherwise it is hard to see why the makers of the cistern should have thought it necessary to build a new foundation.

⁴ In the top of the block at the south end of course 20 of the west wall, and 0.31 m. from its west edge, is a rectangular cutting about 0.13 m. high, 0.14–0.17 m. wide, and 0.13 m. deep. At first sight it might seem to be connected with the later arrangements for drawing water from the cistern (p. 169), but the marks of the chisel in it show that it was made before the block above was laid. It is, therefore, certainly Greek, and was probably cut for a beam of wood or iron which supported the block in course 19, otherwise unsupported except for 0.65 m. at its north end, although it was held in place, on the cantilever principle, by the weight of the great block above it in the west wall.

⁵ For a discussion of conditions at the southwest corner see the section on the Cecropium, pp. 127 ff.

⁶ Marble was probably used because of its greater strength. This part of the foundations helped to sustain the southwest corner of the building, which rested on the great block in the west wall (PLATES IV, X).

with that of the rest of the building, although here the gap was only 0.13 m. wide. When the lining of the great cistern was removed in 1909, so many of the blocks at this end were found to be broken or missing that for proper security it was deemed wise to build a new wall (PLATE X; Fig. 105).¹

Under the Porch of the Maidens and the steps of the south wall the massive stereobate of the peristyle of the Old Temple was utilized, so far as possible, as a foundation (PLATE I). For this purpose the upper course, the old stylobate, was removed, and the euthynteria below cut down 0.02 m. to the level of the new steps, as may be clearly seen near the middle of the south side of the Erechtheum and at the west end of the Porch of the Maidens. The poros foundation under the steps on the south side of the Porch (PLATES I, II), although made for the new building, has the orientation of the older structure, evidently because it was laid between and against the foundations of the old peristyle and cella.

Like the East Portico the North Portico was given a solid foundation, if we may judge from what is visible in the crypt and from the condition of the pavement, which nowhere shows any sign of settling.

So far as can be seen clamps were not employed in that part of the foundations which was below the level of the ground, though they were freely used in the courses which formed the backing of the steps. Dowels appear regularly in these same courses, and are also found, though less frequently, in lower courses of both the east and the south walls.²

On the east and south sides of the building the uppermost course of the foundations, except where earlier constructions prevent, extends slightly beyond the lowest step. This extension, while fairly uniform on each side, is not the same on both,³ and in this respect differs from the usual construction of the Greek euthynteria. On the north and west there was never any projecting course, except at the North Portico,⁴ since on these sides the lowest step rose from a paved area.

On the north side of the north wall of the temple and on the east side of the North Portico remains of a marble pavement, 0.236 m. in thickness, project from under the lowest step (PLATE II). The foundations here have been cut away to receive the pavement, which must have been laid before the step was in place, so much is it overlapped by the latter (PLATE V; Fig. 1). Elsewhere in this area the pavement itself has disappeared, though its foundation of blocks of poros is in great part preserved (Fig. 7).⁵ The slabs of the pave-

MARBLE
PAVEMENT
AND STEPS

¹ There seems to be no record of the exact condition of the north end of this foundation before the modern repairs.

² Dowels are visible, for example, between courses 16 and 17 of the east wall and between both courses 16 and 17 and courses 17 and 18 of the south wall (PLATE XII; Fig. 5). No dowels have been detected in the lower courses of the north and west foundations.

³ On the east side it is about 0.26–0.28 m.; on the south it is about 0.13 m., or, as cut on the euthynteria of the Old Temple, about 0.14 m. At the Porch of the Maidens it is about 0.165 m. on the east, and 0.16–0.17 m. on the south.

⁴ On the north side of the portico the projection is about 0.235–0.26 m. and on the west 0.34–0.36 m.

⁵ It is possible that the poros foundation of the marble pavement is older than the Erechtheum. It is continued for a short distance beneath the flight of steps on the east (Fig. 7 A), though there is no indication that these steps elsewhere had a solid foundation. See Ch. V, p. 427, and L. B. Holland, 'Erechtheum Papers, III,' *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 414 f.

ment were carefully fitted with anathyrosis at the joints and were dowelled to the foundation.¹ The upper surface never received its final dressing. On the east this pavement was bounded by twelve steps, which led to the higher level of the east front (Fig. 7). The beginning of the two lowest steps is preserved at the south end, and the existence of the others is determined by the traces left on the little podium which here supports the East Portico (Figs. 1, 7).² Most of them began on stones of the podium,³ and the broken ends projecting from its north face render their position certain; the starting points of the rest are marked by anathyrosis on other blocks of the same face (PLATES V, XIV). This evidence shows that the four lowest steps corresponded, as is natural, to the three steps and the moulded course (which is of the same height as the steps, i.e., one Attic foot) at the base of the north wall; the others were each one-half the height of an ordinary course of the wall or three-quarters of an Attic foot. The exposed faces of the steps and of the podium were not given the usual smooth dressing, but were finished with a carefully drafted horizontal band along the base of each step and of each course of the podium and a vertical band at the junction of the latter with the north wall of the building (PLATES V, IX; Figs. 1, 7).⁴ It is probable that this stairway extended at least as far north as the pavement at its foot.

The northern edge of the pavement was apparently in line with the euthynteria of the front of the North Portico, for at the northeast corner of the portico the north face of the stone in the pavement is carefully finished without anathyrosis, and farther east the poros foundation extends only 0.60 m. beyond this line (PLATE I). On this side the pavement must have finished against the construction which here masked the rough lower courses of the wall of the Acropolis. This wall, which was certainly built before the Erechtheum, changes its direction at a point in line with the east cross-wall of the temple from somewhat south of west to northwest, and a little farther on turns once more toward the west (PLATE I). In this short stretch the upper part of the wall has been rebuilt and now furnishes no clear evidence as to the ancient conditions on the inside; but it seems probable that the ground here was at the same level as farther west, or approximately that given later to the bottom step of the North Portico and the adjacent pavement. North of the East Cella of the Erechtheum, however, and consequently north of the greater part of the paved area, only the four upper courses of the wall have been given on the inside the smooth dressing of visible surfaces, and the presence of two loopholes or windows in the third course sug-

¹ The fourth block from the east (PLATE II) was about 0.07–0.08 m. broader than the others, as its north edge is preserved beyond the point where the joint would fall had this block been in line with those on either side of it. It is hard to assign a reason for this irregularity.

² For the construction of the podium on blocks of the north wall, see Ch. II, p. 220.

³ The stones of the podium which were in contact with the three upper steps are lying on the ground near at hand. They are broken but clearly recognizable.

⁴ These bands are about 0.04 m. wide and about 0.007 m. deep. They resemble in some respects the smooth bands often found at joints to show the level of the finished surface, but are cut back at right angles, not obliquely, and the joints themselves are not bevelled as a protection against injury before the final dressing (see Ch. II, p. 200; Fowler and Wheeler, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, p. 103, fig. 56). It was, therefore, probably intended to leave the exposed faces untouched, and thus secure a contrast with the smooth wall of the main building.



A



B

FIGURE 7. AREA NORTH OF THE ERECHTHEUM: (A) FROM NORTHEAST, AS CLEARED IN 1887.
(B) FROM WEST, IN 1914

gests that there was a platform or gallery along the inside of the wall at the bottom of the fourth course, which is about 2.25 m. above the pavement (Fig. 7).¹ It is a natural supposition that when the wall was built, the lower courses were masked by an inner wall, parallel to the outer and at such distance from it as to secure a platform of the desired width. Unless the platform was extremely wide (PLATE I), this masking wall cannot have formed the northern boundary of the pavement, and it is probable that here, as on the east, the pavement ended at the foot of a flight of steps. Since the level of the platform along the face of the wall was nearly a metre lower than that at the east front of the Erechtheum, there were probably only eight steps on this side instead of twelve.² The carefully laid marble pavement suggests that this area was of special importance and the broad flight of stairs along the east side seems designed quite as much to accommodate spectators as to furnish communication between the two levels. If this be admitted, other steps or seats along the face of the Acropolis wall are easy to understand.³

CREPIS

The steps of the building are clamped both to one another and to their backing, and dowelled. In the East Portico T-dowels are visible in a corner block of the uppermost step, and in several blocks, not only in the corners, of the lowest step (PLATES XVI, XVIII). North of the northeast anta of the building, two H clamps extend a little into the visible upper surface of the lowest step, thus preserving the regular alignment of the vertical joints in the western face of the podium (PLATE IX; Fig. 1) without giving to the corner block of the step an unusual shape or size. These clamps were countersunk and then concealed by setting over them a rectangular piece of marble (PLATE XVII, 4; Fig. 17). Stylobate and steps alike have a batter on the vertical face, averaging 0.003 m. per course, and the upper surface of the steps has apparently been given a very slight inclination in order to throw the water away from the building. The pavements of the East and North Porticoes, however, are certainly horizontal. Tests of the steps failed to yield any satisfactory evidence of curvature, for such minute variations in level as appeared were irregular and apparently due to displacement by earthquakes or by the numerous accidents which have so shaken the Erechtheum.

II. THE EAST FAÇADE

COLUMNS

The absence of the north column of the East Portico, which was removed by Lord Elgin, makes possible an examination of the stylobate on which it was placed. The conditions here revealed exist presumably under the other columns of the building. Intersecting scratch

¹ For a discussion of the probable levels here before the Erechtheum was built, see Ch. V, pp. 424 ff., and L. B. Holland, 'Erechtheum Papers, II, III, IV,' *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 151 ff., 414 ff., 430 ff., who has attempted a reconstruction of the architectural history of this area.

² If the steps had the same dimensions as those on the east, the seven lowest would have a total width of 2.275 m.; the eighth would, of course, coincide with the platform. The total height of the eight steps would be 2.264 m.

³ The resemblance of this arrangement to the stepped theatral areas of the Cretan palaces is striking. The cults connected with the Erechtheum are certainly very old, and it is not impossible that the surroundings in which they were celebrated preserved in essentials their early form.

lines, now very faint, respectively parallel to and at right angles with the edge of the stylobate, mark the axis of the base (PLATES II, XVIII, 2). In the centre is a square cutting which tapers slightly toward its bottom, exactly as do the cuttings in the upper and lower surfaces of column drums. Like these it doubtless contained an empolion,¹ which aided in turning the base on its axis through a small arc in the process of giving it a true bed. This explanation is strengthened by a slight depression of the surrounding surface such as is usual in the joint of a column. The pin would also serve to fix the base accurately in its final position; a matter of great importance since the base was fully finished before it was set in place.

The axial distances of the columns measured on the stylobate are equal (2.114 m.) but, though each column is placed on a separate stone, the joints of the stylobate are not arranged with absolute symmetry (PLATE II).

The statement sometimes made,² that Ionic columns are not inclined like Doric but are strictly vertical, does not hold true of the Erechtheum. Thus it may be easily shown that in the East Portico, while the antae were vertical, the adjacent columns at the corners were inclined toward the centre of the façade. It is, of course, clear that the capitals of the anta and of the adjacent column are directly under the epistyle, and that their axes coincide with its axis and consequently with each other. The southern blocks of the epistyle of the East Portico are in place, and the distance from the middle of the central block to the axis of the block over the southern anta, that is, to the axis of the anta itself, is 5.265 m.³ The lowest members of both antae have likewise remained undisturbed, and one-half their axial distance is also 5.265 m. Hence, since both base and capital are at the same distance from the axis of the building, the anta is vertical. As, however, the lowest member of the anta is worked on a block of the stylobate, it is possible at the northeast corner to compare its axis with that of the adjacent column, as indicated by the scratch lines already mentioned, since both may be measured to the north edge of the stylobate (PLATE XVIII, 2), and it thus becomes evident that the axis of the bottom of the column is 0.02 m. (one Attic dactyl) farther from the centre of the front than the axis of the anta. Therefore, since the axis of the anta is vertical and the axis of the column coincides with that of the anta at the top, the column is inclined toward the centre 0.02 m. in its height of 6.586 m. This inclination toward the centre is confined to the corner columns; the four others are vertical in this direction.

The columns of the East Portico are also inclined toward the east wall of the temple, as is shown by a comparison of measurements made from the face of the anta, which is vertical,⁴ to the axis of the adjacent column at its bottom and at its top.⁵ The distance at

¹ Rather than the lower part of a solid wooden dowel, the only other possibility.

² Cf., for example, Durm, *Baukunst der Griechen*,³ p. 298.

³ All these measurements were taken before the repairs of 1907, during which some of these blocks were removed and carefully replaced.

⁴ Tests with the steel square show that the east face of the anta is vertical. Moreover, tested by the same method the east wall was vertical, and the projection of the anta from the face of the wall is the same at the top as at the bottom.

⁵ At the top the actual measuring was done on the inside of the epistyle.

the bottom of the column is 0.02 m. greater than at the top, and this is accordingly the amount of the inclination.¹

The total height of the columns is 6.586 m. (6.56 m. = 20 At. ft.), comprising the base, four drums of varying heights, and the capital. The joint of the base is above the upper torus, that of the capital between the guilloche and the egg-and-dart moulding. The joints in the shafts of the columns are perpendicular to the axis of the column; the joint in the base is horizontal and probably that in the capital as well.

Repeated observations, both in the flutes, and on the fillets between the flutes, wherever the surface was sufficiently preserved to admit of measurement, failed to reveal any entasis in the columns of the East Portico.² Their diminution is in a straight line, a fact already noted for Greek Ionic columns in general by Laloux.³

The capitals of all the columns of the Erechtheum have suffered grievous damage and none of the volutes is now perfect. The most nearly complete is the southeast volute of the fourth column from the south in the East Portico (Fig. 9). This is but slightly damaged at its top, and fortunately exact measurements for the missing portion may be readily taken from other volutes of this façade. It was, therefore, chosen for an investigation of the spiral according to the following method.

The principal line of the volute was drawn full size with great care. Three points on the volute between A and B were selected and the centre of a circle found, the circumference of which would pass through the three points (Fig. 8). A number of other similar trials were made, always keeping the three points within the arc A-B, with the result that the centre was always found to fall at 1. When, however, one of the three points lay between B and C, the centre no longer remained at 1. In other words the volute as far as B — but no farther — could be struck with the arc of a circle having its centre at 1. In the same way the portion of the volute between B and C was tested. Its centre fell at 2, a point on the line B-1. Therefore an arc of a circle described from 2 as a centre, with a radius equal to B-2, is tangent to the arc A-B, and coincides with the curve of the volute as far as C.

¹ For the inclination of the columns of the North Portico, see p. 80.

² Four sets of readings were made in the tests for entasis. On the southeast column one set was taken on a fillet over a distance of 2.94 m. from the neck down, below which point the fillet was too much broken to yield sure results; another set was taken in a flute for the whole height of the column. The third set was taken in a flute of the second column from the south for 4.50 m. from the neck. The fourth was on a fillet of the third column from the south for 3.43 m. from the neck (the fillet was broken below this point). All readings were taken on the east side of the columns where the surface of the marble is least damaged.

Early observers thought that they detected an entasis. Inwood (*ed. maj.*, Book XXII, p. 103) states that at three-fifths of its height the diameter of the shaft was 0.525 in. greater than it would have been, had the diminution been in a straight line. He gives similar figures for the west (0.442 in.) and north (0.628 in.) columns. Jenkins (Stuart and Revett,² IV, pp. 4, 5; pl. V) published a plate of several columns in Athens, including one from the East Portico, with their measured entases. It seems probable that the measurements that yielded these results were made without due regard to the preservation of the surface at the points chosen.

³ Laloux, *L'Architecture grecque*, p. 90: "L'entasis, ou renflement du galbe, ne semble pas avoir existé dans l'ordre ionique; contrairement à ce qui dit Vitruve, les deux diamètres sont joints par une ligne droite." This statement is too sweeping, however, as the columns of the North Portico have an entasis (p. 81). The columns of the West Façade, which also have an entasis, belong to the Roman repairs (p. 66).

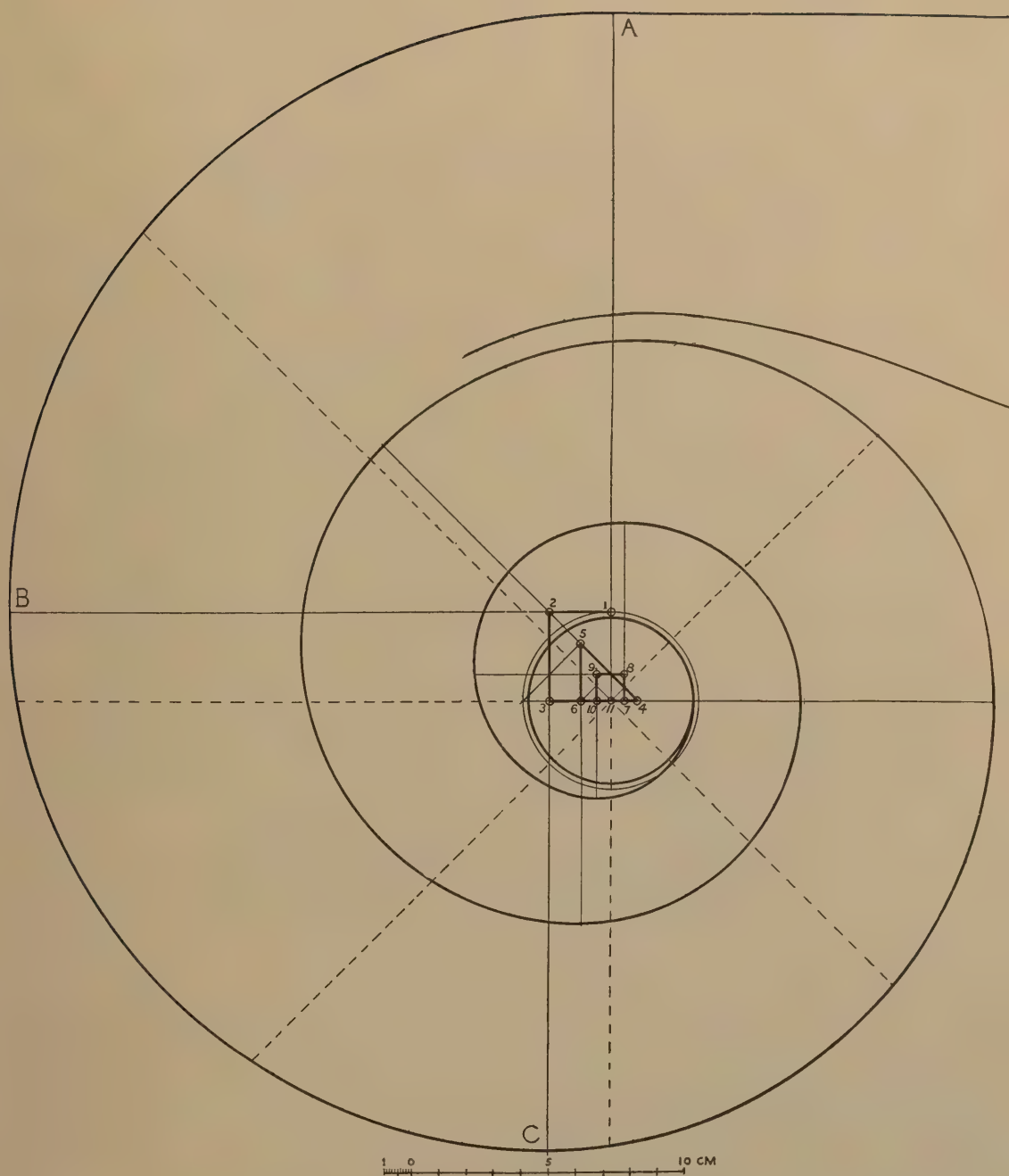


FIGURE 8. EAST PORTICO: GRAPHIC METHOD OF CONSTRUCTING THE IONIC VOLUTE

The rest of the volute was investigated in the same way, establishing the series of centres from 3 to 11 inclusive.

The important point in these results is that, once the centre of the eye of the volute has been fixed, the other centres may be easily determined with a vertical line, a pair of com-



FIGURE 9. EAST PORTICO: SOUTH EXTERIOR VOLUTE,
FOURTH COLUMN FROM SOUTH

passes, and a 45° triangle. As there were twenty volutes on the East Portico, all alike, it is natural to suppose that there must have been some convenient way of laying them out.

There are several examples of volutes which still show the centres from which they were described. The most noteworthy is the Ionic capital from Ephesus, now in the British Museum.¹ In the case of the volute of the East Portico of the Erechtheum only centre 11 is visible to-day; the others were probably removed in the final dressing.

The inscriptions record the purchase of gold leaf for gilding the eyes of the columns,² and on the capital of the southernmost column the eyes of the volutes on the east side — those on the south side are missing — are drilled for the reception of a metal or wooden pin

¹ *Br. Mus., Sculpture*, II, pp. 181 f., No. 1223. See also Lethaby, *Greek Buildings*, pp. 204-205.

² Cf. Ch. IV, Inscription XVII, col. II, ll. 41-43.

(Fig. 10).¹ It may have been intended to drill the eyes of the volutes of the other capitals also, for they resemble those of the southernmost column in being flat discs (PLATE XXXVI, 2; Fig. 9), or the gilding may have been applied to them by some other method.



FIGURE 10. EAST PORTICO: CAPITAL OF THE SOUTH COLUMN

A series of drill holes, close together, is visible in the inner end of the groove of the volutes of these capitals. These holes were originally bored to aid in cutting the groove and were not entirely removed in the final chiselling.

Dowels and shift holes show that the blocks of the epistyle on the east front were placed in position from north to south, and that this operation was continued along the south wall toward the west.²

The eastern frieze was laid in the opposite direction to the epistyle, beginning at the south and working toward the north, as is proved by pry holes on the epistyle, and by cuttings for dowels in both epistyle and frieze (Fig. 11). The second block of the frieze from the north, now lying on the ground, has a cutting for a dowel in each end, though only the one at the north was actually used, as pry holes on the epistyle³ beneath show that the block

EPISTYLE
AND FRIEZE

¹ The hole is 0.032 m. deep and 0.008 m. in diameter.

² For the order in which the epistyle and frieze were laid on the north and south walls, see p. 53.

³ This epistyle block is in the British Museum (*Sculpture*, I, p. 237, No. 413). The back has been cut away, destroying the dowel, but the position and cutting of the two pry holes show that they were used for a block south of them. These pry holes are now concealed by the black marble representing the frieze.

next in order to the south was placed first. On the south wall, however, the frieze was laid from east to west. It thus appears that in this part of the building the southeast corner block of the frieze was the first to be put in place, and that the work proceeded both north and west from this point. The backing of the frieze across the south end of the portico was held to the frieze by two  clamps, one 0.876 m. and the other 1.815 m. from the east face of the frieze (PLATE XVIII, top, right; Fig. 12). A scratch line on the top of the epistyle marks the position of the frieze, which was set 0.054 m. back of the upper fascia of the epistyle. The face of the frieze contains numerous cuttings for the dowels by which the white marble sculptures were attached (PLATES III, XXI, 1).¹

CORNICE

Dalton's drawing (PLATE L, 1) shows that in 1749 the cornice was still in place on the southern half of the East Portico. Subsequently it fell, or was removed, but the blocks, though considerably damaged, were found on the Acropolis in 1903-05 and, by the correspondence of cuttings for clamps and for dowels into the frieze, their position and order were determined. In 1907 these blocks were replaced (PLATE XXI, 1, 2), probably correctly, in spite of slight irregularities at the joint between the third and fourth blocks from the south.² The cornice block at the southeast corner was the first laid and was fastened to the frieze by two T-dowels, respectively 1.67 m. and 0.736 m. from the southeast corner of the frieze (PLATE XXI, 2). According to the evidence of shift holes and cuttings for dowels, the work of placing the other blocks then proceeded, as in the case of the frieze, in both directions from this corner stone, down the south side and across the east front (Fig. 12). The upper surface of the cornice shows no trace of the presence of sculptures in the pediment.³

TYMPANUM

The eastern tympanum does not appear in any of the early drawings and no fragments have been found which can be assigned to it with certainty. It may, however, be reconstructed from the statements in the inscriptions, the traces on the upper surface of the horizontal cornice, and the remains of the Roman restoration of the western pediment. The epigraphical evidence is fully presented in the commentary on the inscriptions,⁴ and the conclusions there reached are adopted in the following discussion.

In the east cornice the position of the joint between the fourth and fifth blocks, counting from the south, as determined by the evidence of the frieze, falls on the axis of the building (PLATE XXI, 1). Two cuttings for dowels in the top of the cornice, on either side of this joint and equally distant from it (PLATE XXI, 2), imply that the central stone of the tympanum was also centred on the axis, and the length of the other stones of the tympanum

¹ For the sculptures of the frieze see Ch. III, pp. 239-276; PLATES XL-XLVI.

² The cutting for the  clamp which united these two blocks, contrary to the usual custom, does not form a straight line (PLATE XXI, 2). Moreover, the axial distance of the ornament on the bed moulding to the south of the joint is 0.007 m. less than that of the ornament immediately to the right and left of it. The usual axial distance is 0.107 m. There is a similar difference, though only of 0.005 m., at the joint under the central pediment stone, and there are other examples of such variation in the Erechtheum, but they are rare.

³ For the parabolic curve given the soffit of the corona of the cornice, see Penrose, *Ath. Arch.*, p. 51, fig. 13. It closely resembles that of the North Portico, cf. p. 93.

⁴ See Ch. IV, Inscription X, col. II, ll. 8-27; Commentary, pp. 359 ff.

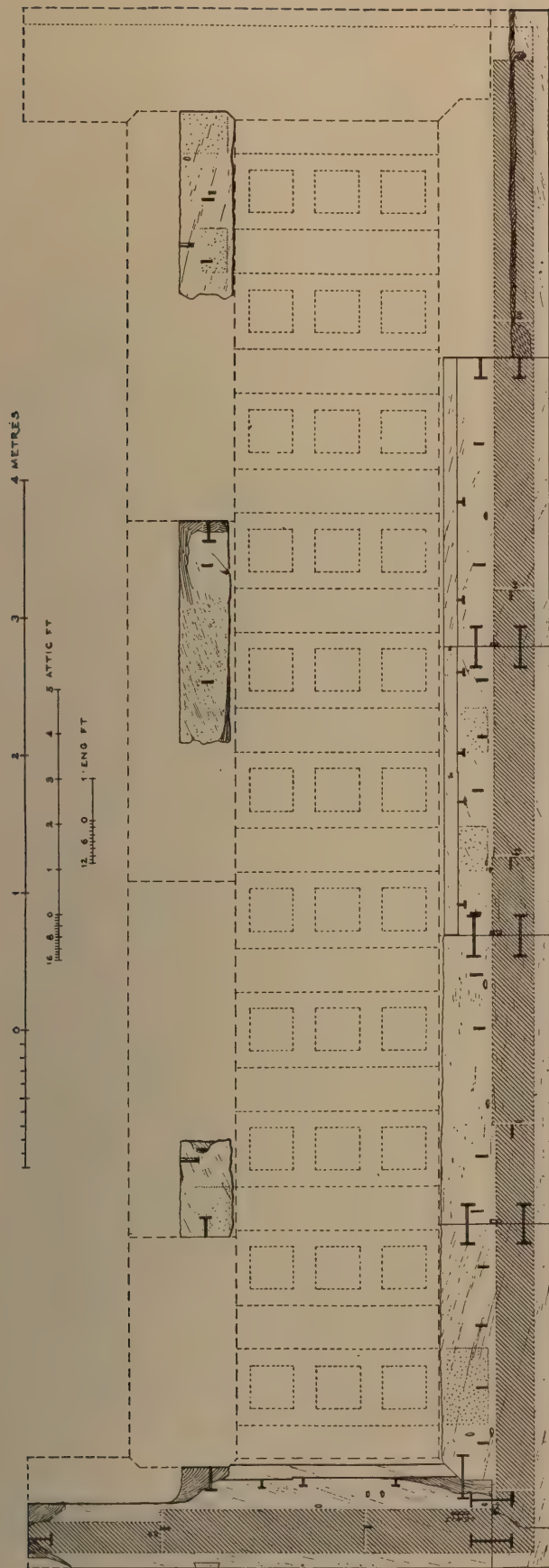


FIGURE 11. EAST PORTICO: PLAN OF TOP OF ARCHITRAVE
Hatching indicates the blocks of the frieze

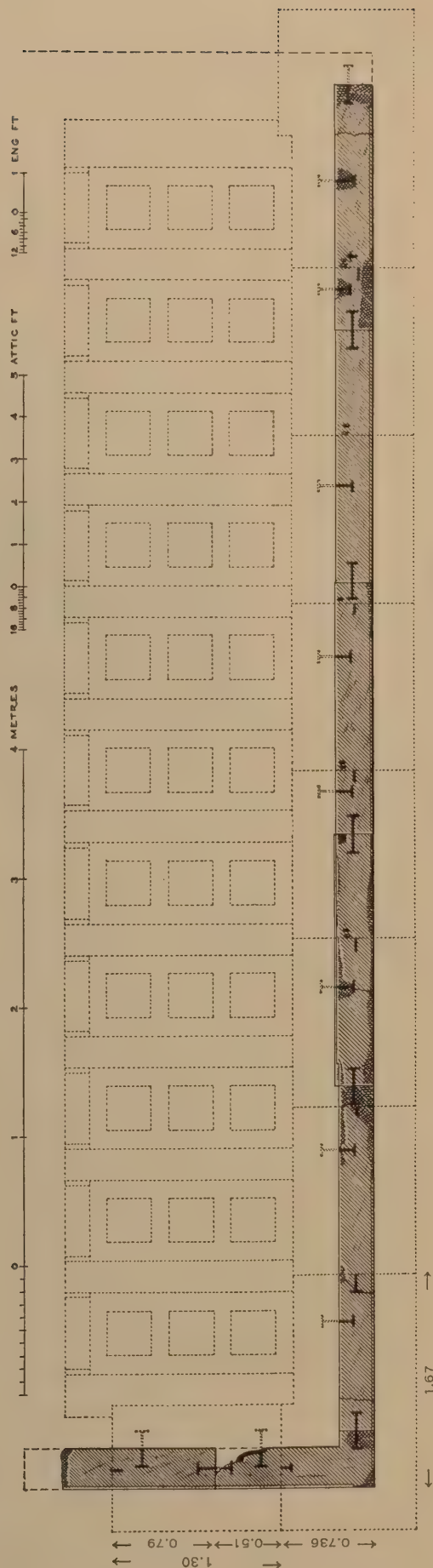


FIGURE 12. EAST PORTICO: PLAN OF TOP OF FRIEZE
Dotted lines indicate the blocks of the cornice and the marble ceiling as seen from above

as given in the inscriptions shows, as was to be expected, that they too were symmetrically placed on either side. The position of the pry holes and dowels also indicates that the central stone was dowelled at both ends, and consequently was set in place before the blocks on either side of it. Its length as indicated by the dowels was about 1.68 m., which agrees with the length (5 Att. ft. = 1.64 m.) given in the inscription. Its thickness, according to the weather marks on the cornice, which show that the tympanum was set about 0.03 m. in front of the face of the frieze, was about 0.30 m., a trifle less than the one Attic foot (0.328 m.) of the inscription.

The stones on either side of the centre were, according to the inscription, seven Attic feet in length, and the absence of any cutting for dowels on the upper surface of the third cornice block from the south shows that it came under the middle of such a long stone. The next block is so badly damaged that no trace of any dowel is left, but the stone from the

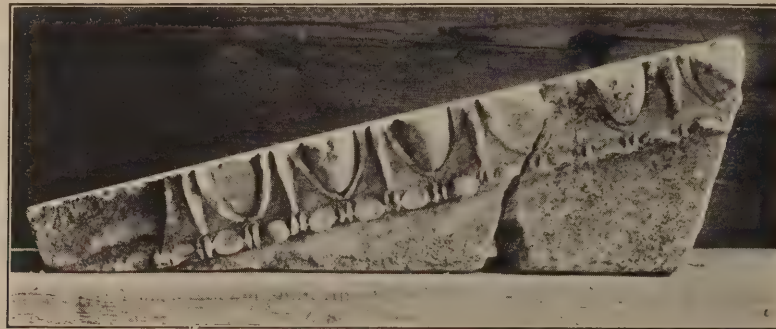


FIGURE 13. FRAGMENT FROM ANGLE OF RAKING CORNICE,
NOW PLACED AT SOUTH END OF EAST PEDIMENT

southeast corner has preserved a cutting, evidently for the dowel which secured the angle block of the tympanum. This cutting, however, does not mark the position of the angle itself, which fell 0.38 m. to the south, where the stone has been dressed to receive the raking cornice. If the tympanum block ended at the dowel, the angle of the tympanum was probably worked on the raking cornice. If, however, the tympanum block came to a feather edge — an unusual construction, — the dowel, which was nearer the axis of the temple than the feather edge, could have been easily leaded from above. The southeast cornice block itself is broken on all sides, and its exact distance from the centre can only be fixed by calculation. As drawn in PLATE XXI, its position is determined by the dressing for the raking cornice, which is so placed as to agree with the inclination (1:4) assigned to the pediment in the commentary on the inscriptions (p. 360), and actually found in the Roman pediment block of the West Façade. In the restoration of 1907 this fragment of the cornice was set 0.11 m. farther south.

The backing of the tympanum has disappeared, but in the central blocks of the cornice are cuttings for the dowels which held it in place. The position of the pry hole, however,

shows that the northern dowel belonged to the stone north of the centre, and that the central backer was dowelled only at the south end. It would seem, therefore, that the backing was laid in a different order from the stones in front.

The length of the blocks of the raking cornice is known only from the inscriptions,¹ where two blocks, each four and one-half Attic feet long, are mentioned. The weathering on the horizontal cornice at the southeast angle shows that there the width of the raking cornice was 0.72 m. This width, however, could not have been continued higher on the pediment, for it is not sufficient to enable the raking cornice, in conjunction with the projecting sima above it, to be securely balanced over the tympanum. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that in the inscription the width is given as two and one-half Attic feet, or about 0.82 m., which is sufficient to secure a stable equilibrium for both cornice and sima. At the angles a similar width was not required, since there the raking cornice rested on the projecting portion of the horizontal cornice. As no part of the east raking cornice has survived except perhaps the small fragment now replaced at the south corner (PLATE III; Fig. 13),² the data for the reconstruction (PLATES XIII, XVI) have been taken from the Roman raking cornice of the west pediment (PLATES XIX, XX).

RAKING
CORNICHE

III. THE CEILING OF THE EAST PORTICO

On the epistylia of the East Façade, behind the frieze, are differences of dressing, together with a series of cuttings for dowels and pry holes, which from their direction were made for blocks running from east to west. On the three fragments of epistylia from the east wall there are also just such differences of dressing, and dowels and a pry hole just so placed as on the epistyle over the columns (Fig. 11). The evidence furnished by the dressing, dowel cuttings, and pry holes makes possible the reconstruction of the ceiling of the portico. At the second dowel from the south end of the epistyle over the columns the surface of the stone is slightly raised for a distance of 0.55 m., i. e., 0.275 m. on either side of the dowel (PLATE XVII, bottom, over A). Farther north (PLATE XVII, over B and C) the epistyle also shows a special finish which indicates that something about 0.32 m. wide rested on these points. In view of the well-known relation in width between the beams and coffers of a stone ceiling, there can be no doubt that the narrower marks (0.32 m.) belong to the beams and the wider (0.55 m.) to the stones which were placed in the spaces between each pair of beams, and on which the profile of the beams was continued from the sides across the ends of each division of the ceiling. These stones may for convenience be called "interbeams." The bearing of beams and interbeams on the wall was about 0.215 m. as compared with a bearing, in most cases, of 0.36 m. over the columns.

BEAMS AND
INTERBEAMS

On laying out the framework of the ceiling in accordance with the indications thus preserved, it at once becomes clear that there was a beam at each end (north and south), as is

¹ See Ch. IV, Inscription II, col. II, ll. 80-86.

² This fragment could equally well come from the eastern angle of the pediment of the North Portico.

frequently the case, and further, that, contrary to the usual construction, there was no beam on the axis of the temple (Fig. 11).¹

While the evidence of pry holes and dowels shows that over the columns the majority of the beams extended to the frieze, it is also certain that in some cases their bearing on the epistyle was less (PLATE XVII, bottom; Fig. 11). Dowel cuttings in the epistyle show that the first, second, third, fifth, and seventh beams extended to the frieze. There are no remains of dowels for the fourth, sixth, eighth, ninth, and tenth beams, but the dressing of the

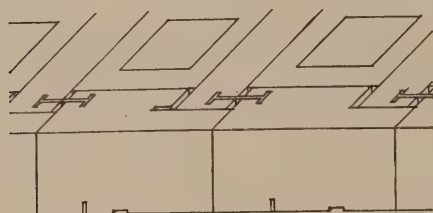


FIGURE 14. EAST PORTICO, CEILING:
INTERBEAMS WITH ELBOW BEHIND
SHORT BEAMS

surface of the epistyle for the sixth indicates that this also was of full length.² Nothing is known about the two northernmost beams, as the back of the northern epistyle block (now in the British Museum) has been cut away. Only two of the interbeams from this side of the ceiling have preserved their north ends, and both have the remains of a projecting elbow on this side at the back, evidently to fill the space between the end of a short beam and the frieze (Fig. 14). It is

clear, therefore, that of the five northern beams at least two, and possibly more, did not reach the frieze. Since the shorter beams were not dowelled at their eastern ends, so far as can be ascertained, it is probable that the interbeams with projecting elbows were laid before the shorter beams to their north. In that case the ceiling was constructed from south to north.

Beams and interbeams were both placed before the frieze, since after the frieze was in position they could not have been dowelled, as they generally were, at their east ends (Fig. 11); moreover, the back of the frieze in some places shows a difference of dressing above and below a line which exactly corresponds with the height of the interbeams over the columns (PLATE IX). This was also the height of the beams, for two of the interbeams have cuttings at their south ends for **H** clamps by which they were secured to the adjacent beams; since the tops of the coffer blocks were at the same level, a continuous surface was thus secured. The presence of a dowel in the upper surface at the north end of an interbeam and of **H** clamps in the top of the frieze shows that the space between the top of the ceiling and the bed of the cornice was filled by a special course of stone, the *ἀντιθήματα* of the inscription,³ laid horizontally. A dowel cutting in the only block of the cornice sufficiently preserved to yield any evidence, shows that the cornice was dowelled to these backers as well as to the frieze.

Only a single fragment (0.60 m. long) of the beams has been identified; it is of character-

¹ The only other instance which has been observed is in the opisthodomos of the Theseum; cf. *A. J. A.*, XV, 1911, pp. 19-22.

² The pry hole east of the fourth beam (PLATE XVII; Fig. 11), is not conclusive evidence that this beam was full length.

³ See Ch. IV, Inscription VIII A, l. 23, and Commentary, p. 349; Fig. 188.

istic Roman work.¹ The interbeams are much better preserved. Six blocks in various stages of dilapidation agree with the traces on the epistyle over the columns (Fig. 15). All are of Greek workmanship but show a slight alteration in connection with later repairs, when the uppermost moulding of the face, probably a bead-and-reel, was cut away, and thereafter worked as a projection from the under surface of the Roman coffer blocks. The block which has been replaced on the building was not put in its original position, which is not certainly known, but at a point where the epistyle offered a firm bed (PLATE IX).

From over the east wall five fragmentary interbeams have survived. In addition to being shallower they are also 0.17 m. lower than those over the columns (PLATE XVI, right).



FIGURE 15. EAST PORTICO, CEILING: INTERBEAM FROM ABOVE
COLUMNS, NOW REPLACED

Two were cut, apparently in Roman times, from a Greek ceiling beam, which presumably had been damaged and rendered useless for its original purpose; both show dowel cuttings of a late type. The three others were newly made in connection with the Roman repairs of the ceiling.

The interbeams preserved vary in length from 0.53 m. to 0.56 m. The original set averaged 0.557 m. in length (PLATE XVIII, right).

The fact that the beams were damaged and replaced makes it probable that the original COFFERS coffer blocks suffered a like fate, and in fact among the many fragments² of coffers (Fig. 16), which by fulfilling the given conditions clearly belong to this ceiling, none shows Greek

¹ The adjective Roman is used throughout this book to describe work done during the Roman period without any implication as to the nationality of the workmen, who were probably Greeks. For the Roman repairs to the Erechtheum see Ch. II, pp. 223 ff.

² One fragment is in the British Museum (*Sculpture*, I, p. 238, No. 417).

workmanship. The conditions are that they shall fit a rectangle 1.516 m. by 0.557 m. (without deducting the projection of the egg-and-dart moulding, 0.032 m., on each side) and that they shall have a bearing surface all around of 0.07 m., measured from the front of the eggs (PLATES XVI, XVIII, 3). A rabbet around the open centre of the coffer shows that a slab

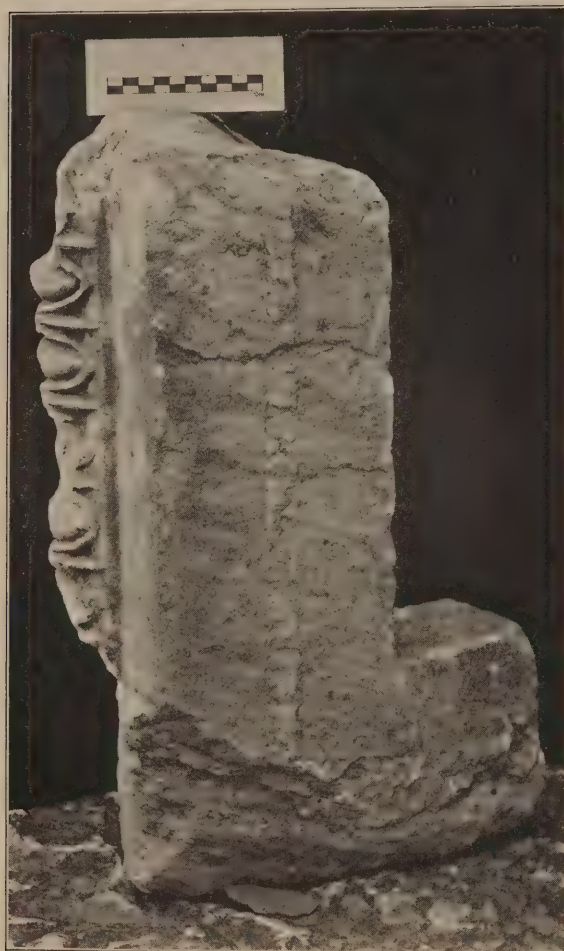


FIGURE 16. EAST PORTICO, CEILING: FRAGMENT OF COFFER (ROMAN)

was inserted to form the ground; such an arrangement made it easier for the workman to carve the egg-and-dart moulding, while from below the effect was that of a solid coffer.¹ In the North Portico and the Porch of the Maidens, where the coffers were solid, the corresponding mouldings were painted, not carved. The space between the coffers varies in different blocks from 0.152 m. to 0.171 m. The height of the stones in which the coffers are cut is that of the rabbet in the beams and interbeams, 0.17 m. No traces of color on the mouldings or forming a fret have been observed.²

IV. THE EAST WALL³

The transformation of the Erechtheum into a church, and the consequent erection of an apse at the east end, led to the disappearance of the east wall between the antae. It will, therefore, be more convenient to describe the latter before considering the reconstruction of the wall itself.

The south anta has never been overthrown. Its axis is vertical, as has already (p. 19) been shown, and on its south face the

ANTAE anta tapers regularly toward the top without entasis. The east face is vertical. The eleven courses average 0.489 m. in height, the greatest variation from this being only 0.002 m.

The north anta, which was complete in 1801, had almost wholly disappeared in 1819,⁴ but was partially rebuilt in 1838, though not all the stones were correctly replaced. The

¹ The coffers in the ceiling of the Theseum had similar lids.

² Cf. Inwood, pl. XX, where a painted decoration is shown. Inwood states in his text (*ed. maj.*, p. 126; *ed. min.*, p. 14 = von Quast, p. 173) that only the smooth surface of the fret was left, and that on the plate the maeander was restored from the coffers of the North Portico.

³ Cf. Gorham Phillips Stevens, 'The East Wall of the Erechtheum,' *A. J. A.*, X, 1906, pp. 47-71.

⁴ Dodwell, *Tour*, I, p. 348; Thürmer, *Ansichten von Athen* (reproduced PLATE LIII, 2).

capital is now in the British Museum,¹ and of the other blocks only two are missing. In 1909 the anta was reconstructed and the stones restored, as far as possible, to their original positions. There are two tests for determining the place in the anta of any given block: the taper, whereby the width of each course, measured on the east face, is 0.0009 m. less than that of the course below; and the system of bonding, which requires that the longer face of the blocks shall be alternately on the east and north sides. The courses preserved

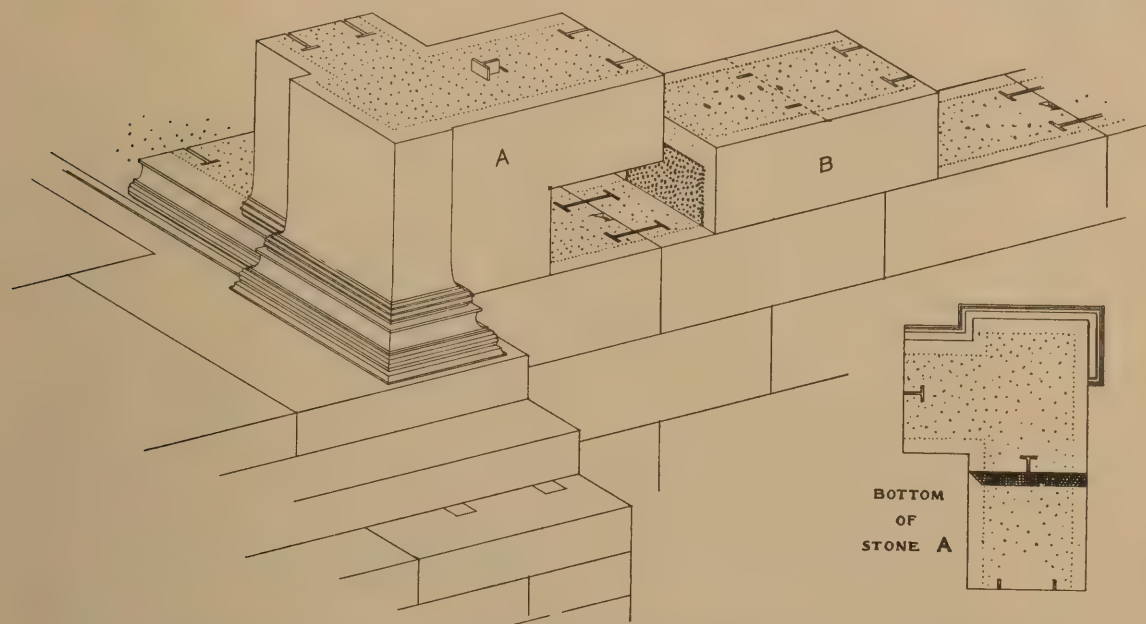


FIGURE 17. EAST PORTICO: NORTH ANTA, SHOWING THE PECULIAR SHAPE GIVEN TO THE ORTHOSTATE: ISOMETRIC

vary little from an average height of 0.487 m., except the fourth from the top (Fig. 19, stone D), which is only 0.48 m. high. In this anta the block which corresponds to the orthostate of the south anta was cut in a peculiar shape (Fig. 17, A), in order that the regularity of the bonding in the north wall might not be disturbed. The stone had been broken and the two pieces separated, but by the aid of plaster impressions the connection of the fragments was assured, and they were correctly replaced, along with the adjoining block, in 1909. A T-dowel, leaded from under the overhanging portion, shows that this block was set before the stone which it overhangs. The latter (Fig. 17, B) is recognizable by the lack of the usual clamps at one end, and by the presence on the upper surface of a series of cuttings like pry holes, apparently to aid in pushing the block into place by means of a crowbar secured to a fulcrum at the western end of A.

The profile of the bases of the columns is repeated on the bases of the antae, but is raised slightly above the stylobate by the insertion of a small additional member (PLATES XVI, XVIII; Fig. 18), in order that the top step and the moulded course below the orthostates

¹ *Br. Mus., Sculpture*, I, p. 236, No. 409. See PLATE XXXVI, 3, 5.

may be equal to a wall course (PLATES V, XVI). The joint in the base falls between the scotia and the upper torus. The lower torus, unlike that of the columns, is reeded. The base moulding of the south anta is continued with a slightly smaller projection (about 0.006 m. less) along the south wall (PLATE XVIII).

WALL The preservation of the antae permits certain conclusions to be drawn as to the construction of the east wall. The orthostates of the antae are placed with the short face to the east, and the distance between them (Fig. 19, X-Y), which can be exactly measured, is



FIGURE 18. EAST PORTICO: BASES OF SOUTH COLUMN
AND ANTA, FROM SOUTH

9.103 m., or seven times 1.30 m. (4 At. ft.), the normal length of the stones used in the other walls of the building and presumably in the east wall also. This presumption is strengthened by the fact that the dowel for securing the base moulding (Fig. 19, at A), which on the south side breaks joints regularly with the orthostates, is 0.65 m. (one-half of 1.30 m.) from X, and that the long stones of the anta, B and C, overhang the shorter ones by the same amount — as is clear from the position of the joint at Y and from the T-dowel in the upper surface of B, — thus implying that the same general system of bonding prevailed here as in other parts of the building. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume in reconstructing the east wall that the unit was a block 1.30 m. in length. In Figure 19 this unit is shown in the epirānitis or wall capital, which may be assumed to have extended, as in the North Portico, from anta to anta without interruption. The orthostates have entirely disappeared, except at the antae, and it is impossible to determine whether they were composed of single blocks, or, as in the north and south walls, of two blocks, each one-half the thickness of the wall.

The beginning of the east wall is preserved on the stones of the antae, and measurements show that it was 0.639 m. thick and without batter, and these peculiarities serve to differentiate its blocks from those belonging to the other walls. Thus the north and south walls are 0.675 m. thick and slope slightly inward (see p. 46), so that both faces of the blocks are inclined; the west wall, which is intact, has the same thickness but the faces are vertical; the cross-walls of the interior, which have disappeared, were 0.65 m. thick and without batter. Moreover, the whole interior of the building seems to have suffered from a fire which severely injured the inner, but not the outer, face of the exterior walls, and undoubtedly both faces of the cross-walls. Simple inspection, therefore, is often sufficient to show whether a block is from an exterior wall, and which is its inner and which its outer face.

Three stones (Fig. 19, E, F, and G; cf. also Figs. 20, 21, 24), found in or about the Erechtheum, while corresponding to the blocks from the east wall in their thickness, absence of batter, and damage by fire on one face only, exhibit also some special peculiarities, which make possible a reconstruction of this part of the temple. The inner face of these stones has been so injured that the width can nowhere be directly measured. It can, however, be ascertained with considerable accuracy by combining the evidence derived from the cuttings for clamps, dowels, and pry holes, which observation shows were placed with a fair degree of symmetry about the axis of a wall.¹ This method gives a width for all three stones but very slightly in excess of 0.639 m., the known thickness of the east wall.

¹ In the following table, column A contains the axial distance between a pair of clamps or dowels; column B twice the distance from the preserved face of the stone to the axis of the nearest clamp or dowel; and column C the sum of these two, or the calculated width of the stone.

STONE E. (Fig. 20)			
	A	B	C
Clamps in upper surface.....	0.373	+ 2(0.142)	= 0.657
Dowels in upper surface.....	0.292	+ 2(0.182)	= 0.656
Dowels in under surface (left).....	0.33	+ 2(0.125)	= 0.63
Dowels in under surface (right).....	0.325	+ 2(0.165)	= 0.655
Twice the distance from face of stone to axis of pry hole ..		2(0.30)	= 0.60
Twice the distance from face of stone to axis of shift hole in bottom (left).....		2(0.32)	= 0.64
Twice the distance from face of stone to axis of shift hole in bottom (right).....		2(0.32)	= 0.64
			4.478
(Average = 0.6397)			
STONE F. (Fig. 21)			
	A	B	C
Clamps in upper surface (right).....	0.282	+ 2(0.175)	= 0.632
Clamps in upper surface (left).....	0.282	+ 2(0.175)	= 0.632
T-dowel in upper surface (centre).....		2(0.323)	= 0.646
Dowels in upper surface (left).....	0.315	+ 2(0.165)	= 0.645
Dowels in under surface (left).....	0.23	+ 2(0.207)	= 0.644
Face of stone to axis of pry hole (1).....		2(0.32)	= 0.64
Face of stone to axis of pry hole (2).....		2(0.32)	= 0.64
Face of stone to axis of pry hole (3).....		2(0.32)	= 0.64
			5.119
(Average = 0.6399)			
STONE G. (Fig. 24)			
	A	B	C
Clamps in upper surface (left).....	0.325	+ 2(0.155)	= 0.635
Dowels in upper surface (right).....	0.33	+ 2(0.159)	= 0.648
Dowels in under surface (right).....	0.31	+ 2(0.165)	= 0.64
Face of stone to axis of pry hole.....		2(0.32)	= 0.64
			2.563
(Average = 0.6407)			

On the front of E (Fig. 20) at the left end is a broad shallow rabbet, of good Greek work-
 door
 manship, with an inclination to the left, as it rises, amounting to 0.003 m. in its height, while on the face of the stone, 0.037 m. to the right of the rabbet, is a distinct line of weathering with slight traces of bronze oxidization. The same sort of rabbet is found about the doors

of the Parthenon, the Propylaea, and other Greek buildings, where the opening was lined with a wooden or metal casing. That E was from the right side of such an opening is confirmed by the absence at its left end of anathyrosis and of cuttings for clamps to secure an adjacent block, and by the presence of a dowel in the upper surface at this point, showing that here the vertical joint was continued on the block

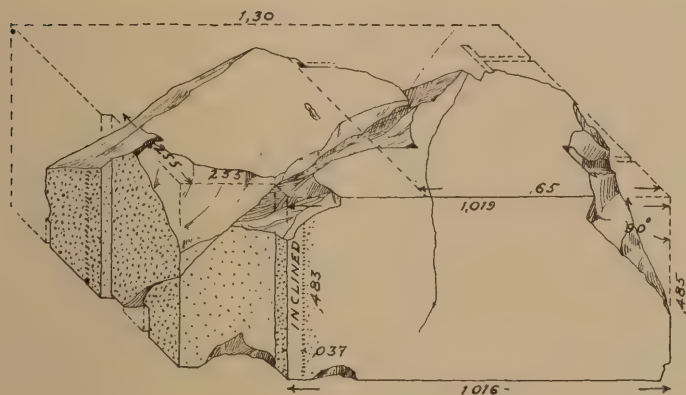


FIGURE 20. EAST WALL: STONE E: ISOMETRIC

above. Assuming for the moment—what will be proved later—that E is from the entrance in the east wall, it must obviously be so placed with reference to the axis of the building that the width of the opening will be appropriate to a door. Such a position is found, if E is separated from a long block of the north anta by a stone of normal length (1.30 m.; see Fig. 19), as then the opening is 2.60 m. wide. If, however, E were assigned to the course above, and placed one-half a block (0.65 m.) nearer the axis of the building, the opening would be diminished by the length of an entire block, and would be much too small (only 1.30 m.), while if the stone were placed half a block farther

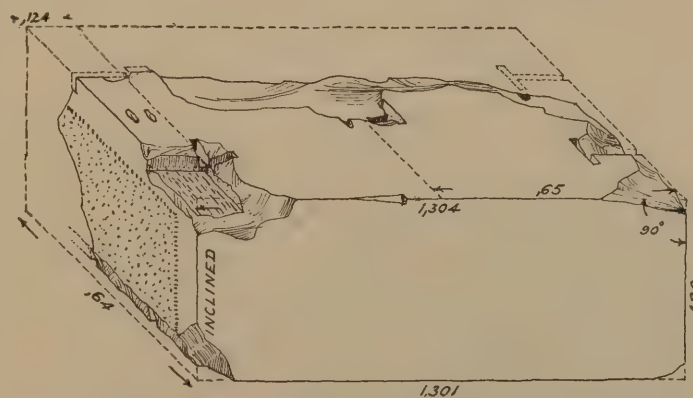


FIGURE 21. EAST WALL: STONE F: ISOMETRIC

from the axis, the increased width (3.90 m.) would be too great. That it is correctly assigned to the eleventh course will be clear when the positions of F and G have been fixed.

The former, F (Figs. 19, 21), is only 0.48 m. high, nearly 0.01 m. lower than the average
 WINDOWS
 stone of the southeast anta. In the centre of its upper surface is a cutting for a T-dowel, by which in a wall the stones of the antae are regularly secured.¹ Therefore in all probability the right end of F adjoined and was clamped to a block of the north anta having its short face to the east, while the block above, with its long face to the east, rested on F and was

¹ See Ch. II, pp. 194 f.

fastened by the T-dowel (Figs. 22, 23).¹ Dowels and pry holes in the upper surface of F show that to the left of the long block was a short one (0.53 m.) and then a stone with a bearing of only 0.124 m. on F. The left end of F is also inclined to the left, as it rises, by 0.003 m. in its height. Such an inclination is not found in an ordinary joint, but is associated with openings in a wall, and when combined with the irregular jointing just described in the course above F, suggests that this stone is from the upper right corner of an opening and

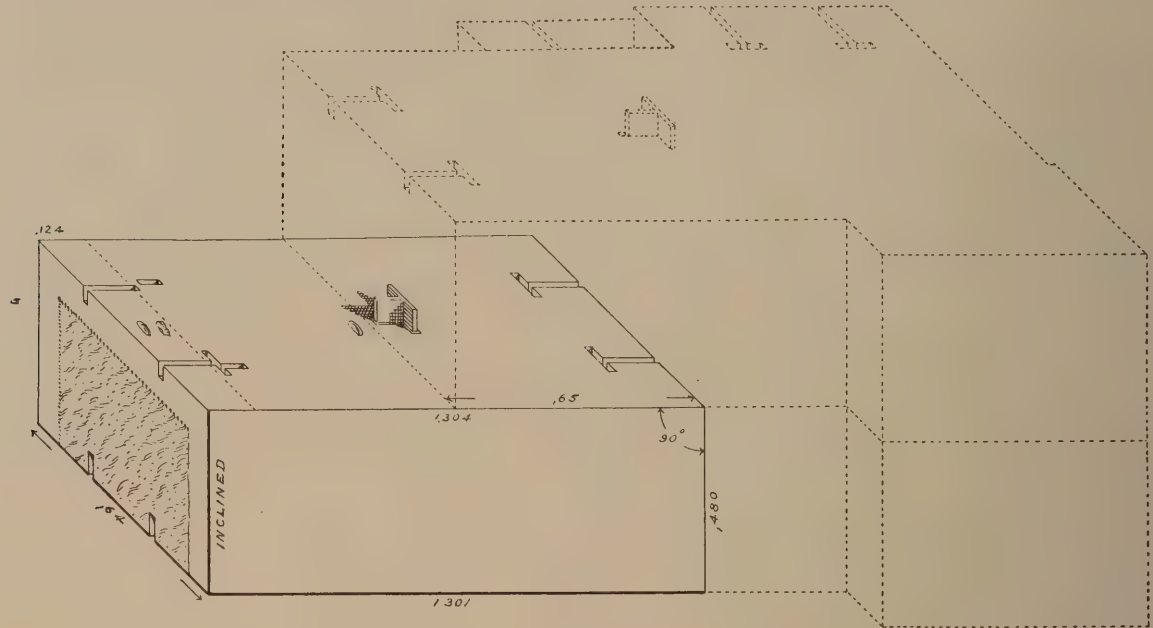


FIGURE 22. EAST WALL: RELATION OF STONE F TO NORTH ANTA: ISOMETRIC

supported the end of the lintel. At the same time, the absence of any sinking for a wooden or metal casing shows that this opening differed from that to which E belonged. In fact clamp cuttings — one of them of peculiar shape² — at the left end of F indicate that here the lining was of stone.

If, as is highly probable, F adjoined a short block of the anta, it might theoretically be assigned to either the second, fourth, sixth, eighth, or tenth course from the top. The second, eighth, and tenth courses may be at once dismissed from consideration, for these blocks of the anta are preserved and are nearly 0.01 m. higher than F. The block from the sixth course is missing, but it will appear later that so low a position for the top of the opening is unlikely. There remains the fourth course, and the probability that F belongs here becomes almost a certainty when it appears that in the anta this course is of the same unusual height (0.48 m.) as F.

¹ The under side of this upper stone, indicated in Figure 22 by dotted lines, is shown in Figure 23.

² Figure 21 at left. It lacks the cross-bar at the end, and may be merely unfinished. The rectangular cutting in the left upper front corner of F is late and probably connected with its use in some Christian or Turkish building.

Dowels and a pry hole in the upper surface of G (Fig. 24) at the right show that like E its vertical face was continued on the block above, and here too the departure from the regular system of jointing suggests the side of an opening. This inference is confirmed by the inclination of this edge of G toward the right, as it rises, at the rate of 0.003 m. per course. The absence of any sinking on the outer surface indicates that the opening resembled that to which F belonged, and the rabbet of good Greek workmanship in the lower half of the right end of G naturally suggests the presence of a sill at the bottom of such an opening.

Obviously G does not come from the same side of the same opening as F, but in view of the symmetry which normally appears in the vertical joints of the front wall of a temple, we

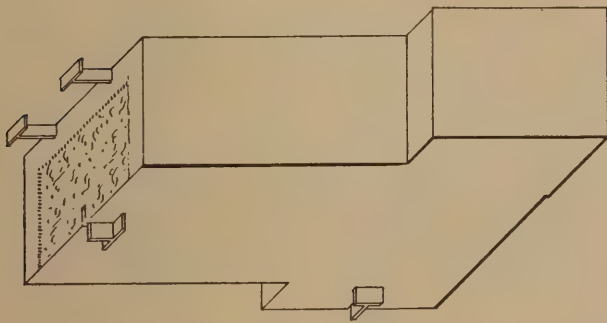


FIGURE 23. EAST WALL: UNDER SIDE OF BLOCK FROM NORTH ANTA, RESTORED: ISOMETRIC

This block is indicated by dotted lines in Figure 22



FIGURE 24. EAST WALL: STONE G: ISOMETRIC

may assume that a stone similar to G, but with its sides reversed (Fig. 19, J), once existed on the same side of the opening as F. It is also obvious that if the amount by which the top of F projects beyond the top of J (0.015 m.)¹ is divided by the inclination per course (0.003 m.), the quotient, five, will be the number of courses separating the tops of the two stones, and since J is from the bottom, the total height of the opening, disregarding the sill, will be six courses. Such a height (2.95 m.) is clearly more appropriate to a window than to an important door in such a temple as the Erechtheum.² It follows that G, or its counterpart J, adjoined a long block of the anta, which, if F has been correctly placed in the fourth course, can be only in the ninth. If F were assigned to the sixth course, J would fall in the eleventh, but this is impossible because of the presence of E, which cannot be placed in a higher course without interfering with the window. As the side of the window, determined by F and J, practically aligns with a joint in the wall, it is natural, in view of the symmetry displayed elsewhere in the building, to suppose that the other side did the same, and that the axis of

¹ Length of F at top (1.304 m.) less one-half a wall block (0.65 m.)	= 0.654 m.
Length of J at top	= 0.639 m.
Projection of F beyond J	= 0.015 m.

² The west and south doors are respectively 2.70 m. and 2.213 m. high, but both are of secondary importance. The height of the North Door is 4.882 m.

the window coincided with that of the stone below. The width of the window could not have been greater than an ordinary wall unit (1.30 m.), for the known side of the window is separated by only one unit and a half from the side of the door fixed by E, while the alternative, a width of one-half a unit (0.65 m.) is too small to be seriously considered.

The results thus far obtained (Fig. 19) show that the east wall was pierced by three openings — a central door of known width but of unknown height, and two windows of known width (exclusive of the framing) and height, symmetrically placed on either side of the door, and much closer to it than to the antae.

WINDOW
LININGS

These results are confirmed and further reconstruction made possible by a study of certain well-known fragments found on the Acropolis and obviously once part of the lining about an opening in a wall. Since the time of Inwood it has been generally assumed that these fragments came from the Erechtheum, to which indeed the rich decoration and delicate carving, as well as the character and dimensions of the cuttings for clamps and dowels, naturally assign them.

As to the opening, however, to which these fragments belonged, there has been no such general agreement. Inwood referred them tentatively to the east door, and in this was followed by the catalogue of the British Museum. Schultz made a like proposal with rather more confidence. Middleton preferred to assign them to the small door in the west wall and his notebooks are full of data to support this view. Bötticher, who found several fragments in the interior of the Erechtheum, seems to have been alone in regarding them as part of a moulding belonging to a podium for columns inside the temple.¹

Careful search on and about the Acropolis has considerably increased the number of these fragments. There are now twenty-one pieces in all; one is in the British Museum,² and until 1905 two others were embedded in the foundations for the division between nave and aisles in the Christian church constructed within the Erechtheum — an interesting fact, as it shows that the pieces had been removed from their original place at the time when the church was built. Six of these fragments are recognizable as belonging to lintels, while the other fifteen are from jambs.

The direction of the guilloche is a criterion for the further division of the fragments into two groups. One group is formed of a fragment of lintel (Figs. 25, 28) from the left upper corner of an opening, and twelve fragments of jamb, including a bottom piece and two top pieces. With the bottom piece — easily recognized as such by the way in which the pressure is relieved from the delicate mouldings (PLATE XVIII, 1; Fig. 27) — can be combined three other fragments of jamb, including that in the British Museum, with a total length

¹ Inwood, *ed. min.*, p. 15, pl. XX (Von Quast, p. 175, pl. XV). *Br. Mus., Sculpture*, I, p. 238, No. 418. Schultz, *J. H. S.*, XII, 1891, pp. 4 ff., fig. 3. Middleton, *Athenian Buildings*, p. 13, XXII; pl. XVII. Bötticher, *Untersuchungen*, p. 194: "Ausser zweien Kapitellen der innern Säulen fanden sich nach und nach gegen 14 lauf. Fuss von der Spira des Podiums auf welchen dieselben ehemals standen."

² Sir Cecil Smith, in 1905 Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, kindly sent on request a cast of this fragment, which proved to have adjoined the longest piece in Athens. The cast is now in the museum on the Acropolis.

of 2.02 m. With one of the top pieces of this group, marked as such by the clamp cutting (PLATE XVIII, 1; Fig. 27),¹ can similarly be combined five other fragments of jamb, with a total length of 2.04 m. The other group, in which the direction of the guilloche is reversed, is smaller, consisting of a corner of the lintel, also from the left side of an opening (Fig. 26), and three fragments of jamb, no one of which can be united to either of the others. There are four small fragments of lintel which cannot be referred specifically to one of these two groups, as the guilloche is not preserved. They do, however, assist in the restoration



FIGURE 25. EAST WALL: LEFT END OF LINTEL FROM SOUTH WINDOW

of a vertical section through the lintel. As each group contains a fragment from the left-hand corner of a lintel, both cannot come from a single door or window² but must be divided between at least two similar openings.

In all the fragments from the jambs which have the outer edge preserved, there is a rabbet (PLATE XVIII, 1; Fig. 27), so that the outer moulding may hide the vertical joint at the side of the jamb. As the orthostates project 0.01 m. beyond the face of the wall above (PLATE XVI), it follows that if the lower part of the jamb had overlapped this course, its rabbet must have had a different horizontal section from the part higher up. This section, however, is the same in the fragments from the bottom and from the top of the jamb. Therefore these fragments cannot have come from an opening for a door, which must have passed through the orthostates, though they may have belonged to windows entirely above this course.

It remains to determine from a study of these fragments the dimensions of the openings which they lined, and to compare these dimensions with those already deduced for the windows in the east wall.

¹ It may be regarded as certain that, as in the North Door, the jambs were each formed of a single block; consequently a clamp can be only at the top.

² The possibility that one group is from the inside and the other from the outside of the same opening is excluded, because some of the fragments must then have come back to back, and the aggregate thickness would be greater than is permitted by the wall; moreover, the mouldings show no trace of damage by fire. It was also the usual Greek practice to enrich the outside of an opening, while leaving the inside with little or no adornment.

The fragments from both the top and the bottom of the jamb (PLATE XVIII, 1; Fig. 27), when tested by the steel square, show that the lining to which they belonged, as it rose, was inclined toward the axis of the opening at the rate of 0.003 m. per wall course, thus agreeing with the inclination of the east windows as measured on the stones F and G.

The original width of the larger fragment from the lintel, which is so badly damaged that no direct measurement is possible, can be determined by the method used in the case



FIGURE 26. EAST WALL: LEFT UPPER CORNER OF NORTH LINTEL

of the stones E, F, and G,¹ as approximately 0.64 m., only a millimetre greater than the measured thickness of the east wall. Its width, therefore, is no obstacle to assigning this stone to a window in the east wall.

	A	B	C
¹ Dowels in upper surface	0.276	+ 2(0.182)	= 0.64
Pry holes		2(0.32)	= 0.64
			1.28
Approximate width			= 0.64

The bottom surface of both lintels is missing, but the following considerations indicate that their original height was that of a normal course in the wall. A fragment from the top of a jamb, which is proved by a clamp in its upper surface to have aligned with a joint in the wall, shows that a tongue of the Lesbian cyma fell on the joint between jamb and lintel. From the spacing of this ornament on the lintel it appears that a tongue will fall at this point, if the lintel is one course (0.491 m.) in height, but not if it is two courses (Fig. 27).

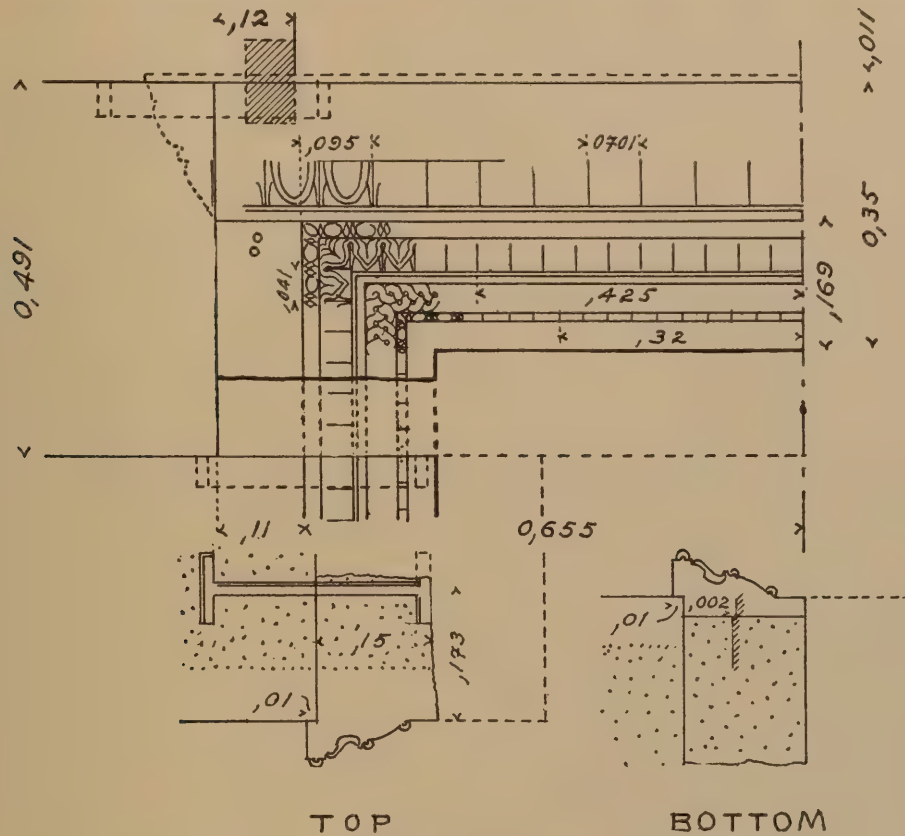


FIGURE 27. EAST WALL: ABOVE: ELEVATION OF LEFT HALF OF LINTEL OF SOUTH WINDOW, WITH INDICATION OF AXES OF ORNAMENT. BELOW: PLANS OF TOP AND BOTTOM OF JAMB OF WINDOW

Moreover the largest fragment of lintel (Figs. 25, 28) has at the left a cutting where a console was attached by two bronze plugs.¹ This console was 0.12 m. wide, one-half the width of the console at the North Door, where the lintel was two courses high, and thus harmonized with the lower lintel indicated by the ornament.

The dowels and pry holes on the upper surface of this same fragment show that the stone which they held overlapped the lintel about 0.12 m. (Figs. 27, 28). The bearing of the lintel on the stone below was presumably the same, since the alternate joints in the wall corre-

¹ One of these consoles is mentioned in the inscription; see Ch. IV, Inscription II, col. II, l. 93, and Commentary, p. 317.

spond (Fig. 19). This recalls the bearing of 0.124 m. assigned to the lintel on stone F, and also permits the lintel to be combined with the regular blocks of the wall (Fig. 29).

The axis of the lintel may be determined from three of its bands of ornament — the egg-and-dart, the leaf-and-tongue, and the bead-and-reel — for, as the elements of these ornaments are contained an exact number of times in each band, all the ornamentation must have been symmetrical about the axis of the lintel. Consequently when, on laying off the several axial distances, it appears that all three coincide at a distance of 0.655 m. from

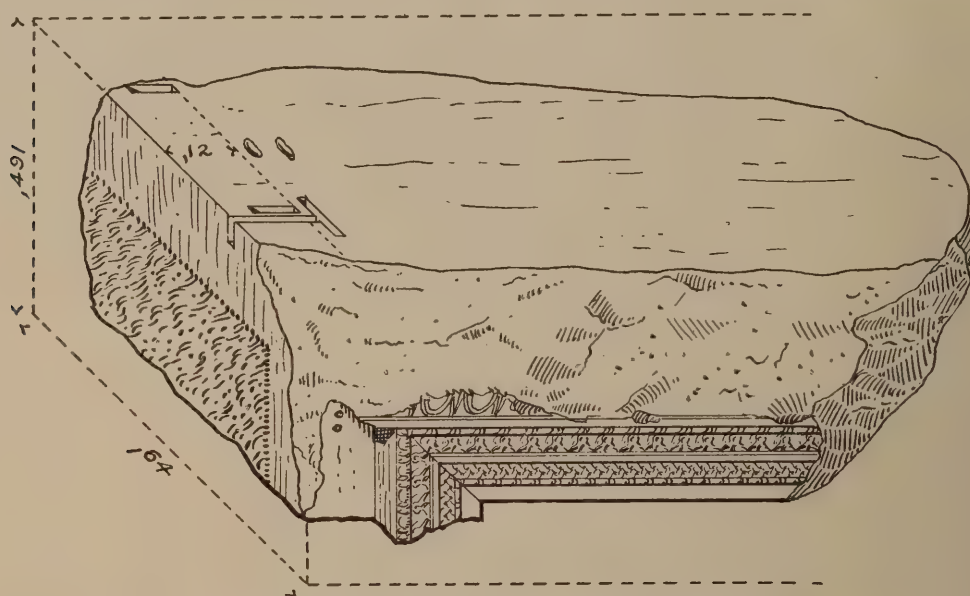


FIGURE 28. EAST WALL: LEFT END OF LINTEL FROM SOUTH WINDOW: ISOMETRIC

the sinking for the console and only here (Fig. 27), it is reasonable to conclude that this point marks the axis of the lintel and also of the opening below. The axis thus determined for the lintel and its window coincides exactly with the axis already indicated for the windows of the east wall, due allowance being made for the inclination of the linings and for their overlap on the blocks of the wall.

The total height of the openings in the east wall, from the top of the sill to the underside of the lintel, is 2.709 m. according to the evidence of stones F and G. On the longest fragment preserved twenty-one leaves have a length of 0.89 m. A tongue fell on the joint with the lintel, and the fragment from the bottom shows that another tongue was 0.08 m. above the base, where the jamb rested on the sill. The space between these two tongues (2.709 m.-0.08 m.) is 2.629 m., and this is exactly filled by sixty-two leaves.

This would seem to complete the proof that the fragments of lining belonged to two windows of the height, width, and inclination of those deduced for the east wall from the data furnished by stones E, F, and G; that they corresponded in thickness with the east wall; and that they fitted such stones of this wall as are preserved. The complete agree-

ment in the results derived from such various sources fully justifies the reconstruction presented in PLATE XVII. The similarity in the design of these windows and that of the large door in the North Portico is worthy of remark. Each has a broad framing which runs up one side, across the top, and down the other side. In each the consoles are recessed from the framing and dowelled to the wall — not a part of it — and in each the consoles apparently support the uppermost set of architectural mouldings. It is easy to believe that the door and the windows were designed by the same man.

The width of the large door in the east wall renders it almost certain that its lintel, like those of the other doors in the building, was two courses high. It can hardly have interrupted the band of ornament carved on the epicranitis, nor is it likely that the top of the door was lower than that of the windows; but, assuming that the tops of the three openings were at the same level, it appears that a lintel of the given height exactly fills the space remaining below the epicranitis, and that the opening for the door, when due allowance is made for the necessary lining, is twice as high as it is wide (PLATE XVII, top) — a ratio found also in the great North Door and much used by Greek architects. The mouldings of the jambs were probably continued across the lintel and the whole frame given a crowning member, which was presumably at least as high as the mouldings on the lintels of the windows. In view of the proximity of the latter, however, the use of some other material than marble seems required for the framing of the door, if it were to be an effective part of the decoration. Stone jambs and stone consoles, such as appear in the North Portico, would here have seemed to crowd the similar framing of the windows. Hence a lining of bronze, or of wood sheathed with bronze, already suggested by the traces on stone E, is also indicated by considerations of architectural propriety. A similar difference in treatment between a door and flanking windows is found in the façade of the northwest wing of the Propylaea.¹

If the under surfaces of the three lintels were on the same line, the course to which they belonged was the first above the sill of the door to run across the wall without a break, and therefore the first in which the stones at the north and south ends of the wall must align exactly with one another. If in the independent construction of these two ends the wall on the north had reached a slightly greater height than that on the south,² it would be necessary to cut down this excess in the course on which the lintels rested, and it is now easy to see why stones D and F were so much below the average height.

The cuttings at the left in the upper surface of the largest fragment from a lintel (Fig. 28) show that at this end it was secured to an adjoining block by a  clamp, and to an overlapping one in the course above by two dowels (p. 41). Such a combination of fastenings implies that the lintel was here in contact with the regular courses of the wall and not with a central lintel two courses high, or, in other words, that it belonged to the southern window.

¹ Bohn, *Propylaeen*, pl. IX.

² Similar irregularities in the height of courses on opposite sides of an opening are found in the doorway leading from the Porch of the Maidens into the temple (PLATE XII) and in the entrance to the Pandroseum from the North Portico (PLATE VII); see also Ch. II, pp. 222 f.

Hence the first group of fragments (p. 38) is from this window, while the smaller group must be assigned to the other (Fig. 29).¹

The under sides of the lintels and the reveals of the vertical linings show a finish very inferior to the best Greek work, and this indicates that the original surface has been cut away. The position of the joint between the jamb and the lintel (Fig. 27) points to the same conclusion, as it would naturally have been in line with the lower edge of the lintel, which is now cut back from it. These conditions are intelligible, if the surface had been marred by flames bursting through the windows and calcining the marble with which they came in contact, since the damage could be easily and economically repaired by cutting away the injured portions and lining the reveals with marble slabs or with wood sheathed in bronze. No portions of the stone sills themselves have been found. As four jambs rested on these sills, it may be possible to recover the complete profile of the jambs, if the sills can be identified. Their height was 0.221 m. (Fig. 27).

The relation of the three openings in the east wall to the whole façade and to each other is shown in PLATES XIII and XVII. It is clear that the windows could not well be placed nearer the door, while at a greater distance from it they would be deprived of light and partially hidden by the columns immediately in front of them. In spite of this asymmetry with reference to the intercolumniation the general effect would not be disagreeable, inasmuch as the columns and the wall, being in different planes, would always be seen in perspective.² Thus tall, narrow windows, harmonizing with the vertical note set by the columns of the portico, and placed near the door, seem to afford the best possible solution of the problem here presented.³

None of the epicranitis from the east wall has been identified,⁴ but there are three fragments of the epistyle which can be easily recognized by the dressing on the upper surface EPISTYLE for the beams and interbeams of the ceiling of the East Portico and by the cuttings for the dowels which held these stones. Two of these fragments form part of the wall separating the north aisle of the church from the nave (PLATES II, XXXI; Fig. 101); the third now (1924) lies near the wall of the Acropolis north of the North Portico. All are about one-half the thickness of the east wall, but the dressing on the rear surfaces, so far as it can be seen, is rough and apparently not Greek, while the two blocks in the church wall show traces of the Roman  clamps by which they were held to a backing. Only about 0.40 m. of the upper surface of the third block is preserved; it contains no Roman cuttings. It is probable, then,

¹ In this figure the position given to the fragments of jamb which are not from the top or bottom merely shows the window to which they belong, as the exact location cannot be determined in every case.

² See also the remarks of Elderkin, *Problems in Periclean Buildings*, p. 5, and fig. 7.

³ Bötticher assumed the presence of windows in the east wall (*Tektonik der Hellenen*, Atlas, pl. XLI) and was followed in this conjecture, though with considerable hesitation, by Julius (*Erechtheion*, p. 22; cf. Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, s. v. 'Erechtheion').

⁴ In *Br. Mus., Sculpture*, I, p. 236, No. 409, the three blocks of epicranitis in the Museum are tentatively assigned to the east wall on account of their excellent preservation. As all the known fragments of this wall have been used in later buildings and much damaged, this argument seems of doubtful validity, and it is more probable that these are three of the blocks seen on the south wall by Dalton (PLATE L, 1) and other travellers in the eighteenth century.

that here, as on the side walls, the inner face of the epistyle had been damaged by fire and was replaced during the Roman repairs. One of the fragments is clearly proved to belong at the north end of the wall by the characteristic mitring of its two upper fasciae and the moulding where they intersected the corresponding parts of the epistyle on the north side of the portico. The longer of the other two fragments has preserved its north end and the shorter its south, so that the position of each (Fig. 11; indicated by diagonals in Figure 19) can be determined experimentally. The unbroken end of each piece was tested successively on the axis of each block of the epicranitis below, and an examination made to see whether the traces of the beams on the fragment coincided with the actual position of the beams as known from the epistyle over the columns (Fig. 11). For the shorter fragment there was found to be but one place where this condition was fulfilled. The longer block cannot have adjoined the shorter on the south, since the cuttings for  clamps do not correspond. The traces of the beams are not so distinct as to enable its position to be fixed with perfect certainty. If, however, the total distance was covered, as seems reasonable, by two blocks of the normal length (eight Attic feet) in the centre, with a shorter block to the south (as is proved by the position of the smaller fragment) and a longer to the north, this fragment must be from the northern end of one of the two central blocks.

The profiles of the epicranitis and of the epistyle in the interior of the building, though shown by dotted lines on PLATE XVI, are not preserved at the east end. The former has been restored from the mouldings in the niche at the southwest corner; the latter from the fragment preserved on the inner face of a Roman block at the north corner of the West Façade (PLATE X).

V. THE NORTH AND SOUTH WALLS

It has been already stated (p. 34) that the north and south walls are inclined slightly inward. This inclination may be easily and exactly measured at the eastern antae. Since the axis of the anta is vertical (p. 30), half the difference between the width of the anta above the orthostate and its width below the mouldings of the capital is the inclination of one of its sides in the given distance, i. e., in ten courses; moreover, the projection of the side of the anta from the outer face of the adjacent wall is greater at the top than at the bottom of these courses. Therefore the difference between these projections added to the inclination of the side of the anta will yield the inclination of the wall. By this method the inclination of the south wall is found to be 0.0115 m. in ten courses (PLATE XVIII),¹ and

¹ Width of anta above orthostate	= 0.692 m.
Width of anta below capital	= <u>0.681 m.</u>
Difference	= 0.011 m.
Inclination of south face of anta	= 0.0055 m.
Projection of anta from wall below capital	= 0.025 m.
Projection of anta from wall above orthostate	= <u>0.019 m.</u>
Difference	= 0.006 m.
Inclination of south wall in ten courses	= 0.0115 m.
The figures are given on PLATE XVIII.	

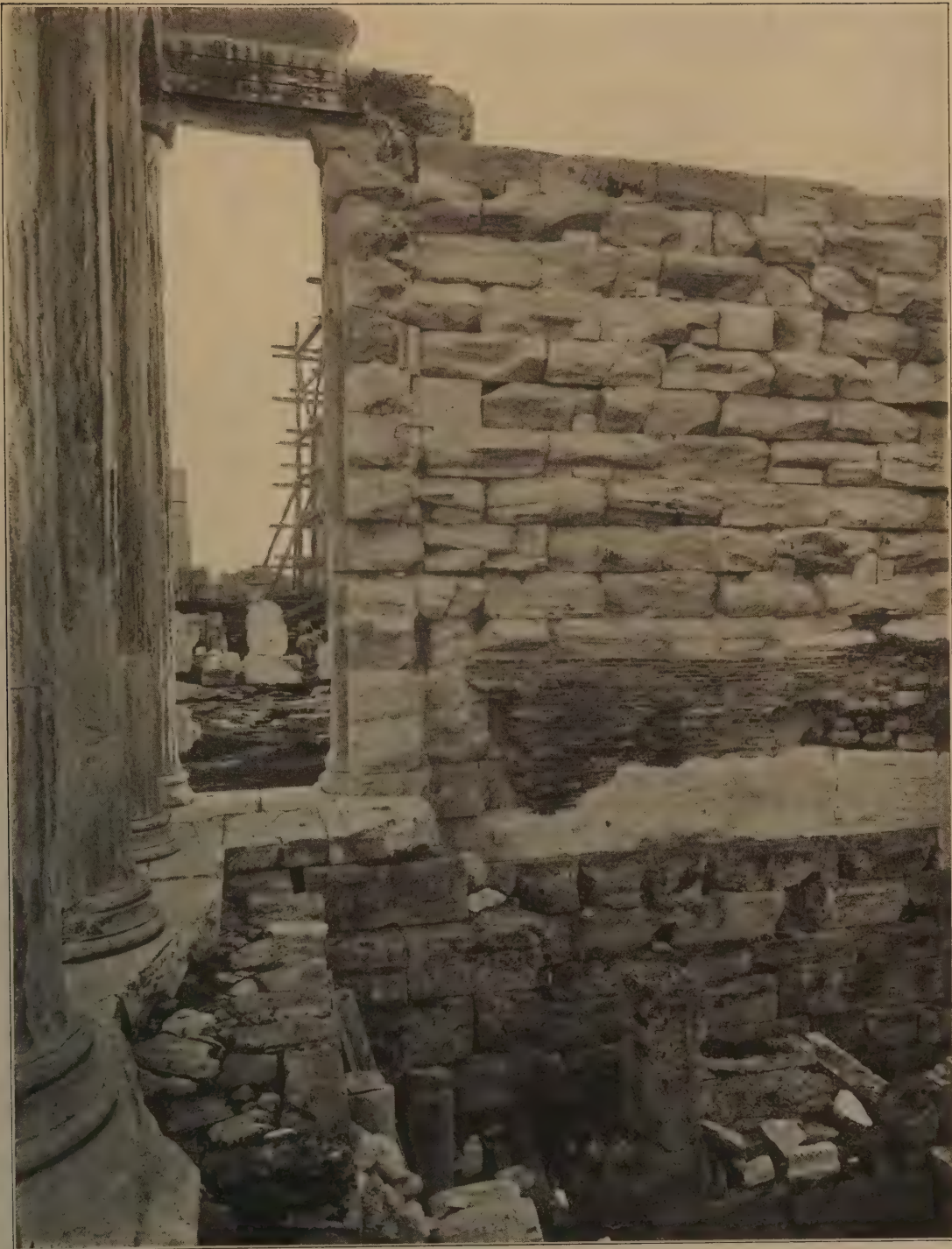


FIGURE 30. SOUTH WALL: EAST END, INSIDE, FROM NORTHEAST (1922)

that of the north wall, as far as the North Portico, to be practically the same (0.0105 m.). In the North Portico, as measured at the southwest pier, the inclination is 0.02 m. in ten courses.

ORTHO-
STATES

The orthostates in these walls were generally only one-half the thickness of the wall. In the south wall this is obviously true of those which are visible on the outside, as their backing has wholly disappeared (PLATE XII; Figs. 30, 100),¹ and it is also proved for those on the inside in the lower part of the western half of the wall by the presence in their upper surface of clamps which secure them to concealed blocks behind.² Similar clamps in the orthostates of the north wall, and differences in the grain of the marble on corresponding interior and exterior faces show conclusively that here too the same conditions prevail. The orthostates belonging to the eastern antae and those adjacent to the north and south doors are, however, of the full thickness of the wall.

PLINTHS

The ordinary blocks (*πλίνθοι*) extend completely through the walls, except in the following cases. The steps, base moulding, and orthostates on the exterior of the south wall were backed on the interior by four courses of ordinary height (courses 12–15, PLATE XII; Fig. 31), in order that the system of jointing begun in the lower part of the wall might remain undisturbed. The two courses behind the orthostates (12, 13) were of half the usual thickness, while courses 14 and 15 were L-shaped, being more than half the thickness of the wall behind the upper and lower steps, respectively, but less than half behind the base moulding and the middle step (Fig. 31). Courses 12 and 13 no longer exist, and their place is largely filled by a brick lining inserted by Pittakis about 1838 (Fig. 30). It is certain, however, that the backing was originally composed of two separate courses and not of interior orthostates; for, when in 1914 portions of the bricks were removed, the orthostate of the anta was found to have at its west end anathyrosis and a cutting for a horizontal dowel or clamp,³ 0.49–0.41 m. from its bottom, where a block of about half its height was fastened, while 4.75 m. west of the east face of the east anta were a dowel and pry holes in course 14, and 0.65 m. farther west a cutting for a clamp in the north face of the orthostate, all properly placed to secure two other blocks in course 13 (PLATE XII). In both courses 16 and 17 the easternmost marble block is less than the usual thickness of the wall.

Behind the roof of the Porch of the Maidens was a single course one-half the thickness of the wall, except in the niche where it was reduced to thin slabs (p. 114; PLATE XXVIII). Two thin slabs, each two courses high, were also employed on the inside as a facing for the lintel over the south door (PLATE XII; Fig. 99). The smaller slab has remained in place; the larger has disappeared.

¹ This backing had disappeared before 1818. J. Woods, *Letters of an Architect*, II, p. 255: "The sort of dado course above the base is, or was, two thicknesses set on edge. The inner slabs have been taken away, so that it is wonderful the wall stands."

² The east orthostate of the south wall is 0.372 m. thick at its east end. The others are presumably similar.

³ The clamp used seems to have been of a special shape, having a hook at the end inserted in the orthostates, instead of the usual crossbar (Fig. 31).

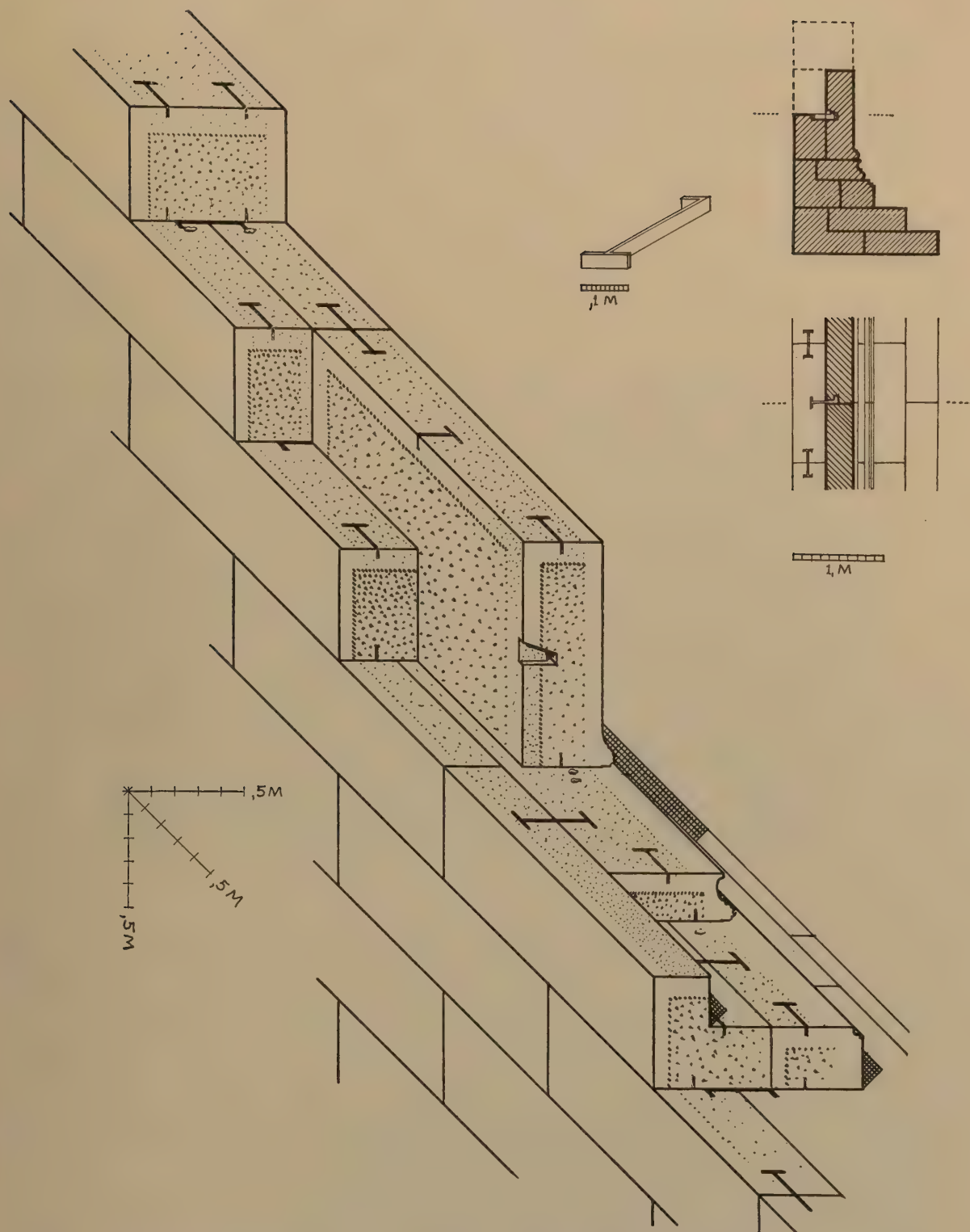


FIGURE 31. SOUTH WALL, COURSES 11-15: ISOMETRIC. SECTION THROUGH EAST ORTHOSTATE AND STEPS.
PLAN OF SAME. FORM OF CLAMP USED TO ATTACH LOWER COURSE OF BACKING TO ORTHOSTATES

In the north wall two thin courses of ordinary height masked the ceiling of the North Portico (p. 87). A small part of this sheathing is still in place behind the southeast corner of the portico (PLATE XI; Figs. 32, 55), and further evidence of its existence is preserved on a block near the west end now concealed by a new stone.

Contrary to the usual Greek custom the blocks which are two courses in height have not been dressed with a smooth horizontal band across the centre of the inner surface to correspond with the anathyrosis on the backs of the abutting stones.

EPICRA-
NITIS

Except where it was hidden by the roof of the North Portico, the epicranitis was decorated on the outside with carved mouldings and an ornamental band of palmettes and



FIGURE 32. NORTH WALL: UPPER COURSES BEHIND NORTH PORTICO, FROM SOUTH

flowers; on the inside the moulding at the top seems to have been painted. Originally there were twenty-eight of these carved blocks, each four Attic feet long, on the east, north, and south walls. Of these three are preserved in the British Museum, and one is in the Glyptothek at Munich,¹ while in Athens ten are complete or nearly so, and three more have been pieced together from scattered fragments. Hence eleven blocks are altogether missing or represented only by small pieces. In the rebuilding of the south wall in 1907-08 the blocks of this course were replaced without reference to their original positions, which indeed could

¹ *Br. Mus., Sculpture*, I, p. 236, No. 409; they are described under the same number as the northeast anta: see also above, p. 45, note 4. Munich, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*,² No. 242. This block came from the collection of Haller von Hallerstein, who refers to it as "le beau fragment du Temple d'Erechtée" in a letter to Fauvel of October 10, 1815 (Bibl. Nat., MSS, *Fonds fr.*, 22875, fol. 3). Haller reported the purchase of this block to the Crown-Prince Ludwig of Bavaria on June 12, 1812 (letter of March 12, 1813, in *Z. bild. Kunst*, XII, 1877, p. 193). According to Thiersch (*Erechtheum*, II, p. 215) it was found originally in a Turkish garden.

not be definitely ascertained except at the west end, where a fragment of the corner block, including the capital of the southwest anta, was *in situ* (Fig. 109), so that the other pieces of this block could be fitted together and the whole restored with certainty (Fig. 33). On the north wall, only the seven blocks behind the North Portico (Fig. 34) were in place in 1789,¹ and of these the four at the west end fell when the portico was partially destroyed in 1827 (p. 558). They have since been replaced in their original positions, the second from the west by Pittakis in 1838,² the other three during the restoration of the North Portico in 1903–1904. The corner block is Greek, for it contains a pry hole and cutting for a Greek dowel, but Roman  clamps held it to the Roman capital of the northwest anta and to the adjoining block on the north wall, and a Roman dowel secured the north block of the Roman west architrave (PLATE XX, 7, 8). The second and third blocks are Roman, as is clear

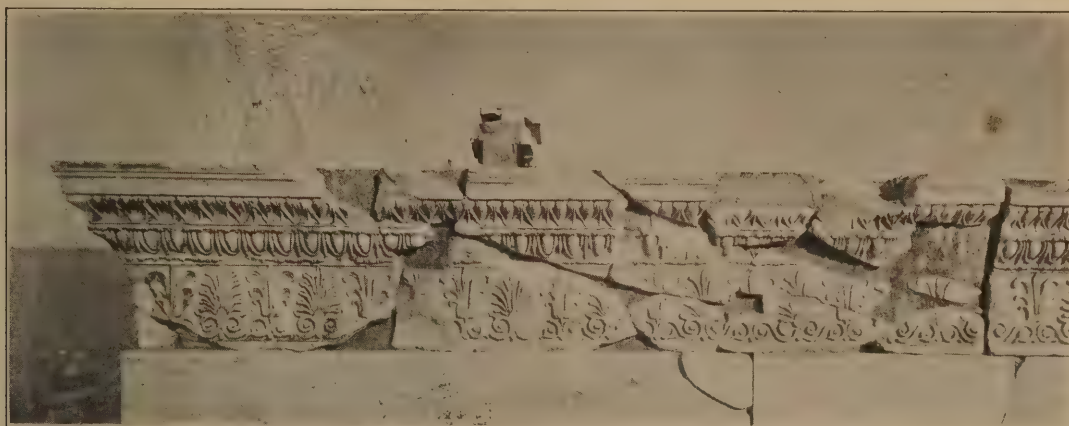


FIGURE 33. SOUTH WALL: EPICRANITIS AT WEST END (1922)

from the absence of cuttings for Greek dowels and clamps and from the presence of Roman lewis holes and cuttings for  clamps. Since the central beam of the ceiling in the portico and the interbeam to the west of it are Roman (p. 87), it is natural that the blocks above should also be Roman. The fourth block is shown to be Greek by two pry holes and a cutting for a Greek dowel, but its unusual length (only 0.512 m.) suggests that it was cut away on the west to facilitate the repairs on the course below. The next three blocks are Greek and have apparently always remained in their present position (Fig. 55).³ The easternmost

¹ This is clear from Fauvel's elevation of the inside of the north wall, Bibl. Nat., Estampes, G b. 15a, fol. 13. See Ch. V, pp. 546 f.

² *Report Gr. Comm.* § 17; pl. IV.

³ See Tétaz, *R. Arch.*, VIII, 1851, pl. 158, iv (from drawing in his *Mémoire explicatif*); *Report Gr. Comm.*, pl. IV. The position of the eastern block is assured by the bit of uncarved moulding on its north face (PLATE V). Farther east the epicranitis would have had the usual carved mouldings and the anthemion; farther west the north face would have been plain, since it would have been hidden by the roof of the portico. In the top of course 2 near the eastern end of this block and running under its south side are two cuttings which resemble Roman pour channels. If this is really their nature, they show that this block of the epicranitis was reset during the Roman repairs. Correspondence in the cuttings for a  clamp in the west end of this block and in the east end of the block adjoining proves that the latter also is in its old place. The third block, strangely enough, is not clamped to either of its neighbors, but as it is dowelled at its east end to the interbeam below (PLATE XI), there is no reason to doubt that it too has remained *in situ*.

block of all (PLATES V, XI; not shown in Fig. 34) is the back of one of the blocks in the British Museum.¹ If, as seems probable, the blocks chosen for Lord Elgin were those which appear on the south wall in the early drawings (PLATES L, 1, LI, 2), the original position of this block was probably a little east of the centre of that wall.² According to the Chandler inscription the stones of this course were three Attic feet in width,³ but the blocks in Athens⁴ are as a rule only about half the thickness of the wall or a little more. The present rear surface, moreover, shows unmistakable Roman dressing, and on the tops are cuttings for  clamps which secured the new backing (Figs. 34, 35). The absence of such clamps from the ends indicates that when, probably on account of a great fire, it became necessary to replace the original inner face, the repairs were made without removing the stones from the wall.⁵ As similar repairs were apparently necessary on the course above, the operation would not have been very difficult.

EPISTYLE

The epistylia from the north and south walls have for the most part disappeared. One block (3.367 m. long by 0.77 m. wide, upper moulding included) is still in place at the southeast corner (Fig. 11); another (2.608 m. long by 0.37 m. wide), unbroken, stands at the east end in the apse of the church (Fig. 4); a third (2.575 m. long by about 0.275 m. wide), broken at both ends, is in the British Museum (*Sculpture*, I, p. 237, No. 414); and three fragments of a fourth (about 1.55 m. long by 0.405 m. wide) lie west of the Erechtheum. This course, like the epicranitis, has been reduced from its original width by removing the inner face. This is clearly proved by the stone *in situ*, which at

¹ On this cutting down of the epicranitis (cornice), see Ch. V, p. 553, note 3.

² In 1908 this block was placed on the south wall next to the west corner, but was later transferred to its present position and its place above the Porch of the Maidens given to the remarkably well preserved block which had previously been exhibited in the Acropolis Museum (PLATE XXXVII, 1).

³ See Ch. IV, Inscription II, col. I, l. 17.

⁴ The block in Munich is set into the wall, so that its thickness cannot be measured, but unless it is very deeply embedded, it cannot have preserved its original back. The blocks in the British Museum have certainly been cut down, but this may have been done to render them more portable. The backs cannot be examined.

⁵ That this renewal of the epicranitis was connected with the other Roman repairs is shown by the condition of the blocks at the west end of the north wall (Fig. 34). The two Roman blocks were the full thickness of the wall, but of the four Greek blocks the two at the east have had the entire back replaced, while the other two have been given new mouldings.

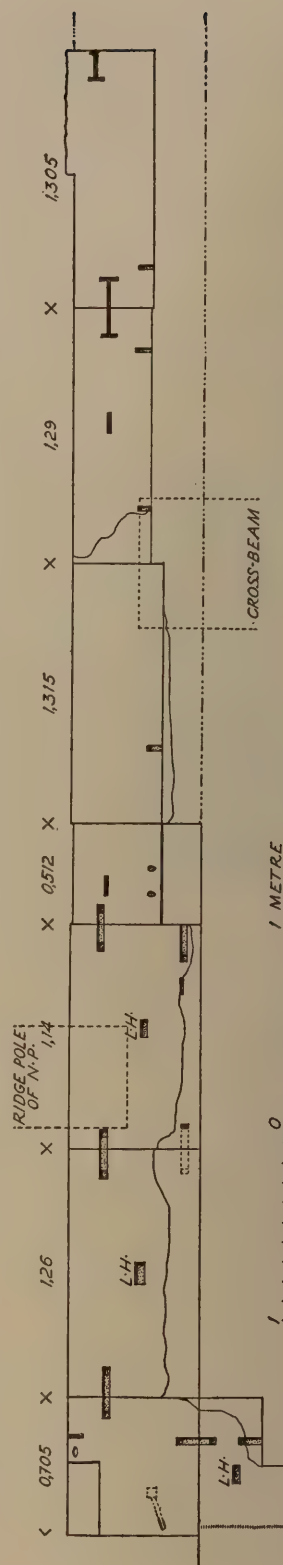


FIGURE 34. NORTH WALL: PLAN OF TOP OF EPICRANITIS BEHIND NORTH PORTICO

its west end within the building has been cut down to a thickness of only 0.50 m. to receive a new lining, and by the two blocks now on the ground, since in the top of each are remains of a  clamp to secure the new backing, while the dressing on the back of the larger block is certainly Roman.¹

In the upper fascia of each of the two latter stones are late dowel cuttings with pour channels, exactly resembling those in the top of the southern longitudinal wall of the church and in the fragment of an epistyle at the west end of the corresponding northern wall (PLATES II, XXXI). There can be no doubt that in the Christian church these blocks also formed part of the upper course of this wall—a striking commentary on the condition of the building at the time of its transformation.

The dowel cutting at the west, or left, end of the stone still *in situ*, and the evidence furnished by the epicranitis at the southwest corner (Fig. 110) prove that along the south wall the epistyle was laid from east to west. The broken block west of the Erechtheum was certainly

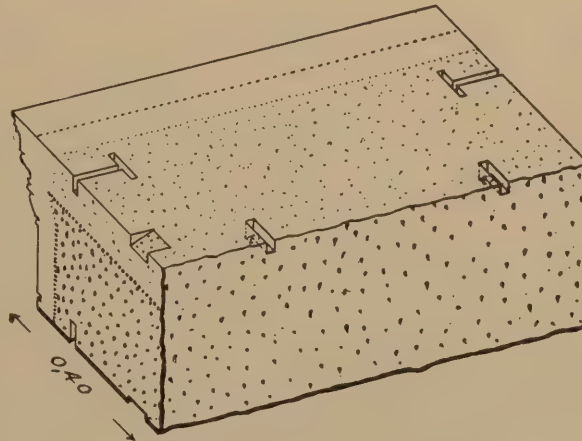


FIGURE 35. BLOCK OF EPICRANITIS WITH ROMAN DRESSING ON BACK AND CUTTINGS FOR HOOK CLAMPS IN TOP: ISOMETRIC

not dowelled at the left end, and this suggests that it belonged to the north wall, and that on this wall a part at least of this course was laid in the same direction as on the south.

The well-preserved block now lying in the apse of the church has in its upper surface a dowel cutting and the remains of a pry hole, which prove that the block of the frieze which rested on this stone was not less than 2.10 m. long. According to the inscriptions² the blocks of the frieze on the north wall were eight feet (2.62 m.) and those on the south generally six feet (1.98 m.) in length. Probably, therefore, this architrave is from the north wall. It has, however, a dowel cutting in the left end, so that the part of the course to which it belonged was laid from west to east. That this part was at the eastern end of the wall is shown by the top of the capital of the northeast corner column, now in the British Museum. West of the north and south axis of the capital are two dowels, running east and west, which obviously secured the eastern end of the corner epistyle on the north wall (Fig. 134). This block was, therefore, laid from the west. The stone in the British Museum has been much cut away at the back and is badly broken at both ends, so that no trace of dowels or clamps

¹ The back of the broken block is too badly damaged to warrant any inference as to the character of the dressing. The block in the British Museum has been cut down (*Br. Mus., Gr. Inscr.*, I, p. 90), but this was probably done to facilitate its transportation to England.

² See Ch. IV, Inscription VIII A, ll. 4, 29, and Commentary, p. 347. It is, however, quite possible, that three of the frieze blocks on the south wall were also eight feet long (p. 345).

remains. It has been assigned to the south wall,¹ but exact data to justify this assignment are lacking, and the following considerations indicate that it was the eastern block on the north wall. The drawings of Pars (1766) and Gell (*ca.* 1801) show the northeast corner of the main building in much the same condition as was the southeast before the recent restoration (PLATE LI, 2; Figs. 219, 222). Lord Elgin's agents removed from the northeast corner the column, the capital of the anta, and the architrave block at the north end of the east front. It is, therefore, natural to suppose that the other architrave block taken by them would be the eastern one on the north side, which must have been lowered at this time. This conclusion is strengthened when we find that these two corner blocks and the south block at the west end, which Dodwell tells us was removed by the Turks during his stay in Athens,² are the only ones which appear in the early drawings, but are missing later. It may be added that in the drawing by Pars the architrave on the north side is broken at both ends, like the block in the British Museum.

FRIEZE With the exception of the two blocks now in place at the southeast corner, the frieze from both north and south walls has wholly disappeared. Dowels in the top of the architrave on the south wall prove that at the east end the frieze was laid from east to west. A pry hole and dowel in the top of the architrave block in the apse, and a similar pry hole and dowel in the top of the fragments west of the Erechtheum prove that on the north wall the frieze was laid in the opposite direction.

CORNICE Many fragments of the cornice from the sides of the building are preserved and can be identified by their cross-section, which differs from that used under the pediments (PLATES XVI, XVIII). Only one piece shows Greek workmanship; the rest date from the Roman repairs and sometimes bear masons' marks.³ One was found in the foundation of the northern interior wall of the church, thus confirming the evidence of the epistyle as to the dilapidation of the building before its alteration. The largest fragment has a length of 0.61 m. Four Attic feet (1.303 m.) is the length required by the dowels in the east part of the south frieze and also given in the inscriptions.⁴

VI. THE WEST FAÇADE

The West Façade of the Erechtheum, in view of its peculiar construction and the alterations it has undergone, may be most conveniently treated in three sections:

1. The lower wall.
2. The façade between this wall and the epistyle, (A) as originally built, and (B) as later reconstructed.
3. The entablature.

¹ Wilkins, *Prolus. Archit.*, p. 29. *Br. Mus., Sculpture*, I, p. 237, No. 414.

² Dodwell, *Tour*, I, p. 352.

³ For these marks, see Ch. II, p. 186 and Fig. 114.

⁴ Ch. IV, Inscription II, col. II, l. 25, and Commentary, pp. 316, 356 ff. The data furnished by these fragments are employed in the reconstruction on PLATE XVIII.

1. THE LOWER WALL

BASE The base of the west wall,¹ below the orthostates, is formed by a course 0.445 m. high (about 0.045 m. lower than the ordinary wall blocks) and 1.897 m. broad (Fig. 104),² which, according to the evidence of dowel holes in the under side of the blocks, was laid from north to south. The northern block (1.975 m.) is much longer than the others and spans the little gap between the north and west foundations (p. 14), but is not bonded into the north wall (PLATE X). On the inside of the building this course formed a bench across the west end; on the outside it was cut into two steps, which extended along the base of the wall from the North Portico to the west door (Figs. 36, 37).³ Anathyrosis on what remains of the west side of the second step (PLATE IV; Fig. 39),⁴ and pry holes on the course below show that blocks, now missing, abutted both against the step and also against the sill of the small door in the North Portico, and that the level of the step, which is also that of the sill,⁵ was continued as a small platform for some distance toward the south.⁶ That it did not continue as far as the door in the west wall is shown by the block in the course below just north of the door (PLATES II, IV; Fig. 36). The eastern part of this block, including the clamps, was covered by the lower of the two steps already mentioned, but the surface of the western part, so far as it is preserved, shows that this portion was left exposed. This stone, however, was not part of a pavement, but formed a third step, as is clear from the working of the west face, on which are remains of a boss, and from the carefully drafted band along the bottom, such as frequently appears on the face of steps which have not yet received their final dressing. Anathyrosis on the south end of this block and on the west side of the stones farther north in this course shows that this third step extended, as is natural, across the west door and also along the south side of the second step or little platform just mentioned. The third step was dowelled to a marble pavement, a slab of which is still in place beneath the step north of the west door (PLATE IV; Figs. 37, 38, 1, 2, 71, A, B).⁷

ORTHO-STATES The orthostates in the west wall, unlike those in the north and south (p. 48), are single blocks extending the full thickness of the wall. The northern orthostate, like the block below, extends to the north wall but is not bonded into it. Since, however, the top of the middle step on the west ranges with the top of the sill of the North Door (Fig. 39), and since north of the west door the upper step and the orthostates together have the same height as

¹ For the probable position of this wall in the original plan of the Erechtheum see below, pp. 168 f.

² Or about 1.957 m. broad, if 0.06 m. be allowed for a moulding inside, only the beginning of which is preserved.

³ South of the door there were no steps; cf. p. 130.

⁴ Except for about 1.47 m. at the north end, this step has been destroyed along its whole projection beyond the upper step (Fig. 36), which is, however, in a fair state of preservation.

⁵ The south side of the sill has been given the smooth dressing of a visible surface, but it was certainly concealed.

⁶ The exact point of the return is uncertain, but it was probably at the south edge of the block from the Pandroseum (p. 125; Fig. 71, c), where the stones beneath the two upper steps are now missing (Figs. 36, 71).

⁷ Figure 38 is from a photograph taken in March, 1918, when the step, which had settled a little, was secured at its original level. 1, lowest step; 2, paving slab; 3, earth containing fifth-century sherds; 4, earth containing only Helladic sherds; 5, modern wall. For a discussion of the area west of the Erechtheum see the sections on the Pandroseum and Ceeropium, pp. 119-137.



FIGURE 37. NORTHWEST CORNER OF ERECHTHEUM, FROM SOUTH (MARCH, 1926)

the orthostates of the north wall, the tops of the orthostates in the north and west walls are at the same level and the bonding of the two walls begins at this point. A single orthostate of unusual length (3.52 m.; the south end is not preserved) extends from the west door to the southwest corner (PLATE IV). Its height (0.745 m.) is slightly less than that of the orthostates north of the door (0.749 m.).

PLINTHS

The size of the blocks and the system of jointing employed in the west wall above the orthostates are shown in PLATES IV and X, and call for no special explanation. It may be



FIGURE 38. LOWEST STEP OF WEST WALL AND PAVING SLAB OF PANDROSEUM NORTH OF WEST DOOR (MARCH 12, 1918)

noted, however, that in courses 15 and 17 the beginning of the wall is worked as an elbow on stones of the north wall (Fig. 39). As the presence of the lintel over the small door from the North Portico made this construction undesirable in course 13, a single long block, abutting on the lintel, here filled the space occupied by a block and a half in the courses below (PLATE IV; Fig. 39).

At the south end of the wall the three upper courses (13–15) are occupied by one large block, 4.43 m. long, which sustains the entire superstructure at this angle of the temple. The four courses below (16–19) extended to the south wall¹ on the interior of the temple, where they were visible (PLATE X), but on the exterior were cut back obliquely (PLATE II, B; Figs. 78, 79). Below them, as has been said (p. 14), the foundations in the corner are lacking. Moreover, south of the door in the west wall the outer face of the blocks below course 14 is rough or has only received its first smoothing, which was given before the stones were laid, and several blocks show the remains of projecting bosses (PLATE IV). These peculiarities are obviously due to the presence of some obstacle

which prevented normal construction and at the same time hid this part of the temple from view.²

DOOR

The west door is not placed symmetrically in the wall, but somewhat to the south of the axis, beneath the second column from the south. Its irregular position and small size

¹ The course below the orthostate, now broken, seems originally to have had the same length as the others in the interior, where it was visible.

² The conditions are described in greater detail and the inferences which may be drawn from them are discussed in the section on the Cecropium (pp. 127 ff.).

led some of the early writers on the Erechtheum to consider it a Christian addition,¹ but the presence of the usual lintel, two courses high, was soon recognized² as satisfactory evidence that the door was part of the original design, and its antiquity is now universally accepted. In order that the sill might range approximately with the middle step and the sill of the small door from the North Portico, the bottom of the door was cut through the upper half of the course beneath the orthostates, and this also has been regarded by some as a later alteration, designed to increase the height of the opening or even to transform a window into a door.³ It may, however, be regarded as certain that there has been no essential change of level here, for the joint in the centre of the sill is perfectly tight, whereas if the sill had been appreciably cut down, the anathyrosis, which is normally only about 0.10 m. deep, would have been destroyed and a gap left between the stones.

The door, however, has not remained entirely unchanged. The dressing of the reveals is too poor to be part of the Greek construction, and a finished surface on the upper step at the north side of the door, about 0.04 m. inside the present line of the opening (Fig. 36), indicates that the door has been widened by that amount on this side. No such direct evidence exists on the south side, but as the axis of the present door very nearly coincides with that of the lintel, it is probable that the widening has been approximately symmetrical, and that the original width of the opening was about 1.30 m. or four Attic feet.⁴ The outer portion of the sill has also been cut down about 0.03 m., probably at the same time that the doorway was widened.

With these two stages in the history of the opening are associated two sets of sinkings in the threshold for the pivots of a double door. The one set is in line with the inner face of the wall; the other approximately on its axis. The former are farther apart and deeper than the latter, which are at present too shallow to be of much use as sockets. Obviously the first set is connected with the later, wider opening, to which must also be assigned the traces of a casing on the interior of the building around the top of the door (PLATE X). The other set, then, belongs to the earlier door, and here too remains of cuttings at the top of the reveals (PLATES XI, XII) and the absence of holes for pivots in the soffit of the lintel show that a wooden frame was set in the opening. At the same time it can be stated positively from the technique that even these sockets do not go back to the fifth century B.C., though they may well be contemporary with the earlier set of similar cuttings in the North Door (p. 103), and like them belong to the Roman repairs. The later sockets and the widened door are probably due to the transformation into a church. In the course of these changes all traces of the original Greek door have disappeared.

¹ For example, Fauvel in Legrand, *Gal. ant.*, I, p. 76 (see App. A, XIV, 13), and note (*cette porte est faite de force*) on his section of the west wall, Bibl. Nat., Estampes, Gb, 15a, fol. 14.

² See J. Woods, *Letters of an Architect*, II, p. 256.

³ Kinnard in Stuart and Revett,² II, p. 73, note b; Wilkins, *Prolus. Archit.*, pp. 12-13, 28, pl. VIII (enlargement of a window); Borrmann, *Ath. Mitt.*, VI, 1881, p. 374 (original sill on level of upper step). Michaelis (J.-M., *Atlas*, pls. XXIII, A*, XXIV D*, XXV, XXVI) agrees with Borrmann.

⁴ This alteration in the width of the door has destroyed the evidence of the original inclination of the sides.

STRING
COURSE

The west wall is crowned by a string course, 0.244 m. high, with mouldings which project 0.14 m. on both the interior and exterior faces (PLATES XIX, XX, 2, XXX, 1). Outside of the building these mouldings were left plain, but on the inside the *cyma reversa* at the bottom was decorated with the usual carved leaf-and-tongue ornament (PLATE XX, 4). At the north end the exterior mouldings finish against the projecting wall of the North Portico (Fig. 46); at the south end they have been broken away beneath the south angle of the anta (probably in a search for lead), but a cutting in the west end of the thin slab south of the anta shows that they extended to this point, though it must remain uncertain whether they were returned against the south wall or cut off abruptly (PLATES IV, XIII) like the cornice of the Porch of the Maidens at this same corner (Fig. 81).

2. THE WEST FAÇADE BETWEEN THE LOWER WALL AND THE ENTABLATURE

(A) *The Greek Construction.* — Above the wall just described, the West Façade, as seen by travellers before 1827 and as rebuilt in 1904, is not that originally erected, but is due to an almost complete reconstruction with extensive alterations, carried out apparently near the end of the first century B.C. The information supplied by the building itself as to the earlier form of this façade is scanty enough, but when supplemented by the inscriptions, is still sufficient to permit a fairly certain restoration.

There is no evidence of any change below the bases of the columns and the course of moulding which connects them, and although the tops of these stones contain later cuttings for dowels, etc., the blocks themselves were not disturbed during the Roman repairs and are still dowelled to the string course on which they rest. Hence it seems clear that in the original, as in the later, construction there were half columns on the exterior with corresponding pilasters to a certain height on the interior of the building. The bases of these pilasters have almost wholly disappeared, but the amount of their original projection (0.028 m.) beyond the moulding between them can still be directly measured at two points, since a corner from the north side of the third pilaster from the north has survived as a fragment, now

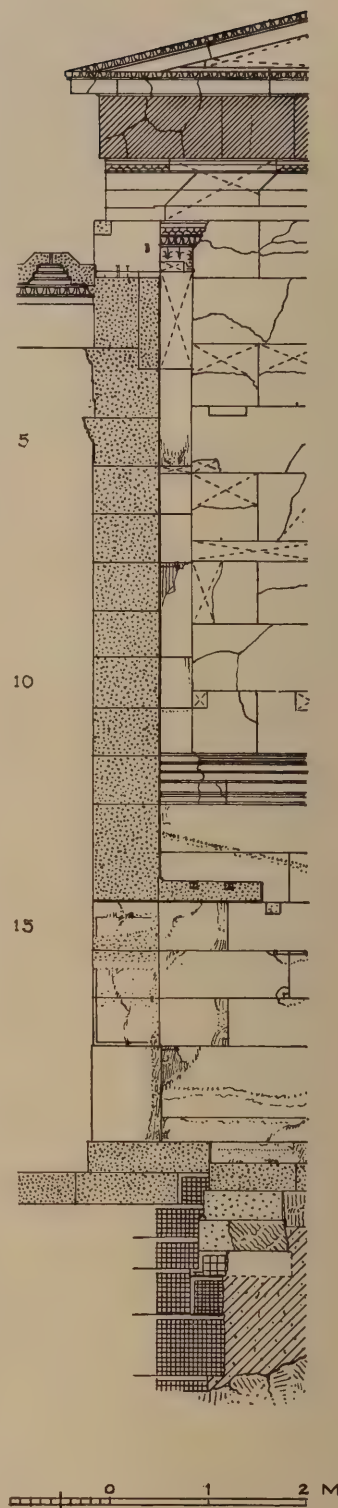


FIGURE 39. SECTION THROUGH
SMALL DOORWAY IN NORTH
PORTICO, LOOKING EAST

replaced (PLATE X; Fig. 41), and the east side of the base of the south anta, which is exactly in line with the bases of the pilasters, is *in situ* and comparatively well preserved (Fig. 41). The moulded course between the bases of the pilasters has suffered considerably, but, so far as can be judged from the existing remains, it was marked in the interval between the south anta and the first pilaster by a more elaborate treatment of the lower torus, since the fillet between each pair of channels was here given a reeding between two flutes (PLATE, XXX, 2, 3).

The bases of both antae are cut on the same stones as the moulded string course beneath ANTAE them, and in the case of the north anta this stone is itself a part of the adjacent block in the wall of the North Portico (PLATE XX, 11, 12; Figs. 41, 46). The south anta is Greek

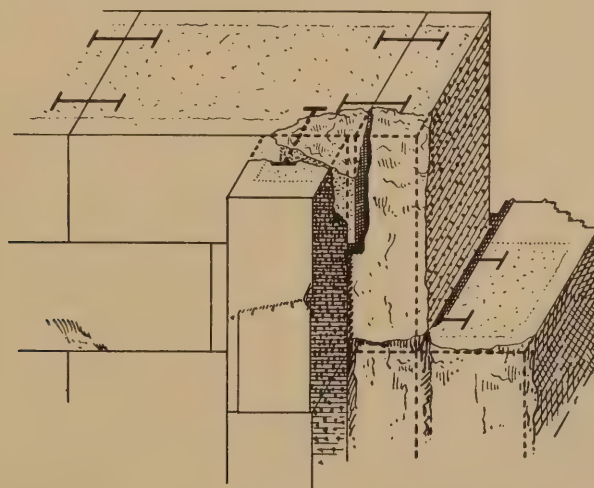


FIGURE 40. ANGLE OF NORTHWEST ANTA AND NORTH WALL, COURSES 8 AND 9, SHOWING BLOCK TWO COURSES HIGH IN ANTA, END OF GREEK LINTEL, AND TOP OF WEST JAMB OF NORTH DOOR: ISOMETRIC

throughout and, with the exception of the capital and the two courses below it,¹ remained undisturbed until 1907, when during the restoration of the south wall the blocks at the southwest corner as far as course 6 were removed and later carefully replaced. The north anta is formed on blocks of the wall behind it in courses 6, 7, 10, and 11 (Figs. 39, 46). In courses 8 and 9 the anta was a separate block two courses high, belonging to the Greek construction, since a  clamp of standard length was visible in its upper surface during the repairs of 1904 (Figs. 40, 46). This block ranged with and in part abutted against the original lintel of the great North Door (p. 101), and could thus be secured more easily.² The dressing here on the east side of the anta and on the adjoining fragment of the lintel

¹ These three courses fell or were removed during the siege of the Acropolis by the Turks in 1826–27, and were later replaced by Pittakis. See below, Ch. V, pp. 558, 564.

² The east half of this block, which alone was in contact with the lintel, was cut away during the Roman repairs. The south corner of the lintel has been broken off, destroying all traces of the cutting for a clamp corresponding to that in the west half of the anta (Fig. 40).

is Roman. Above the sixth course the anta was rebuilt, partly with new material, in 1904. The capital is Roman (PLATE XX, 2). Both antae were 0.737 m. wide at the bottom. The north anta, judging from measurements taken on the west side and from calculations based on the dimensions of the Greek epistyle, probably tapered to a width of 0.723 m. at the top. Above course 9 the south anta is cut away, on account of the niche in the interior, to a uniform width of 0.405 m. The west faces of both antae incline inward. Calculation from the position of the epistyle shows that the east face of the north anta was vertical. The east face of the south anta is vertical in the lower courses, but above course 9 it is parallel to the inclined west face. Both the south face of the north anta and the north face of the south anta lean slightly toward the north, though the inclination is not the same in both (PLATE XX, 2, 3, 8). The remains of the Greek façade, which have just been described, may now be examined for evidence as to the missing parts of the original structure.

COLUMNS
AND
PILASTERS

Cuttings for dowels and pry holes in the top of the base course (Figs. 41, 42) prove that the lower part of the intercolumniations was filled by a wall, and that this wall with the pilasters was laid continuously both from the north anta and from the south until the last stone between the two sections was dropped into place approximately behind the third column from the north. It is thus out of the question that the columns with the pilasters behind them formed a series of isolated supports which were first placed in position and then connected by sections of intervening wall. Moreover, the engaged columns were not cut from separate blocks and attached to the wall, for in the centre of each column base is a square cutting, the east corner of which is so close to the line of the west face of the wall (PLATE XIX, 7; Figs. 41, 42) as to exclude the possibility of a vertical joint at this point. It is probable, therefore, that the usual modern method in such cases, and the best from a constructive point of view, was followed, namely, that the columns were cut on projecting blocks of the wall. The square cuttings just mentioned resemble in form and position those commonly found in the drums of columns, but they cannot have been intended for empolia, as it was impossible to move the block above the base because the adjoining block on the north, or south, was already in position. It is probable that they contained wooden dowels which would have aided in setting accurately the block above the base.

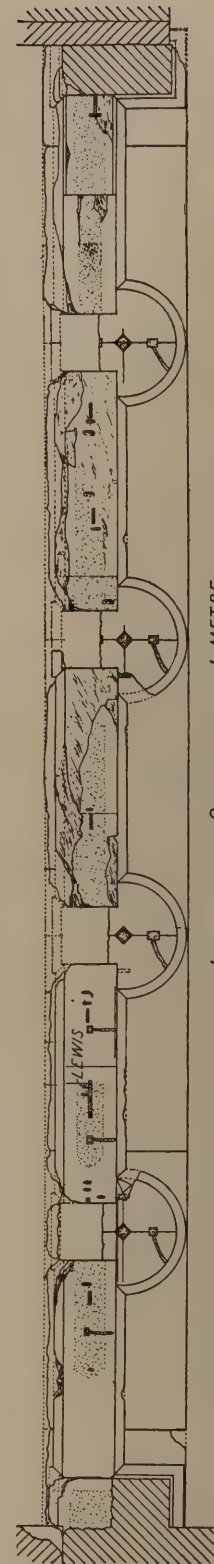


FIGURE 41. WEST FACADE: PLAN OF TOP OF COLUMN BASES AND OF MOULDED COURSE BETWEEN THEM

In the four northern intercolumniations the dowels also show that the blocks of the wall were so placed that no joint in the first course fell on a pilaster, although owing to the small length of the stones used — about 0.65 m. or two Attic feet — these joints sometimes fall very close to one (Fig. 41). The length of these blocks is given by the dowels; their height has been restored (PLATE XIII) from the indications on the north face of the south anta.

INTER-
COLUMNAR
WALL

In the southern intercolumniation, however, the base moulding and the lowest course of the wall were formed by a single stone which filled the entire space (Fig. 41). In connection



FIGURE 42. WEST FACADE: BASE OF NORTH COLUMN AND ADJACENT BLOCKS OF MOULDED COURSE, BEFORE RESTORATION OF 1904

with the Roman repairs, the northern half of this block was cut away as far as the moulding, and the outer face of the remaining half dressed off for about 0.01 m.,¹ the line of the older as well as of the later face being still visible on the anta (Fig. 43).

The height of this intercolumnar wall, as originally constructed, may be determined with considerable certainty. Evidence for a second course, ranging with course 10 of the antae, is furnished by a cutting for a  clamp in the south anta (PLATE XII). An anathyrosis on the north face of the same anta, in course 9, proves the existence of a third course of the wall (Fig. 43). There is also a cutting, 0.247 m. high, on the same face of this anta in

¹ This is the amount of reduction at the south end; at the north the original thickness was more nearly retained.

the lower part of the next (eighth) course, extending for 0.045 m. beyond the outer face of the intercolumnar wall (Fig. 43). As this cutting was intended to help in supporting the platform which existed in the temple at this point (p. 171), it also shows the height and projection beyond the face of the wall of the stone which here rested on the third course. Above this point the anta shows no trace of a wall in Greek times. In view of the suitable height and the desirability of some finish at the top of the wall, it is probable that a similar coping existed in the other intercolumniations, and it has been thus restored in *PLATE XIII*.



FIGURE 43. WEST FACADE: NORTH FACE OF
SOUTH ANTA, COURSES 8-11

This conclusion is confirmed by the difference in the dressing of the surface between courses 8 and 9 on the south face of the north anta. They are formed, as has been said, on a single block, but the lower half, corresponding to the third course of the low wall, has not been dressed to its final surface except in a narrow band along the outer and inner edges, while the upper half, against which the coping would abut, is completely finished (Fig. 40).

GRILLES The accounts of 409/8 B.C. show that above this low wall or parapet four of the intercolumniations were closed by grilles which, from the low cost (40 drachmae) and the employment of a workman who appears elsewhere as a carpenter, were probably of wood.¹

¹ See Ch. IV, Inscription, XI, col. III, ll. 31-34, and Commentary, p. 370.

Neither the existing remains, however, nor the inscriptions furnish any decisive evidence as to the appearance of the supports between the grilles in the interior. To continue the pilasters on the inner surface of the intercolumnar wall as far as the architrave would lead to architectural difficulties above the parapet, one of which is that such pilasters would be too slender, since they would be much narrower than the columns on the exterior instead of having approximately the same width. In the Roman restoration the difference in width between column and pilaster was concealed by the intervening wall. It seems preferable, therefore, to continue the half-columns of the exterior as full columns above the low wall. In plan, however, these columns were probably not struck from one centre, but (according

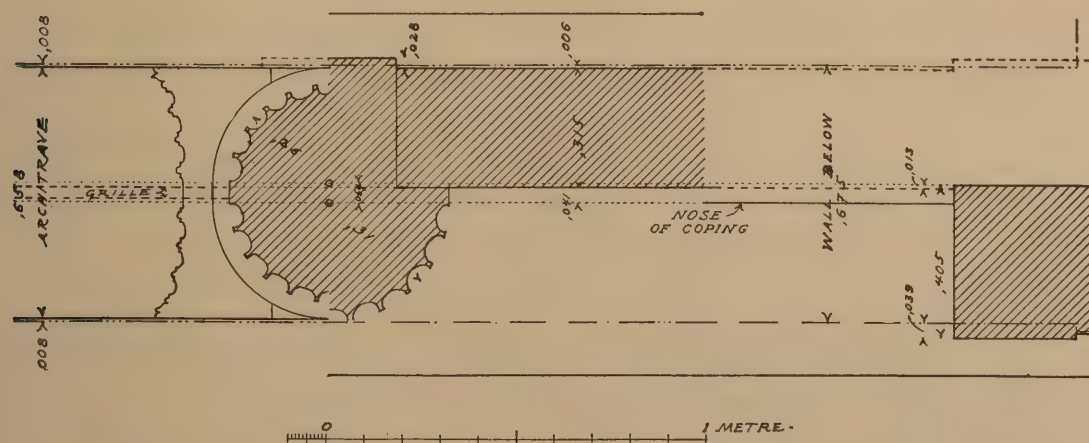


FIGURE 44. WEST FAÇADE: PLAN OF COLUMN, INTERCOLUMNAR WALL, AND SOUTH ANTA, RESTORED ACCORDING TO THE ORIGINAL GREEK CONSTRUCTION

to an unpublished suggestion of Professor Dörpfeld)¹ consisted of two semi-circles having different centres, as shown in Figure 44. Had columns of the given radius been circular, the inner face of the Greek architrave would have projected beyond the top mouldings of the capitals — a thing unknown in good Greek work.² On the other hand, columns of this plan with a balustrade between are found in stoas, e.g., in the Stoa of Attalus at Athens and the stoa at Assos.³ It will be noted that in this restoration both the architrave and the complete column have the same axis as the lower wall, a good construction; that the centre of the inner half of the column is in line with the east face of the upper part of the

¹ In *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVII, 1903, p. 466, Dörpfeld pointed out that the upper part of the Greek façade had full columns, but he did not suggest the presence of a narrow interval between the semi-circles. For another view of the Greek façade, see Ch. IV, Inscription II, Commentary, p. 308.

² The Greek bases of the columns prove that the axes of the Roman shafts corresponded with those of the Greek, and there is no reason to doubt that the respective radii at the top and bottom were the same in both Greek and Roman times. If the Roman half-column were completed as a circular column, the distance between the volutes from east to west would be 0.602 m. The Greek architrave, however, which was wider than the Roman one (see p. 70), measured 0.658 m. on its soffit, and would project beyond the inner top moulding of the capital. If the two semi-circles were separated by an interval of 0.054 m., the lowest fascia of the architrave both inside and outside would be aligned with the faces of the volutes, as in the East and North Porticoes (PLATES XVI, XXII).

³ Adler, *Die Stoa des Königs Attalos zu Athen*, pls. III, IV, VI; Bacon, *Investigations at Assos*, pp. 43, 45, 47.

south anta; and that the centre of the outer half is aligned with the west edge of the coping which crowns the intercolumnar wall. The intervening flat member furnishes a natural and simple point of attachment for the grille, which would rest on the projecting coping and be neatly received not only against the columns, but also against the south anta, had this been desired (Fig. 44).

As the inscription shows that only four intercolumniations were filled by the grille, it has been generally agreed that the southern opening, in view of its peculiar relation to the Cecropium (p. 130), was left open, and this opinion is strongly confirmed by a study of the building itself. As restored in Figure 44 the grille could have been attached to the north face of the south anta, but although this face is well preserved, it shows no trace of any such attachment. If, on the other hand, the grille were set farther east, flush with the west face of the intercolumnar wall below the coping, it could not have been fastened to the north face of the anta, which, as has been said, is here only about half its usual width; nor is it likely that it ran past the anta into the niche, since the latter shows no marks of attachment. It may be added that such an arrangement, which would make the grille in the southern intercolumniation wider than the others, would be very unsightly, as seen from the interior of the temple.¹

(B) *The Roman Alterations.* — The essential difference between the original façade and its successor is in the treatment of the intercolumniations. In the reconstruction the wooden grilles disappeared and the five openings were filled by a solid wall, broken only in the three central intercolumniations by windows. Everything between the antae and above the bases of the engaged columns was renewed at this time. It seems probable that the fire, which so damaged the east front and the side walls, swept through the temple and, bursting out between the columns at the west, changed to lime much of the marble with which it came in contact.

COLUMNS The engaged columns are shown to be Roman by the forms of dowel and lewis which are found in them, by the differences in design between their ornamentation and that employed elsewhere in the building, and by the relatively poor work of the stone cutter; and similar evidence is conclusive as to the date of the wall and the windows.

The height of the columns is 5.613 m. Their entasis is more pronounced than that of the columns of the North Portico (p. 81).² The maximum entasis is 0.0132 m. and occurs 2.97 m. above the bottom of the base. The curve approximates very closely to that formed by two hyperbolas, almost identical in equation, having a common centre and tangent to each other at the point of maximum entasis (Fig. 45).³ It cannot be determined with certainty whether

¹ A different restoration of the interior of the Greek façade and of the south intercolumniation above the low wall has been proposed by L. B. Holland; see below, Ch. IV, pp. 363 f., and *B. C. H.*, XLVI, 1922, p. 479.

² The entasis was determined by stretching a thread along the best preserved fillet and measuring to the surface of the column at twenty-two points, all well preserved. The curve given by these points, when plotted, was investigated by the method of parallel chords with reference to a conic section.

³ In this drawing the horizontal distances are magnified eighty times in relation to the vertical heights. The common centre of the two hyperbolas is at the point marked CENTRE. It is probable that the designer intended his

the original Greek columns had an entasis or, like the columns of the East Portico, diminished in a straight line, but the following considerations favor the former supposition. The columns were shorter and slenderer and bore a relatively greater load than those at the east end, and, consequently, they may have been given an entasis to increase their apparent strength. Moreover it is not improbable that in this particular the Roman columns followed the Greek model.

In these columns the channels next to the wall are narrower than the others, proving conclusively that the columns were planned to be engaged, and not simply cut down from

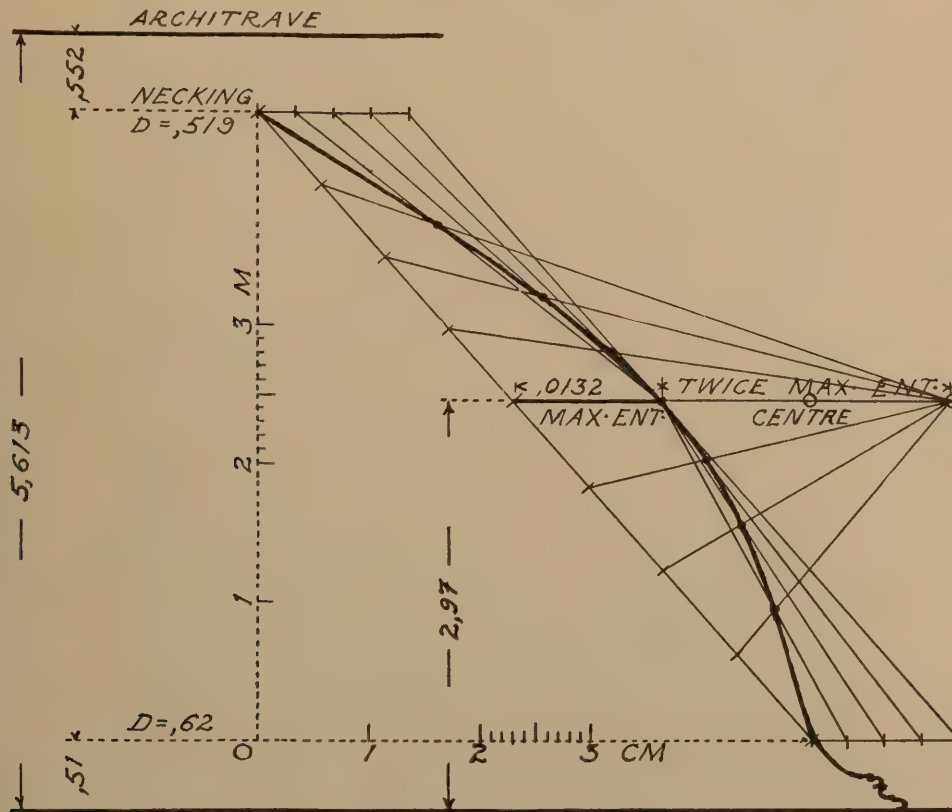


FIGURE 45. WEST FAÇADE: CURVE OF ENTASIS OF ROMAN ENGAGED COLUMNS

columns which stood free. Where the projecting sills of the windows came in contact with the columns, the latter are unfluted, probably because here, as elsewhere, the channels were carved after the columns were in place. The absence of any unfluted portion adjacent to the wall in the north and south intercolumniations indicates plainly that here no course projected to match the sills of the windows.

maximum entasis to fall half way between the bottom of the base and the bottom of the architrave, and to be equal to the width of a fillet (0.012 m.), according to the rule of Vitruvius (III, 5, 14). For this method of laying out an entasis and its advantages, see G. P. Stevens, 'Entasis of Roman Columns,' *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, IV, 1924, pp. 121-152.

On two of the columns the anthemion of the necking is cut on a separate drum (PLATE XIX, 1), while on the other two it is carved on the shaft of the column (PLATE XX, 5). Inwood states expressly ¹ that the former pair were those at the south, but in the restoration of 1904 they were placed at the north. On the capitals belonging to this group the number of eggs below the guilloche is seventeen, not fifteen as given by Stuart,² who,

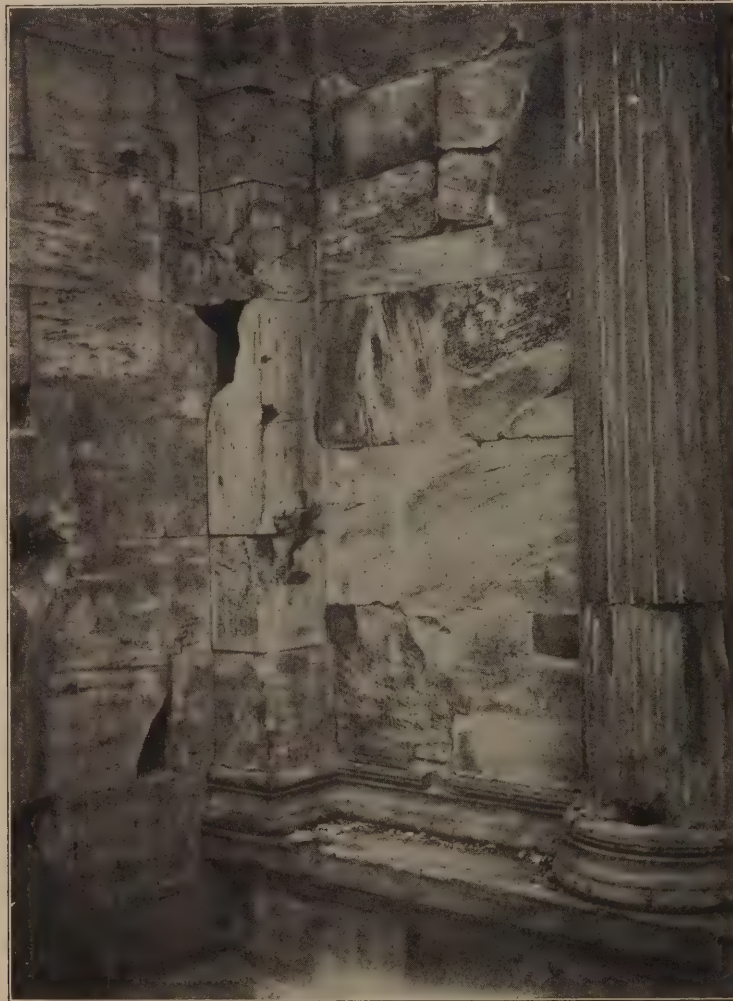


FIGURE 46. WEST FAÇADE: NORTH INTERCOLUMNIATION,
COURSES 5-12, AS REBUILT IN 1904

however, may possibly have found this number on a capital belonging to the other group, where the eggs are now missing. The eyes of the volutes of the capitals are flat, undecorated, and unbored.

WALL AND
WINDOWS

The general structure of the Roman intercolumnar wall and the adjustment of the windows are shown in PLATES IV, X, XI, XIX, and XX, and do not require any further de-

¹ Inwood, *ed. min.*, p. 3.

² Stuart and Revett, II, Ch. II, pl. XII.

scription, but attention may be called to a few points of detail. When the wall was built in the northern intercolumniation, the anta was cut away for half its width from top to bottom to receive it (Figs. 40, 41, 46).¹ In the southern intercolumniation it is practically certain that the restorers did not leave the space open, but treated it like the others.² The mouldings on the east face of the anta are roughly cut away for about one-half the distance from the north face to the south corner to accommodate the new wall (Fig. 109), and in the upper surface of the corner block of the epicranitis are the cuttings for two  clamps by which the new stone was held on the south and on the west (Fig. 110).

The profile of the course connecting the capitals of the pilasters on the interior face of the wall (PLATE XX, 2, 4) is known only from the drawings of Stuart and Revett,³ where the lower member is suppressed into a flat fascia. A somewhat similar suppression occurs in the original Greek construction in the Porch of the Maidens on the course connecting the capitals of the antae (PLATES VII, XXVI, XXXVI, 1).

When the wall between the columns was rebuilt in 1904, it was found impossible to determine exactly the original position of the blocks used; all that was certain was that from their dimensions the stones had once belonged to this wall. Inwood's drawing (PLATE LIII, 1) was followed in placing a narrow course in the northern intercolumniation to align with the sills of the windows (Fig. 46),⁴ but no fragments of such a course were found, and it does not appear in Dalton's view (PLATE L, 2). In the restoration of the jambs of the windows the profile of the exterior was repeated on the interior, as is shown in the section (PLATE XIX, 4), where the irregular line indicates how much is preserved. Stuart and Inwood, though differing from one another, are both incorrect in the amount of the reveal given to the jamb.⁵ As reconstructed the jambs of the windows are inclined inward 0.008 m. per metre; according to Stuart and Revett the inclination was 0.017 m.

3. THE ENTABLATURE

With the exception of scanty remains of the cornice, to be described later, the Greek entablature of the West Façade has wholly disappeared. It cannot, of course, have differed materially from the later reconstruction, though some variations in detail may still be traced.

On the top of the capital of the southwest anta two weather marks indicate the approxi-

¹ The block of the anta above the base shows a poor mitre quite unworthy of Greek workmanship, and probably due to Roman recutting when the new wall was fitted into place.

² That the anta was simply built out to the normal width seems too improbable an alternative to be seriously considered.

³ Stuart and Revett, II, Ch. II, pl. XIV.

⁴ Inwood, pl. I. Inwood says that such a course existed "without any projection whatever in the outer intercolumniation of the western front"; *ed. maj.*, Book XXIV, p. 113.

⁵ Stuart, *op. cit.*, II, Ch. II, pl. XIV, 5; Inwood, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV. Kinnard (Stuart and Revett,² II, p. 74, note c) argues that Stuart was wrong in supposing that the windows were revealed on the inside. They were, he says, evidently intended for frames, as there was a groove about two inches deep all around the centre of the opening, and a plug hole in the centre of the sill.

EPISTYLE mate positions of the western edge of two successive epistyles. The later mark, which can be identified as such by the presence of dowel cuttings with horizontal pour channels (Fig. 110), shows that on this side the new epistyle was set about 0.033 m. behind the old one (PLATE XX, 2).¹ The consequent reduction in the projection of the epistyle beyond the face of the frieze was occasioned by the fact that in the Roman restoration the sculptured figures of the frieze were omitted. That the Roman epistyle was also about 0.28 m. shorter than the Greek is shown by another weather mark running east and west with a pry hole on the south and a Roman dowel cutting with a pour channel on the north (Fig. 110), and this evidence is confirmed by the length of the recently discovered block from the southern end of the Roman architrave, described below. The position of the inner face of the epistyle seems to have remained unchanged. There was no such reason for alteration in the interior of the building as was furnished by the omission of the sculptures on the exterior, and the Greek and Roman dowel cuttings in the epicranitis on the south wall (Fig. 110) show that there, at any rate, the east side of the southwest epistyle probably occupied the same position in Roman as in Greek times.² On the inside the lowest fascia of the epistyle was 0.008 m. west of the east face of the intercolumnar wall and probably aligned with the east face of the volutes of the columns. As the Roman epistyle is 0.625 m. wide on the soffit, the Greek epistyle probably measured 0.658 m. Its lowest fascia was set back 0.039 m. from the bottom of the west face of both antae and 0.028 m. from the top and bottom of the east face of the north anta (Fig. 44).³ The architrave is regularly slightly narrower than the top of the anta, but the difference here is somewhat greater than in either the East or the North Portico.

The order of the epistyle blocks is determinable and the four northern blocks were repaired and correctly replaced in 1904.⁴ The northern block is identifiable from the marks left on its face by the raking cornice of the projecting portion of the North Portico (PLATE XX, 7). The southern block (Fig. 47) which appears in some of the early drawings,⁵ was removed by the Turks in 1805, according to Dodwell, and "placed over one of the doors in the fortress."⁶ There it remained, unrecognized, until the Turkish additions were cleared

¹ The Greek weather mark is in line with the west face of the volutes of the Roman half-columns, which indicates, — if we suppose, and it is a reasonable supposition, the Roman half-columns to be copies of the western portion of the Greek columns, — that the bottom fascia of the Greek architrave was in line with the face of the volute of the Greek column (PLATES XIX, right; XX, 2; Figs. 44, 110). This corresponds with the actual construction in the East and North Porticoes, in both of which the lowest fascia of the architrave is directly over the face of the volute (PLATES XVI, XXII, XXIII).

² The Greek epistyle, however, was probably reduced in width over the southern intercolumniation and the thin part of the anta; see section on the Niche, pp. 175 ff.

³ In Figure 44 all measurements of the anta refer to the base.

⁴ The block which now covers the southern intercolumniation is modern (PLATES IV, XXXIII, 3).

⁵ This block is shown in the views by Dalton (1749; PLATE L, 1, 2), Stuart (1751–54; PLATE LI, 1), Paus (1766; PLATE LI, 2), Gell (*ca.* 1800; Figs. 220, 221), Smirke (*ca.* 1802; PLATE LI, 3), and Dodwell (1805; PLATE LII, 1). Gell in one drawing (Fig. 220) continues the architrave for some distance along the south wall with a mitre at the angle; but this is certainly his own restoration, for the evidence is conclusive that there had been no architrave on the south wall, except at the east end, for many years.

⁶ Dodwell, *Tour*, I, p. 352; cf. Kinnard in Stuart and Revett,² II, p. 74, note b.

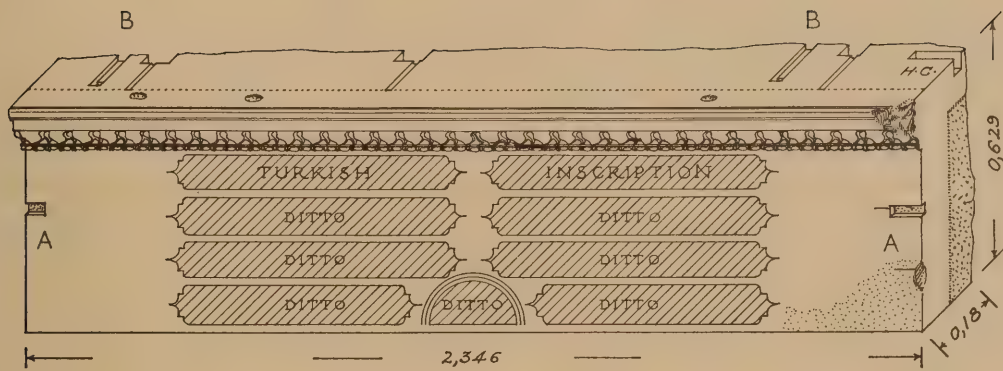


FIGURE 47. WEST FAÇADE: SOUTH BLOCK OF ROMAN ARCHITRAVE. ABOVE: ISOMETRIC DRAWING.
BELOW: WEST FACE, SHOWING TURKISH INSCRIPTION (1926)

away from the entrance to the Acropolis, when it disappeared. It was found, however, in 1922, and now (1925) lies at the foot of the Nike bastion near the guard's house on the south side.¹ Its length (2.346 m.) corresponds with that deduced, before its discovery, for the southern Roman architrave from the weather marks on the top of the epicranitis at the southwest corner (Fig. 110) and also indicated by the drawings of Dalton and Dodwell (PLATES L, 2; LII, 1), in both of which this block plainly ends not far from the axis of the south wall. In the top are three cuttings with pour channels for the Roman dowels which held the blocks of the frieze. Of the cuttings for the Roman  clamps only one, in the south end, has survived; the two cuttings, which doubtless existed in the north end, and the second southern one, shown by Dodwell, were destroyed when the back was roughly and irregularly cut away in adapting the stone to its new position over the Turkish gateway. The next block to the north is identified as the second by a B as mason's mark on its upper surface (Fig. 114, F). The stone from the middle intercolumniation is fixed by a clamp cutting which fits one in the

¹ The discovery of an architrave block from the Erechtheum in 1922 was reported by B. Schweitzer, *Arch. Anz.*, XXXVII, 1922 (published in 1924), col. 251, and its identity with the missing architrave from the West Façade was recognized in 1924 by W. B. Dinsmoor, who furnished the measurements for Figure 47. The block has suffered considerable damage since its removal from its original position. In addition to the destruction of the back, noticed in the text, there are cuttings for Turkish clamps both in the face and in the top (Fig. 47, at AA and BB), while the three fasciae, faint traces of which may be detected close to the south end, have been dressed down to an even surface, on which has been engraved in eight sunken panels a Turkish inscription in praise of the strong fortress and of the zeal displayed in its construction by Mustapha Effendi, the Voivode, or Turkish governor of the city. This inscription, with a transliteration and a metrical translation into Greek, was published in the Athenian paper *Αἰών*, November 21, 1886, as carved on a fragment from some Ionic building then "ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τόξου τῆς συνήθους βοιωτῆς εἰσόδου τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως." In his *Μνημεῖα τῆς ἱστορίας τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, Τουρκοκρατία, I, p. 211, D. G. Kampouriglos also published independently a transliteration and a Greek prose translation; and the Greek metrical translation was reprinted from the *Αἰών* by Th. N. Philadelphus in his *Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας*, II, p. 63. Unfortunately the date, which is in a small semicircular panel at the bottom of the face, was read as 1120 of the Hegira, or 1708 A.D., thus preventing the identification of the block and also giving rise to the statement that the fortifications of the Acropolis were strengthened by the Turks in that year. Although the first two digits have been almost effaced, apparently by a cannon-shot, careful examination in a very favorable light by B. H. Hill and C. W. Blegen has shown quite certainly that the second digit was 2, and that, therefore, the inscription belongs to the year of the Hegira 1220, which began on March 23/April 1, 1805 (de Mas-Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie*, p. 155). The inscription, therefore, confirms fully the identification of this block with the southern architrave of the West Façade. The vaulted entrance, above which this block was placed, led through a strong wall which extended from the southwest corner of the Beulé gate (or rather of the Turkish lower battery which concealed the gate) to the northeast corner of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus. It is C on Verneda's plan (Fig. 216) and also appears in the plans of Burnouf (*La Ville et l'Acropole d'Athènes*, pl. III, 6) and Beulé (I, pl. II), and in the view from the west given by Bohn (*Propylæen*, pl. I).

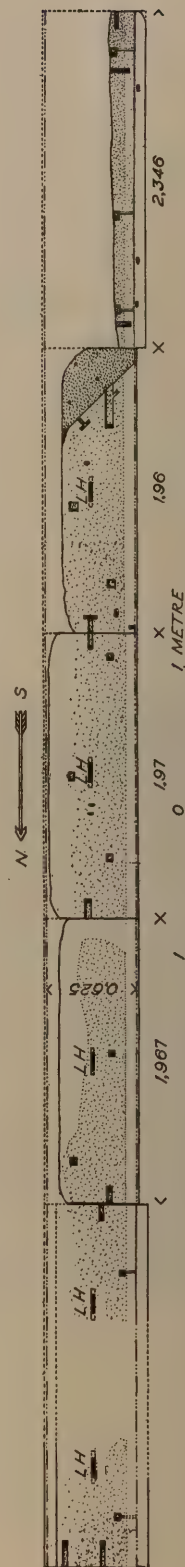


FIGURE 48. WEST FAÇADE: PLAN OF TOP OF EXISTING ROMAN ARCHITRAVE

stone just mentioned (PLATE XX, 9; Fig. 48). The remaining block must, therefore, belong in the only vacant place — the second intercolumniation from the north.

All these epistyle blocks are doubtless Roman, and not the Greek blocks cut down and re-used. At any rate there is no trace of a Greek dowel in the bottom of any of them to fasten them to the capitals, nor in the tops of the northern and southern blocks to hold the blocks of the Greek frieze. In the other three epistylia the upper part was on a separate slab — a method of construction which is certainly not Greek. In the top of the fourth block from the north there is in the north end a curious cutting, as if to turn a  into a  clamp (PLATE XX, 15; Fig. 48). The cutting (0.117 m.), however, is much shorter than is usual for the Greek  clamp and but slightly in excess of the normal length of the later  clamp, and the need of an upper slab to complete the epistyle shows that this is not the original Greek block re-used, though it may, of course, have been fashioned from another old Greek block. The little  clamps, which with three metal pins fastened a small broken corner to the south end of the same block, are not of a size used in Greek work on the Erechtheum, and may be considered Roman.¹

The northern and southern epistyle blocks were each worked from a single stone and the northern block was hoisted with the aid of two lewises (PLATE XX, 7).² The other three epistylia had each a single lewis, and were formed of a block containing the three fasciae and of a slab on which was the crowning moulding (PLATE XIX). These slabs are now missing, but pry holes in the tops of the existing blocks allow their lengths to be approximately determined and show that they broke joints, though somewhat irregularly, with these blocks (Fig. 48). They were doweled apparently with the aid of vertically drilled pour channels, as only one of the seven dowel cuttings preserved on the stones below shows a pour channel of the horizontal type. The  clamps holding them to one another have been restored (PLATE XIX) from one in the south end of the northern epistyle block, which must have secured a slab.

The frieze blocks preserved show no dowels for the attachment of sculptured figures and FRIEZE are, in fact, old statue bases with the bottoms outwards and the tops, with the footmarks of the statues, towards the interior (PLATE X; Fig. 207). They bear as masons' marks A, B, Γ (PLATE XX, 10), and the matching of the clamps shows that the order runs from south to north, so that they would seem to belong at the southern end of the frieze. Although the blocks above the southern and part of the second intercolumniation had already disappeared in 1749,³ they would seem to have come to light again, for the length of the replaced portion agrees fairly well with what is missing in Dalton's drawing (PLATE L, 2), while that of the

¹ The cuttings in the epistyle for these clamps are, respectively, 0.058 m. and 0.078 m. long, but the clamps were probably somewhat more than twice this length, since a greater extension into the missing corner would have been needed to secure this little piece firmly.

² The holes for lewises in the southern block, if they ever existed, were destroyed when its back was cut away.

³ Dalton (PLATE L, 2) and Pars (PLATE LI, 2) agree as to the amount of frieze in place in 1749 and 1766. Stuart and Gell, apparently by an oversight, have added another block (PLATE LI, 1; Fig. 219).

first and second blocks is consistent with the indications furnished by the three cuttings for dowels in the top of the southern architrave block (Figs. 47, 48) as to the probable length of the frieze above.¹ The rest of the frieze had been removed before 1800,² and has apparently perished. In the restoration of 1904 the original order of the blocks was preserved, but they were placed at the north end for structural reasons.

GREEK
CORNICE

With the exception of two, or possibly three, blocks the Greek cornice has disappeared, and its reconstruction is almost wholly dependent on the evidence of the inscriptions.³ These show that the corner blocks were respectively seven and one-half and six Attic feet long and three and one-half feet wide, and it seems probable that the longer block occupied the southern corner with its long face toward the south, that the shorter was similarly placed at the other end with its long face toward the north, and that the space between was filled by six blocks four feet and one five feet long (PLATE XXI, 4).

Among the remains of the cornice from the Erechtheum is a block (PLATE XXI, 3, 5), 1.297 m. long, which, judging from its cross-section and the cuttings for dowels in its upper surface, must have come from under a tympanum. It is of good Greek work and had  clamps at both ends, but the cutting for a  clamp shows that it was re-used in the Roman repairs. The back for a distance of 0.405 m. from the left end is cut away through the entire thickness of the block, laying bare one of the dowels. Such a cutting is most easily explained as intended for a wooden beam which rested on the backing of the frieze. The southern half of the east cornice is preserved (p. 24) and the data supplied by the dowels in the frieze and the presumable position of the joints of the tympanum forbid the supposition that this stone is from the northern half.⁴ It must, therefore, belong to the west cornice, and, as the dowel cuttings in the upper surface show, under a joint in the tympanum and its backing. The evidence of the inscriptions⁵ indicates that neither the central stone of this tympanum nor those to the south had backers; hence this cornice block must have been beneath one of the joints to the north. As the lengths of the central and of the two northern stones are given in the inscription, the position of these joints is known (PLATE XXI, 4), unless indeed the central stone were placed unsymmetrically, which would be very unusual. It is clear that this cornice block cannot be placed under the first joint to the north of the centre, since then the purlin would be brought impossibly close to

¹ Certainty on this point is probably unattainable, since there is no record of the cuttings for dowels in the bottoms of the frieze blocks, and it cannot now be determined whether they corresponded with those in the architrave.

² See the drawings by Smirke, Dodwell, and Gell (PLATES LI, 3, LII, 1; Figs. 220, 221).

³ The evidence is presented and fully discussed in Ch. IV, Commentary on the Inscriptions, pp. 356 ff.

⁴ All the cornice blocks of the east pediment were dowelled at the right or north end. This stone has a shift hole at the left end and dowel cuttings at both ends, but none of the latter can be combined with the dowel cuttings in the east frieze. Moreover, if the stone is placed next to the north corner at the east end, the height of the beam which rested in the cutting is excessive, being greater than that of the ridge beam of the North Portico, or of any known beam in the Parthenon or the Theseum. It may be added that, apart from this block, there are no traces of Roman repairs on the east cornice.

⁵ See Ch. IV, Commentary, pp. 361 f. For a different reconstruction, see W. B. Dinsmoor, *A. J. A.*, XVII, 1913, pp. 254 f.

the ridge beam and would also be excessively deep. The position under the next joint at the north end (PLATE XXI, 4) does, however, fulfill all the conditions. If the block is placed there, the distance to the north angle is seven and one-half Attic feet, or the length of an ordinary cornice block, four feet, plus the width of the corner block, three and one-half feet. If we assume the same thickness of rafters and cross-pieces as in the North Portico (0.262 m.), the height of the purlin at the north joint of the cornice block would be 0.58 m., within 0.005 m. of the height of the ridge beam in the North Portico (PLATE XXIV) as measured at the side, and perfectly suitable for a purlin. The dowel cutting and shift hole in the left end of this stone show that the Greek cornice was laid from south to north, while the pry holes in the upper surface indicate that the tympanum was laid in the opposite direction.

The second Greek block is a fragment now in the British Museum.¹ The greater part of the back has been cut away to render the stone more portable and there is little left beyond the projecting portion with the mouldings. The carving of the mouldings is Greek, but the presence of a Roman pour channel, 0.135 m. from the left edge, and the rough dressing on the top show that it was re-used in the Roman reconstruction. Another cornice block from the Erechtheum was found in the foundations of the temple of Rome and Augustus, and has been attributed to the west entablature, though it may possibly have come from the North Portico.²

The other blocks of this cornice (PLATES IV, XIX) belong, as has been said, to the Roman restoration, and are doubtless in part identical with those shown in the drawings of Dalton and Stuart. Their original position cannot, however, be determined except in the case of the re-used Greek block, which presumably was not moved, and of the partially preserved stone from the northwest corner. Both the crowning and the bed moulding of the cornice are uncarved where they turned the corner over the North Portico. Masons' marks are visible on the upper surfaces and near the joints of these later blocks (Fig. 114).³

As no remains of the Greek tympanum have been found, its reconstruction depends chiefly on epigraphic evidence,⁴ and has therefore been treated in the commentary on the inscriptions (pp. 360 ff.). The beginning of the Roman tympanum is cut on the angle block of the horizontal cornice (PLATE XX, 1). Of the tympanum proper only the southern stone is preserved. It has an inclination of almost 1:4, and shows a cutting in its lower sur-

¹ *Br. Mus., Sculpture*, I, p. 237, No. 415, where it is wrongly assigned to the North Portico; the label in the Museum correctly attributes it to the West Façade.

² Kawerau, *Ant. Denk.*, I, 3, text to pls. XXV, XXVI, merely calls it "ein vom Erechtheion stammender Geison-block"; Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1903, p. 466, definitely assigned it to the west entablature. The block cannot now be identified, and it is possible that it was placed on the North Portico in the recent restoration, when two Greek blocks which had been re-used by the Romans were discarded (p. 92).

³ On these masons' marks see Ch. II, p. 186.

⁴ The only evidence apart from the inscriptions is furnished by the Greek cornice block just described (PLATE XXI, 3, 5). If this block is correctly placed, it shows the position of one of the vertical joints in the tympanum, the direction in which the blocks on either side of this joint were laid (i. e., from north to south), the thickness of the blocks at the joint, and the presence there of backers having about the same thickness as the blocks in front of them.

face for a Roman dowel to secure it to the horizontal cornice, as well as cuttings above for  clamps, which fastened it to the backing.

RAKING
CORNICIE

Several pieces of the later raking cornice have been found, including one which fits the beginning of the tympanum as worked on the north horizontal cornice (PLATE XX, 1), and thus establishes the identification. The raking cornice, as it starts from the angle, is only 0.478 m. wide, but the presence of two cuttings for  clamps (PLATE XX, 1) proves that it had a backer, now lost. None of the other Roman blocks is sufficiently preserved to show its original width. In the restoration the Roman raking cornice, indicated by dotted lines in PLATE XIX, has been given the same width (0.82 m.) as the Greek raking cornice at the east end (p. 27). The bed moulding of the raking cornice was never cut into leaves and tongues (PLATE XIX), and on the face of both raking and horizontal cornices much greater variation is permitted in the width of the eggs and darts than is found in the Greek work on the Erechtheum.

VII. THE ROOF OF THE MAIN BUILDING

ROOF
BEAMS

The evidence of the Greek cornice block from the west pediment proves that, in addition to the indispensable ridge beam, there was on each side a beam, or purlin, as was indeed only reasonable, considering the distance from the ridge to the horizontal cornice (*ca.* 5.30 m.) and the weight of the marble tiling. These purlins would normally be placed midway between ridge and cornice, and the specifications in the inscriptions¹ indicate that this was their position over the East Cella. The west cornice block shows, however, that over the west rooms they were farther from the ridge. In this position the purlins bore upon the great transverse beam (p. 154) much nearer its points of support on the side walls (Fig. 49), thus producing a smaller bending moment in the great beam than if they had been given the same position as over the East Cella. Moreover, by giving the struts, which helped to sustain the beam, an angle of slightly less than 45° with the side walls, it was possible to bring them directly under the points where the purlins rested on the beam (Fig. 49). In view of the weight of the marble roof which rested on the purlins, and of the long distance from the west wall to the east cross-wall, the additional support furnished by the struts at these points was very desirable. Exact data as to the size of these beams are lacking. As restored in PLATES XV and XVII the ridge beam and the purlins have been given the width of the cutting for the purlin in the west cornice block (0.405 m.); their height is approximately that of the ridge beam of the North Portico (p. 95).

RAFTERS
AND
CROSS-
PIECES

The only evidence concerning the rest of the wooden construction of the roof is furnished by the statement of the inscription that the cross-pieces (*ιμάρες*),² which rested on the

¹ See Ch. IV, Inscription IX, ll. 17-19, and Commentary, pp. 355 f.

² In modern tiled roofs the tiles are nailed to "battens" resting on the rafters, and thus performing the functions of the Greek *ιμάρες* (Sturgis, *Dictionary of Architecture and Building*, s. v. 'Tile'). As, however, the word "batten" also denotes a piece of timber of a fixed size (Sturgis, *op. cit.*) it has seemed better to avoid a technical term which might prove misleading.

rafters and supported the tiles, were seven palms (0.574 m.) long and ten dactyls (0.205 m.) wide.¹ In the restorations (PLATES XVI, XVIII, XIX) they have been given a height of three dactyls (0.062 m.). It has also been assumed that they were set in notches cut in the raking cornice and in the rafters, a method of attachment which, without the use of nails, secured them firmly against slipping under the weight of the tiles, and also avoided the necessity of inserting wedges to compensate for the difference in inclination between the cross-pieces, which were parallel with the under surface of the tiles, and the rafters, which were parallel with the raking cornice (PLATE XVIII). The rafters have been given the

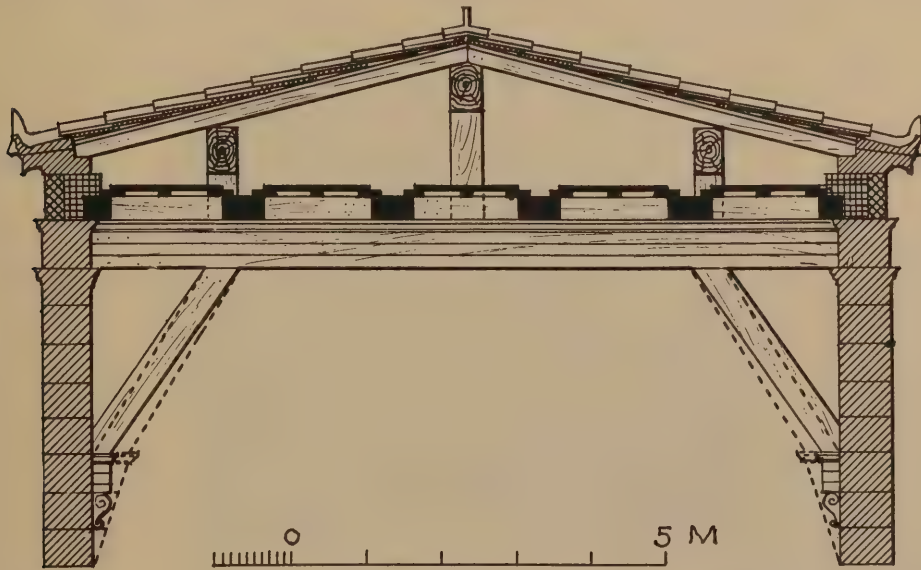


FIGURE 49. SECTION LOOKING WEST, SHOWING THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE TRANSVERSE BEAM AND OF THE TIMBERS OF THE ROOF OVER THE WEST ROOMS: RESTORED

same height (0.231 m. = *ca.* 11 dactyls) as the raking cornice, and a width of 0.24 m. (*ca.* 12 dactyls). If a rafter is placed under each cover tile — a good position, since it brings the support beneath the greatest weight, — the axial distance (0.674 m.) is 0.10 m. greater than the length of the cross-pieces, thus leaving nearly half of the rafter unweakened by the notches cut for the cross-pieces, and also providing an air space which would ventilate and so help to preserve the wood. The whole wooden framework of this roof is slighter than that restored in the North Portico,² but it must be remembered that here the weight to be borne by each rafter was less and was also better distributed upon the supports. The use of smaller timbers is thus quite intelligible.³

¹ See Ch. IV, Inscription XI, col. III, ll. 16 ff.

² For the restoration of the roof of the North Portico and a comparison of the respective weights supported, see pp. 95 f.

³ In Ch. IV, pp. 368–370, Fig. 189, will be found another restoration of the roof of the main building. As any reconstruction, in the absence of conclusive evidence, must be to a considerable extent conjectural, it has seemed best to present both hypotheses.

SIMA On the Acropolis are many fragments of a sima, both with and without lions' heads (PLATE XVII, 3; Fig. 50), which, in view of the following considerations, may properly be assigned to the sides and gables of the Erechtheum. On the sides of a building the angle between the lowest fascia of the sima and its bed is not the same at the corners as elsewhere, for at the corners the bed has the inclination of the gable, but elsewhere the inclination of the horizontal cornice.¹ Moreover, if the lowest fascia of the sima on the gable is vertical, it will probably remain so as it turns the corner and is continued on the horizontal sima. This permits the angle of the latter's bed to be determined. Among the fragments already mentioned, a sima from a gable has such a vertical fascia, and experiment shows



FIGURE 50. LION'S HEAD FROM SIMA OF MAIN BUILDING

that for it, and also for the corresponding horizontal sima, the angle of the base agrees with that required at the corners and along the sides of the Erechtheum. The fragments are sufficiently preserved to permit the following measurements: the axial distance of the lions' heads, the distance from the axis of a lion's head to the joint, and the distance on the lowest fascia from the corner to the nearest lion's head; so that the length of the ordinary blocks and of those at the angles can be determined as 1.348 m. and 0.674 m. respectively (PLATES XVI, XVIII). That these dimensions are appropriate for the sima of the Erechtheum is evident from the fact that sixteen of the long blocks and the two shorter angle blocks have a total length of 22.916 m., or within 0.01 m. of the length of the sima on the south side of the Erechtheum as calculated from the known length of the horizontal cornice. This close agreement in the results obtained by calculation and by measurement, when combined with the evidence from the angle of the bed and with the suitable height of the fragments, warrants the belief that the simas of the Erechtheum, as drawn in the orders of the main

¹ See PLATES XX, 3, and XVIII, at top. In the Erechtheum the gable has an inclination of about 1:4; the horizontal cornice, an average of 1:28.

building (PLATES XVI, XVIII), have been correctly identified.¹ Although these fragments, by reason of their poor execution, seem to belong to the Roman repairs,² they probably reproduce the dimensions and essential form of the original Greek sima. As the largest fragment of the cornice from the side walls is Roman, we should expect to find a Roman sima.

On the top of the sima are cuttings for antefixes over each joint and midway between the lions' heads. This shows that the length of a block of the sima corresponds to the width of two flat tiles of the roof, plus twice the interval between them. Moreover, in view of the small variation in the width of the ridge tiles used on the Acropolis of Athens, the total distance from eaves to ridge to be covered by n rows of tiles can be determined within a few centimetres. With these two facts in mind all the *flat roof tiles* of marble now remaining on the Acropolis and its slopes were examined, with the following results. The length and breadth of four types could be directly measured and the length alone of two other types. Of the four types first mentioned, one belongs on the Parthenon, another on the Propylaea,³ and a third fulfills the conditions imposed by the main roof of the Erechtheum (PLATE XVII, 1). On this main roof there were eight rows of tiles between eaves and ridge, and thirty-two, in addition to the two gable simas, from one end to the other of the building.⁴ Of the *cover tiles* on the Acropolis complete specimens of four distinct types are preserved. That which has been assigned to the main roof of the Erechtheum is the one which has the same length as the flat tiles of the roof (neglecting the overlap in both cases) and in width corresponds with the marks of weathering on the flat tiles (PLATE XVII, 2). Of two types of *ridge tile* found on the Acropolis, the one which has the same overlap on the flat tiles that one flat tile has on another has been tentatively assigned to the Erechtheum (PLATE XXIV, 8). From four types of *ridge cover tile* on the Acropolis that one was selected for the Erechtheum which had the same width as the ordinary cover tile (PLATE XXIV, 7). The flat and cover tiles are represented by specimens of the best Greek workmanship, as well as by those dating from the time of subsequent repairs on the building. The ridge tile is known only from a single example so weathered that its original technique cannot be made out. The ridge cover tile shows good Roman work.

The attribution of the antefixes (PLATES XVI, XVIII) is based on their fitting the cuttings in the top of the sima and also its rear profile. The examples preserved show by their number that they come from an important building. The method of attachment is not uniform and the workmanship also varies widely, but all that have been discovered probably belong to repairs made in Roman times.

¹ The assignment to the Erechtheum is rendered even more probable by the fact that several fragments of this sima have been found in the rubble foundation of the north aisle wall of the church.

² On the renewal of simas, cf. *Olympia*, II, pp. 8, 22.

³ For the identification of these types see Penrose, *Ath. Arch.*, pls. XVII, XXXIV; Bohn, *Propylaeen*, p. 20.

⁴ For the identification of the tiles of the North Portico, see p. 97. The buildings to which the other types belonged are unidentified.

ACROTERIA

Diligent search on the Acropolis has not been rewarded by the discovery of any fragments which can be referred to the central or corner acroteria of the Erechtheum. The corner block of the sima shows that in later classical times the acroteria of the angles could not have been of any great size, as there is no trace of any platform, such as is found elsewhere and would have been needed for their support.¹

VIII. THE NORTH PORTICO

On the front of the portico the spacing of the columns shows an exceptional departure from normal Greek methods, in that the intercolumniation in the centre is slightly narrower than that on either side.² This is due to the fact that regularity in the position of the columns is here subordinated to regularity in the construction of the marble ceiling. The two intermediate columns are placed beneath alternate beams of the ceiling (PLATE I; Fig. 57), the axis of each capital coinciding with that of the beam above, while in the corner columns the axis of the capital coincides with that of the epistyle on the sides. Since, however, the beams are narrower than the epistyle, the axial distance between the capitals is less in the central space than at the sides by one-half the difference between the width of the epistyle (0.766 m.) and that of the beams (0.656 m.), or by 0.055 m. The supports of the epistyle on the sides of the portico are so arranged that the average width of the free space between the two columns is about 0.05 m. less than that between the central column and the adjacent anta.

COLUMNS

The corner columns leaned inward on the diagonal of the portico,³ the northeast column, which is intact, having its axis inclined 0.018 m. to the west and south. The axes of the intermediate columns of the north front, in addition to their southward inclination, which is the same as that of the corner columns, since the axes of their capitals also coincide with the axis of the architrave, lean 0.0075 m. toward the middle point of the north front of the portico. This inclination has been determined by comparison of the axial distances of the capitals, as calculated from the beams of the ceiling, with those of the bases, and not by plumbing, as the western of these two columns has been reconstructed. The rear column on the east side of the portico, beside inclining inward to keep the axis of the capital beneath the axis of the epistyle, has an inclination of 0.005 m. to the south. The rear column on the west side is now vertical, but it has been reconstructed. The inclination is effected by making perpendicular to the axis of the columns all the joints except those in the base and immediately below the capital, which are horizontal.

The total height of the columns is 7.635 m. The heights of the several parts, which are

¹ See Penrose, *Ath. Arch.*, pls. XVII, XXXI. For a possible reference to the angle acroteria, cf. Callimachus, *Fr.* 122. A restoration is given in J.-M., *Atlas*, pls. XXVII, XXVIII.

² The irregularity was noted by Stuart and Revett, II, Ch. II, pl. III, and also by Inwood, *ed. maj.*, Book XXII, p. 103, who calls attention to a similar irregularity in the Ionic temple on the Ilissus, Stuart and Revett, I, Ch. II, pl. II.

³ Cf. Penrose, *Ath. Arch.*, pl. XIV, "Inclination of shaft 0.033 in 22.0 feet."

practically the same in all the columns, are as follows: stylobate to joint in base (*below* the upper torus) 0.239 m.; six drums, respectively 0.793 m., 0.807 m., 1.501 m., 1.507 m., 1.273 m.,

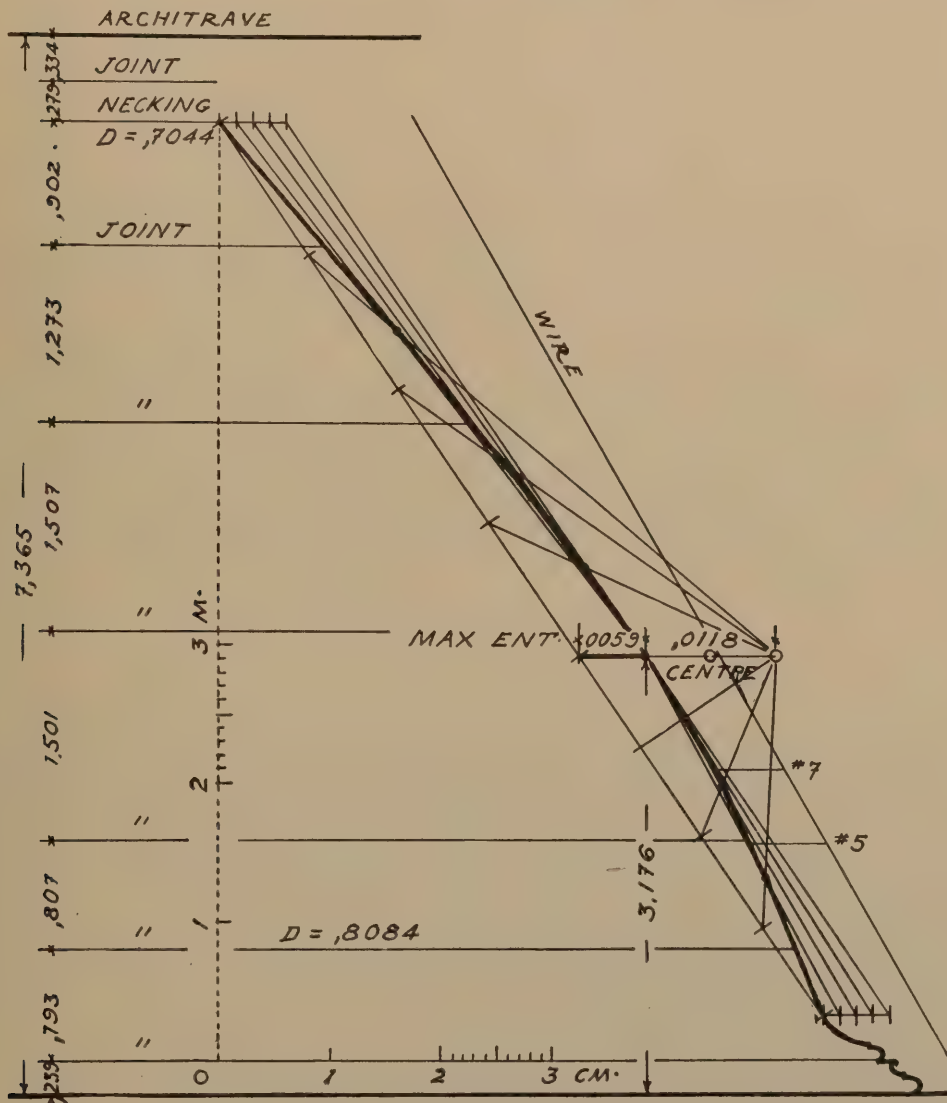


FIGURE 51. NORTH PORTICO: CURVE OF ENTASIS OF COLUMNS

1.181 m. (the last drum includes the anthemion and the egg-and-dart moulding below the guilloche); capital 0.334 m. (Fig. 51).

The columns, unlike those of the East Portico, were given a delicate entasis.¹ The grounds for this difference in treatment may be found partly in the greater height of the columns of the North Portico, and partly in the wider intercolumniations, because of which the columns both actually and relatively bore a much greater weight than those of the

¹ "The most delicate curve which has ever been applied to any architectural line for the purpose of pleasing the eye is that probably which forms the entasis of the columns of the Erechtheum," Penrose, *Ath. Arch.*, p. 33.

East Portico; it was, therefore, desirable to increase their apparent strength, and this was accomplished by the addition of an entasis. The entasis in terms of the length of the shaft is 1:1080; in terms of the lower diameter is 1:134; and in terms of the semi-diminution is 1:9. The maximum entasis is 0.0059 m., and falls at a point 3.176 m. above the stylobate. Upon investigation the curve of the entasis proved to approximate very closely to that formed by two hyperbolas, almost identical in equation, having a common centre and tangent to each other at the maximum entasis (Fig. 51);¹ the greatest divergency from the measured curve occurs at the point 7 in Figure 51, and amounts to 0.008 in. or 0.0002 m.² In no case is the curve vertical; it starts at the very bottom with an inward inclination (Fig. 51).

The direction of the guilloche on the upper torus of three of the bases is to the right and on the other three to the left in regular alternation, commencing with the base of the southern column on the east side. The pattern also varies somewhat, since on the corner columns the centre of the "ribbon" is concave, while on the others it is convex (PLATES XXII, B, XXX, 7, A, B, XXXVII, 3, 4). On the antae³ the guilloche has the same pattern as on the corner columns, while in direction it is symmetrical about the angles as well as about the axis of the face (PLATES XXIII, XXXVII, 5).⁴

In the columns of the East Portico, there is below the anthemion of the necking a bead-and-reel, but in those of the North Portico this is replaced by a flat fillet so low in its projection that it could not have been designed for a similar decoration (PLATES XVI, XXII, XXX, 8, XXXVI, 4; Figs. 52, 137). The reeding about the top of each flute in the columns of the North Portico is a refinement not found elsewhere in the building (Figs. 52, 137).

CAPITALS The eyes of the volutes of the capitals of the columns are sunk in order to receive, as filling, a disc 0.066 m. in diameter, not improbably of gilded bronze (Fig. 52).⁵ There are no holes for fastening the discs, which must, therefore, have been either driven or cemented into place. The surface of the sinking is slightly roughened.

In three distinct places on the capitals of the North Portico are series of small drilled holes, which are completely lacking both in the capitals of the East Portico and in the half-capitals of the West Façade.

To begin with the set which is at once the easiest to explain and the best preserved: on the sides of each capital, in the channels of the bolsters, are three holes placed symmetrically, and in most of these still remain bronze pins forking to right and left (PLATE XXII; Fig. 53),

¹ In the figure the horizontal distances are magnified eighty times as compared with the vertical heights. The word CENTRE denotes the common centre of the two hyperbolas.

² In the study of this entasis the dimensions given by Penrose (*Ath. Arch.*, pp. 33, 41; pl. XIV) were verified and proved exceedingly accurate; they were, therefore, used throughout the investigation. Penrose, however, found the closest approximation to the measured entasis in a single hyperbola, in which the greatest divergency (at 5, Fig. 51) amounts to 0.0144 inches or 0.00037 m. In addition to the less accurate approximation this curve is much more difficult to plot than the one given in Figure 51, which has also the advantage of permitting the maximum entasis to be placed at any desired height. For a detailed discussion of the methods of determining entasis, see G. P. Stevens, 'Entasis of Roman Columns,' *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, IV, 1924, pp. 121-152.

³ To avoid awkward circumlocution the pier at the southwest corner is treated as an anta in this description.

⁴ A slight difference between the antae is observable in the working of the guilloche on the centre of the north face.

⁵ See above, p. 22, and Ch. IV, Inscription XVII, col. II, ll. 41-43.



FIGURE 52. NORTH PORTICO: WEST HALF OF CAPITAL, THIRD COLUMN FROM WEST
ON NORTH SIDE

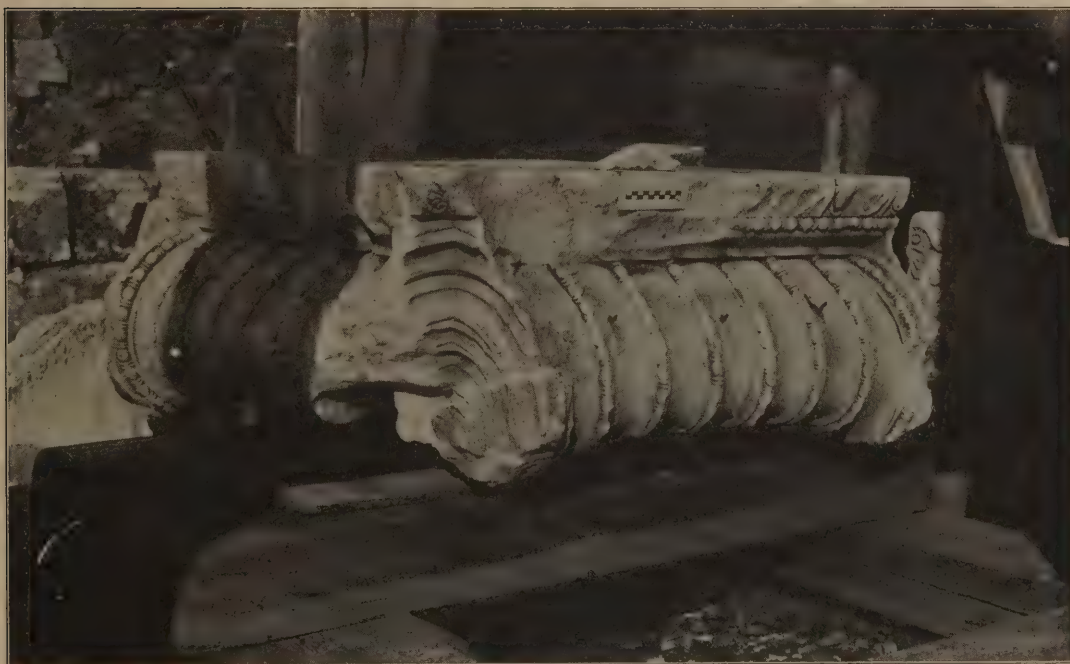


FIGURE 53. NORTH PORTICO: INNER ANGLE OF CAPITAL OF COLUMN AT NORTHWEST CORNER

which probably secured garlands or other decorations at festivals. As no holes are found on the antae, though they are present on the bolsters opposite the antae, the decorations seem to have hung vertically from each column rather than to have stretched from column to column.

The second set of holes occurs on the front and rear of each capital in the groove¹ which, starting from the small triangular space between the guilloche and the volutes, follows the spiral of the latter, and with gradually diminishing width and depth finally disappears in the eye of the volute. In each of these grooves are four or five holes placed without regard to symmetry or to any system of arrangement that can be discovered. Occasionally there are two holes close together in the direction of the groove. The remains of bronze pins, broken off close to the surface of the marble, are to be seen in a number of instances. Inwood states² that the pins in these holes were forked like the others, which might imply that they served the same purpose. But in view of the lack of symmetry in the arrangement of the holes, their number, and their proximity to one another, this is hardly probable, as a glance at Inwood's plate will show. It seems quite possible that in respect to this forking there has been a confusion between the two sets of holes, respectively in the grooves and on the bolsters, or else that the original shape of the pins in the grooves was inferred from the better preserved pins in the bolsters. It is certainly hard to understand why since 1819 the forked pins should have disappeared from the grooves on both interior and exterior of the portico, and yet still be so relatively well preserved on the bolsters.³ If, however, the pins in these holes were not to sustain decorations, the alternative seems to be the explanation apparently first suggested by William Kinnard,⁴ and since adopted by other writers, that they secured a strip of metal, which followed the groove from beginning to end and was terminated, perhaps, by a small palmette in the triangular space already mentioned. In at least one of the capitals, there is a change of color on the marble here, which may be due to the former presence of such a palmette, although this explanation is far from certain. On the other hand, Puchstein has shown⁵ that there is a type of Ionic capital, represented by other examples as well as those from the Erechtheum,

¹ On the best preserved capital of the North Portico (the third from the west on the front), the groove in the east volute on the outer face has the following width and depth, as measured at regular intervals, starting vertically above the eye (the interval between the first two points is a quarter revolution, between each of the others a half revolution):

Width	0.015	0.0125	0.011	0.008	0
Depth	0.0185	0.016	0.02	0.014	0

² Inwood, *ed. min.*, p. 5; on pl. IV, forked pins, indicated by dotted lines, are shown irregularly in the volute.

³ A note of J. L. Wolfe (App. A, XVII) reads "Bronze nails seen in the whole circuit of channel between volutes as well as in eye and deep sunk angle." He does not refer to these nails in his note-book, where he states expressly that there were *forked* pins in the guilloche as well as in the bolsters (App. A, XVII).

⁴ W. Kinnard, Stuart and Revett,² II, p. 73, note a, and IV, p. 17, note f. See also E. Metzger, *Kunstblatt*, 1833, No. 24, p. 95; Tétaz, *R. Arch.*, VIII, 1, 1851, p. 93; Beulé, II, p. 271. J.-J. Hittorff, *Restitution du Temple d'Empédocle à Sélinonte*, pl. XI, fig. 1, gives a colored restoration of this capital with the bronze strip inserted. J. L. Wolfe (App. A, XVII) thought "the glass and gilt ornaments about it must have been very injurious to the effect — filling up the channels between the volutes, which now give distinction to them."

⁵ *Das Ionische Capitell* (47tes Berl. Winkelmannsprogramm), p. 25.

which is characterized by this sharply cut groove following the spiral of the volute, but which in only one other instance has preserved any evidence of an inserted strip of metal.¹ The groove, in fact, while well designed for marking the revolutions of the spiral, with its shadow that constantly increases in intensity as the cutting deepens and widens, is poorly adapted for the reception of a strip of metal, owing to this very change in depth, which increases the labor of forming the strip of the proper thickness, and offers no adequate attachment as it starts from the eye. Consequently, although it seems necessary to admit the probable existence of such a strip of metal, through lack of any more reasonable explanation for the holes under discussion, it may be permissible to doubt whether the capital was designed with the intention of receiving any such decoration.

The holes forming the third series are found only on the inner face of the capitals, drilled vertically in the top of the guilloche, one on each side of the axis of the capital and 0.14 m. apart. They are 0.008 m. in diameter. They may be either brought into connection with hanging decorations like those on the bolsters,² or combined with the holes in the grooves of the volute, if the latter served to fasten a strip of metal.

The guilloche was decorated with glass beads, all of which have now disappeared, though they seem to have been fairly well preserved in the early part of the last century.³ Colored drawings by Donaldson and Haller von Hallerstein, an outline by Inwood, and a note by Joseph Wolfe suggest by their minor discrepancies that the ornamentation was not the same on all the columns, or else that the darker shades were not easily distinguished.⁴ In

¹ At Delphi an Ionic capital, copied from the Erechtheum, has similar pin holes in the deep groove (Pomtow, *Beiträge zur Topographie von Delphi*, pl. VII, 12), while in another capital (Courby, *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, 1, figs. 43, 44) the groove is filled by a marble reeding terminating in a palmette. Both capitals belong to votive monuments of the third century B.C. (Bourguet, *Ruines de Delphes*, p. 148; Replat, *B. C. H.*, XLVI, 1922, pp. 435 ff.).

² Perhaps the most probable view, if "Cassas," Haller, Wolfe, and Inwood are right in saying that they contained forked pins. "Cassas" (Drawings for Choiseul-Gouffier, Louvre, p. 142) draws, in the guilloche of the corner capital, forked pins like those in the bolsters, and in a marginal note suggests they were to support garlands. Haller von Hallerstein (MSS, Strasbourg, Box III, Vol. 8, p. 237) draws two pins in the guilloche between the volutes, and adds as a note "Crochets de fer dont il y a deux au dessus de l'ovole entre les volutes des Chapiteaux. Peut-être servoient-ils pour y attacher les festons ou draperies avec les quels on ornoit le Temple pendant quelque cérémonie extraordinaire." J. L. Wolfe (App. A, XVII) mentions "bent nails on top of plat-band and in every other channel on the baluster side of Cap." Inwood, pl. IV, draws forked pins in the guilloche as well as in the volutes.

³ E. D. Clarke, *Travels*, Pt. 2, Vol. III, p. 797, note (see App. A, XV), says that Lusieri was the first to detect this decoration. It is, however, noticed by Locatelli (see App. A, VII, A), and the volume of drawings in the Louvre, attributed to Cassas, and probably made about 1786 or a little later, p. 142, contains the following note concerning a corner capital of the North Portico: "Les yeux des entrelacs qui en dehors sont creux, sont remplies dans l'intérieur de petites boules de verre, bleu et jaune." It is also mentioned by J.-G. Legrand, *Gal. ant.*, I, p. 74 (App. A, XIV, 13): "On y avoit poussé cette recherche jusqu'à incruster des bronzes et des émaux coloriés dans l'oeil de la volute et dans les entrelacs du chapiteau qui répondent à la hauteur de cet oeil." Legrand's information almost certainly came from Fauvel, who had probably discovered the beads for himself. Legrand's volume appeared in 1806. Clarke was in Athens in 1801, but his book was not published until 1814.

⁴ T. L. Donaldson, drawing, British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, "Disposition of the coloured glass beads in the interlacing ornament in the capitals of the tetrastyle portico. The base was ornamented in the same manner." Cf. *Transactions, R. I. B. A.*, I, Pt. 2, 1842, p. 107, and plate: "The Secretary [Donaldson] also submitted to the Committee various portions of glass eyes, which he had taken from the torus between the volutes of the Ionic columns of the Triple Temple in the Acropolis of Athens. They are of four different colours, and were arranged in the order shown on the plate." This shows the upper and lower rows of alternate blue and red, and the centre row of yellow and purple. Haller von Hallerstein (MSS, Strasbourg, Box III, Vol. 8, p. 236) says: "Dans le premier

the upper and lower rows were the same two colors in alternation and there were two contrasting colors in the middle row. The statement made on the drawing in the British Museum and sometimes in print¹ that the bases of the columns were decorated in the same manner is manifestly incorrect.

ANTAE The faces of the antae are without entasis and follow the inclination of the adjacent wall.² The mouldings on the bases of the antae have the same height as those at the base of the north wall outside of the portico,³ but a somewhat greater projection. They are, however, lower and project less than the mouldings on the bases of the columns (PLATE XXX, 5, 6, 7).⁴

EPISTYLE The blocks of the epistyle were secured to the tops of the capitals of the columns by two dowels at each joint, and were mitred over the corner columns in the manner shown in PLATE XXIV, 2. The dowels show that at the northwest corner the block on the west was placed before the block on the north, but otherwise data are lacking as to the order in which this course was laid. At the southeast corner the epistyle forms a peculiar and irrational junction with the north wall (Fig. 54), since in the case of the two upper fasciae no allowance was made for the change in the surface of the wall produced by the final dressing. On the south side of the portico the blocks of the epistyle extended through the wall, but in

et troisième rang est la couleur de ces pierres bleu et noir, dans le second rang jaune et pourpre." Inwood (*ed. min.*, p. 5, pl. IV) calls the first and third rows black and light blue; the second yellow and dark blue. Wolfe (App. A, XVII) writes: "In the eyes of Plat-band glass eyes remain composed of opaque vitreous substances — of bright colours — yellow, blue and purple. In one instance two of these eyes in angle." Tétaz, *Mémoire explicatif* (MS., Bibl. Éc. B.-A.), p. 53, reports: "Deux [petits cylindres d'émail] sont encore en place, l'un bleu, l'autre vert." Tétaz was in Athens in 1847 and 1848. He seems to have been the last to see any beads in place. Those brought to London by Donaldson have disappeared.

¹ As, for example, by J. Woods, *Letters of an Architect*, II, p. 256; Prokesch von Osten, II, p. 409.

² On the inclination of the north wall, see p. 48.

³ Within the portico this course is without mouldings.

⁴ For differences in the treatment of the anthemion on different sides of the anta capitals and on the epicanitis ranging with them, see Ch. II, pp. 203 ff.

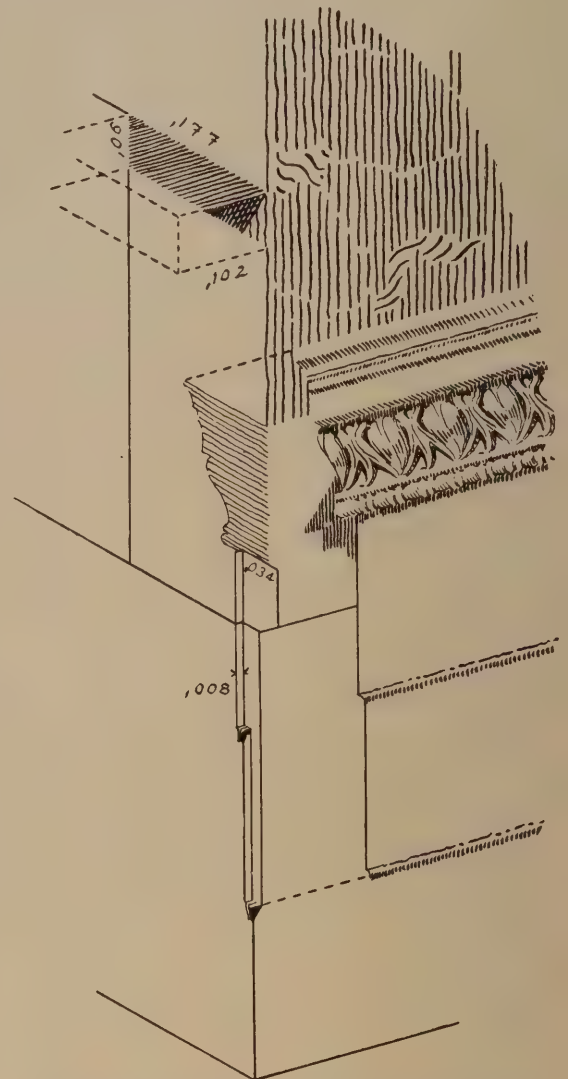


FIGURE 54. NORTH PORTICO: ABUTMENT OF EAST ARCHITRAVE AGAINST NORTH WALL OF MAIN BUILDING: ISOMETRIC

To show more clearly the relation the architrave is not drawn in contact with the wall

the interior they were cut down to the height of a single wall course. The space behind the upper part of the epistyle and the ceiling was filled by two courses of sheathing, each the height of a wall course (p. 50; PLATES IX, XI; Figs. 32, 55).

The construction of the ceiling preceded the setting of the frieze, otherwise the huge CEILING marble beams, 6.65 m. long, could not have been fastened to the epistyle, as they were, by two dowels at each end. The central beam, which was inserted during the Roman repairs to replace one that had been broken, was not dowelled (PLATE VIII, 4).¹ All the beams were cut down 0.136 m. at the north end, and the westernmost beam at the south end also, in order that they might range with the frieze and furnish a level bed for the cornice (PLATE XXIV, 1); at the south, where all except the westernmost were inserted in the north wall of the building, the cutting was much less, only 0.08 m., to correspond with a joint in the wall, so that, as has been said, epistyle and beams together might be equal to three courses of the wall as seen from within (Figs. 32, 55).

The interbeams have, of course, the same profile as the beams themselves. Dowels on their east sides, to hold them to the epistyle, show that the laying of the ceiling beams and of the blocks between them began at the west and proceeded toward the east. On the south side of the portico the tops of the interbeams range with the ceiling beams as cut down (PLATE X; Figs. 32, 55); on the north the interbeams were lower, having the height of the rabbets which were cut in the beams to give a bearing on either side to the blocks containing the coffers. As these rabbets had been cut to the ends of the beams, that is, beyond the bearing of the coffer blocks, the interbeams were naturally given the same height, in order to facilitate clamping them to the beams (PLATE XXIV, 1, 3). On the south side, where the beams and interbeams formed part of the wall, this precaution was evidently judged unnecessary.²

On the north side of the portico, in order that no empty space should be left between the interbeams and the cornice, slabs of marble, 0.074 m. to 0.079 m. in thickness, were laid on top of the former, and held sufficiently by the stones about them to render clamps unnecessary (PLATE XXIV, 3, and perspective). One of these slabs has been preserved, and shows that dowels extending into the blocks of the cornice bound these two courses together.

The fact that the cornice of the portico and the first course (epicranitis, p. 51) of the north wall of the temple rest in part on the blocks containing the coffers, proves that the ceiling was completed before anything at a higher level was put in place (PLATE VIII, 4).

Except in the second row from the east (PLATES I, VIII, 4; Fig. 56) there are two coffers

¹ This beam in addition to lacking the usual dowels at the ends is not quite so high above the tops of the coffer blocks, the finish given to the southern end is not that of the other beams (PLATE XI), and there are slight differences in the carving of the mouldings.

² On this wall the interbeam west of the Roman beam is also Roman. The egg-and-dart is not symmetrical in turning the corner, as it is on the Greek interbeams; the surface is well finished only in a narrow band around the edges instead of throughout; and the astragalus at the top has a greater projection than elsewhere.



FIGURE 55. NORTH PORTICO: EAST SIDE OF ROOF FROM SOUTH,
MODERN RAFTERS PARTIALLY LAID



FIGURE 56. NORTH PORTICO: NORTHEAST CORNER OF CEILING, FROM ABOVE

to each block,¹ and shift holes — so far as an examination was possible — show that in each row the blocks were laid beginning at the south and proceeding northward. The blocks are cut on top to follow roughly the shape of the coffers below (PLATES VIII, XXIV; Fig. 56), in order to reduce the weight which rested on the beams of the ceiling. Only those at the ends of each row are fastened to the beams. The joints of the blocks did not fall on the axis between the coffers, but at the side of one of the two projecting bead-and-reel mouldings, in which position they were almost invisible from below (PLATE XXIII; Fig. 57), and did not interfere with the painted maeander.²

Of this maeander, in the encaustic technique, which framed every coffer, enough is preserved to render possible the exact determination of the pattern and especially of the way in which the corners were turned (PLATE XXIII; Fig. 58A). The pattern of the painted egg-and-dart on the mouldings of the coffers can also be reproduced exactly (Fig. 58B).³ Neither here nor elsewhere in the temple is it now possible to determine the original colors. A hole in the centre of each coffer evidently received a bolt (Fig. 57), to secure an ornament of marble (p. 409), or possibly of metal, which, as the ground of the coffers is left somewhat rough, was apparently of considerable size, and probably occupied almost the entire rectangle. In the upper side of each coffer a slot in connection with the hole (PLATE XXIII, centre; Fig. 56) ensured a fixed position in the coffer for this decoration.

In rebuilding the portico in 1903, the Greek architect Balanos discovered the previous existence of an hitherto unsuspected opening extending through ceiling and roof at the south end of the second row of coffers from the east (Fig. 57).⁴ The two southernmost coffers of this row are omitted and the next coffer has a broader frame than usual on its south side.⁵ The upper surface of this frame and that of the two beams on either side of the omitted coffers are dressed down and the rabbets in the beams filled with pieces of marble, clamped in place — all in order to furnish a bed for the upright blocks which formed the sides of the opening (PLATES III, VII, VIII, 4, IX, XXIV; Figs. 55, 59). The blocks from the south and west sides have been found and replaced; those now on the east and north sides are modern,⁶ but the original slabs have left abundant traces of their former existence in the carefully dressed beds, clamp cuttings, and weather marks.

¹ Durm, *Baukunst der Griechen*,³ fig. 153, is incorrect in showing *four* coffers in each block; between each pair of beams is one row, not two, of coffers. *Id.*, *ibid.*, fig. 375, and in *Constructive u. polychrome Details der gr. Baukunst*, pl. VII, gives the coffers correctly as seen from below.

² Here, too, Roman repairs can be traced. Probably the entire row of coffers east of the central (Roman) beam, the two southern coffers in the first row west of this beam, and two, cut in a peculiar fashion, farther north in the second row are due to the restorers (PLATE VIII, 4). The inferior workmanship, particularly as displayed on the upper surface of the stones, is the chief reason for assigning them to the Roman period.

³ In the mouldings, no less than in the rendering of the maeander, the colored plate, Durm, *Baukunst der Griechen*,³ p. 252, is inaccurate.

⁴ The discovery was announced and its significance briefly discussed by Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1903, pp. 467-468.

⁵ The original block is in the British Museum (*Sculpture*, I, p. 238, No. 416). The block now in the ceiling is the only one which in the recent restoration it was necessary to make entirely anew.

⁶ These modern blocks are not shown in the plates.

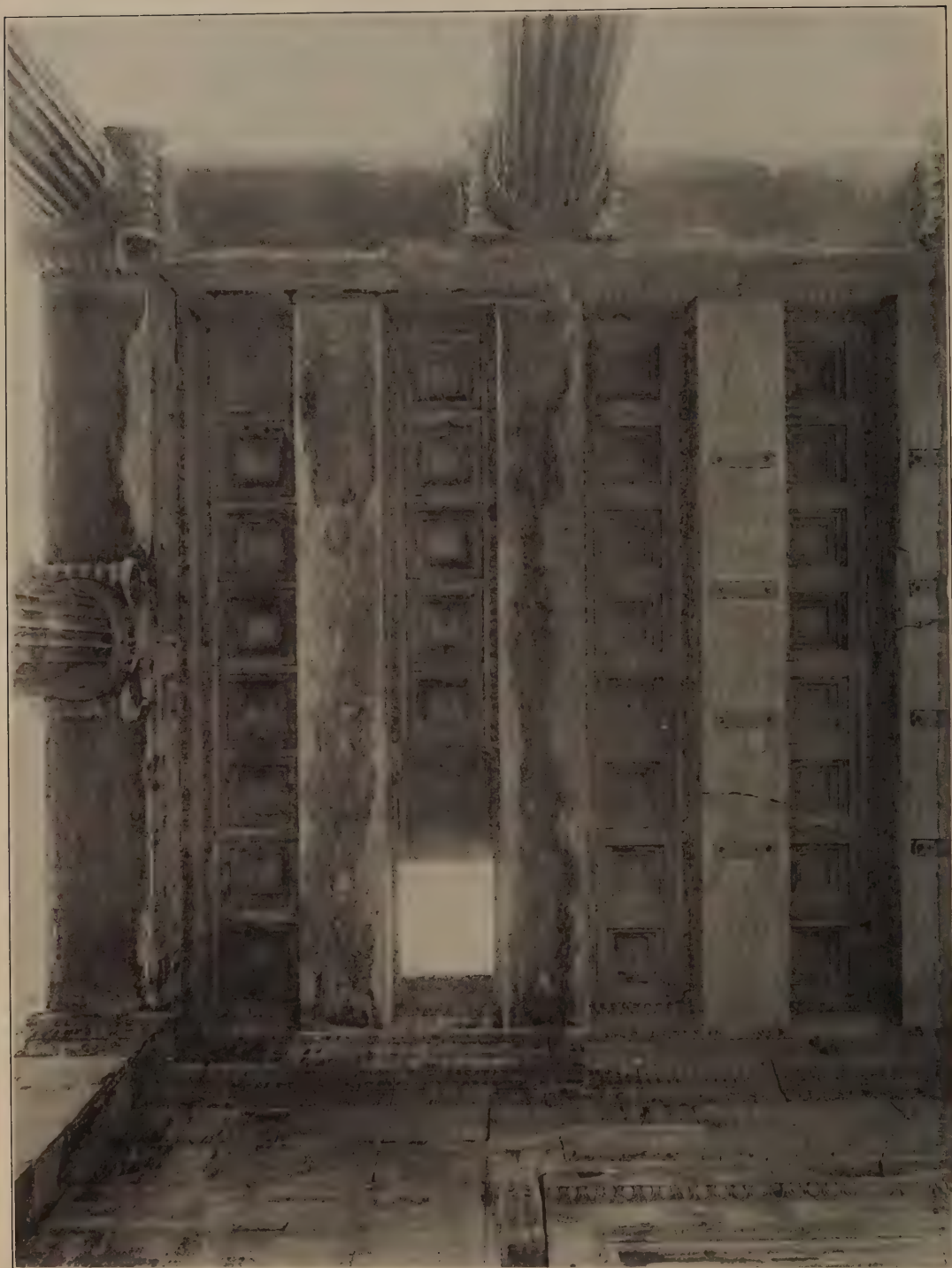


FIGURE 57. NORTH PORTICO: EAST PORTION OF CEILING, FROM BELOW (MARCH 26, 1909)

The two original blocks have cuttings in the upper surface, evidently once connected with a wooden construction. The south stone is cut to receive a narrow rafter. On the west stone the cutting is in the same plane as the upper surface of the block in the east half of the pediment and seems intended to hold a wooden cross-piece (Fig. 63). The tops of both stones are broken where they project above these cuttings, but they have been so restored in PLATE XXIV as to align with the plane of the top of the raking cornice. On the bottom of the stone from the south side is a slot running through from side to side (PLATES VII, XXIV; Fig. 59). Since the centre of gravity, as may be determined by both mathematical

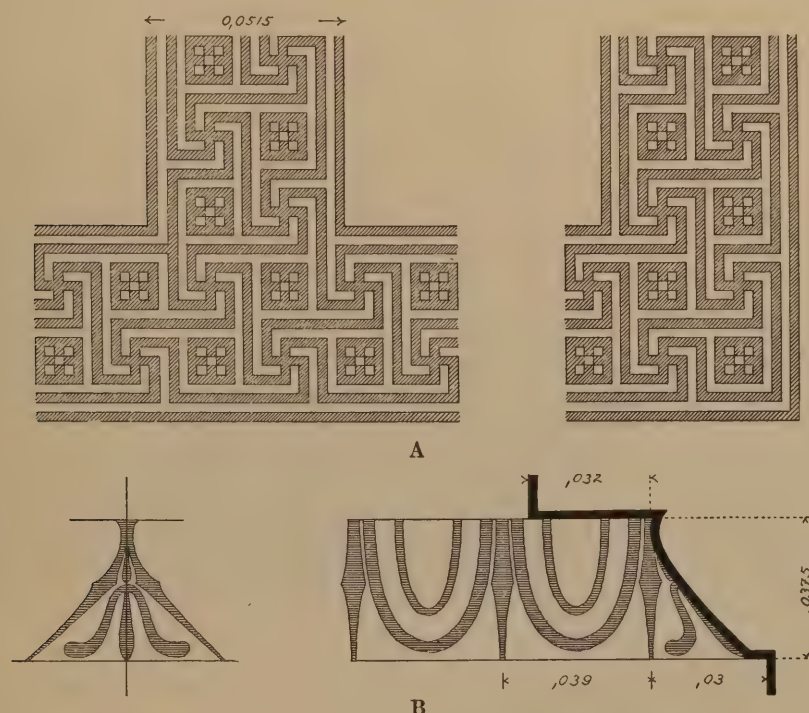


FIGURE 58. NORTH PORTICO: PAINTED ORNAMENTS OF CEILING.
(A) MAEANDER SURROUNDING COFFERS. (B) EGG-AND-DART ON
MOULDINGS OF COFFERS

and graphical calculation, lies directly over this slot, the latter was probably cut to hold a hoisting rope. It would be invisible from below after the stone was placed. The form of the roof tiles used about the opening is unknown, but a probable arrangement has been restored in Figure 63.

A scratch line on the top of the epistyle marks the position of the face of the frieze, which was set 0.013 m. behind the line of the lowest fascia of the epistyle in order to increase the space available for the attached figures. The frieze has a batter of 0.005 m. (PLATE XXIII, at left). On the east and west sides of the portico the backing of the frieze, 0.45 m. thick, was a single stone, in order that the resemblance to the ceiling beams might be as close as possible. The stone on the east side is still intact (Fig. 57).

FRIEZE

CORNICE

On the same side the cornice has also remained *in situ*; ¹ elsewhere it has now been replaced, with but a small piece of new material on the west side (PLATES IV, VIII, 4). On the north side a shift hole shows that this course was laid from east to west. When in the course of the Roman repairs the cornice on this side was removed and later replaced, the first and second blocks west of that on the east corner were interchanged in position. In the reconstruction of 1903 they were given their original order, as determined by the correspondence of the cuttings for  clamps. The Roman restorers, however, must have inserted



FIGURE 59. NORTH PORTICO: OPENING IN CEILING AND ROOF

some new material, for on the Acropolis are two blocks (Fig. 60) ² which, judging from the dimensions, belong to the North Portico, and from the horizontal upper surface, were once under the pediment. Both are Greek blocks, but cuttings for  clamps and a Roman lewis hole show that they were re-used in the later repairs. Neither the original Greek nor the later Roman position ³ can now be ascertained with certainty. Each stone has on the bottom the rust marks of a  clamp, which probably held a beam to the frieze. As no new material was used here in the recent reconstruction, it would seem that some old Greek blocks discarded by the Romans have now been replaced along with some of the new Roman stones.

¹ The block next to the south end is horizontal on top and rough, as if a stone thinner than usual had been employed. The end block has no  cuttings, but simple slots, such as are found at two or three other places in the portico.

² In 1924 the block on the left lay at the northwest corner of the foundation of the Old Temple; the block on the right was near the wall of the Acropolis, northeast of the East Portico of the Erechtheum.

³ The stone on the right may have come from under the central tympanum block; the other possibly from under a western block, as a dressing on top, 0.52 m. wide, indicates that the stone above had a width of only 0.51 m., while that of the central stone is 0.60 m.

The face of the cornice is generally vertical, but at the north end of the east side it has an inclination, upward and forward, of 0.0025 m. The curve of the soffit of the cornice is a parabola, the focus of which is on the horizontal line drawn through the bottom of the drip,

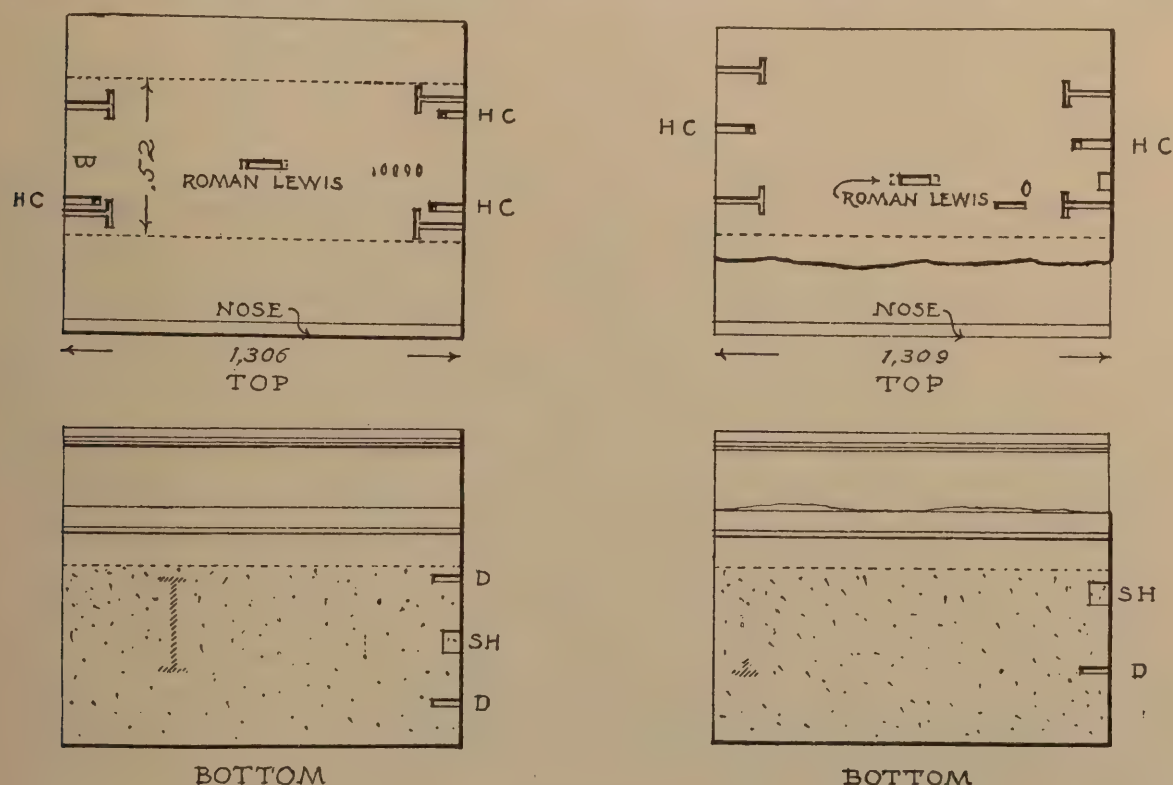


FIGURE 60. NORTH PORTICO: GREEK CORNICE BLOCKS, USED BY ROMANS, BUT NOT REPLACED IN 1903
The carved mouldings are not indicated

and 0.02 m. (one dactyl) from its inner edge (Fig. 61).¹ The inclination of the axis downward and inward is slightly less than one-sixth of a right angle (Fig. 61).²

Of the tympanum only the central block and the one next to it on the east are ancient. TYMPANUM

¹ The problem presented in the construction of this curve is that of passing a parabola, the focus of which is given, through two points, A and B (Fig. 61). The directrix is the tangent to the two circles described from A and B as centres with radii equal to the respective distances of these points from the focus. A line drawn through the focus and perpendicular to the directrix gives the axis. From these data the curve itself is readily constructed according to either of the methods indicated in Figures 61 and 62. The parabola can be varied by changing the distance of the focus from the point A along the horizontal line. When the method shown in Figure 62 is used in laying out the curve of a stylobate, the uneven distances, 1, 3, 5, 7, etc., are perhaps the *scamilli impares* (small steps the heights of which are denoted by successive odd numbers) mentioned by Vitruvius (III, 4, 5; IV, 5, 9). For a discussion of this question see G. P. Stevens, 'Entasis of Roman Columns,' *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, IV, 1924, pp. 149-150.

² Penrose, *Ath. Arch.*, p. 51 (cf. pl. XIX, 13) gives the curve of the soffit of the cornice from the main building, and adds in a note "that of the northern portico scarcely differs from this."

³ Early drawings by Gell (Fig. 222), Smirke (PLATE LI, 3), and G. L. Taylor (PLATE LII, 2) show that the western part of the pediment had disappeared as early as 1800. According to Kinnard (Stuart and Revett,² II, p. 72, note c) in 1825 "the tympanum of the tetrastyle portico remains, and indicates the rise of the pediment. It is of white marble, and consists of three slabs having two vertical joints." Curiously enough Dodwell (*Tour*, I, p. 348), Wilkins (*Atheniensia*, p. 147), and Prokesch von Osten (II, 409) state that the tympanum is of the dark Eleusinian limestone.

The presence of cuttings for **H** and **U** clamps shows that both are the original Greek blocks replaced during the Roman repairs. The face of the tympanum is set slightly forward from the face of the frieze and in line with the lowest fascia of the epistyle. The height is 1.094 m., and the length 8.75 m.; with the raking cornice added, the height is 1.345 m. and the length over all, 10.795 m. The inclination is in the ratio of 1:4, the same as that on the main building.

RAKING
CORNICE

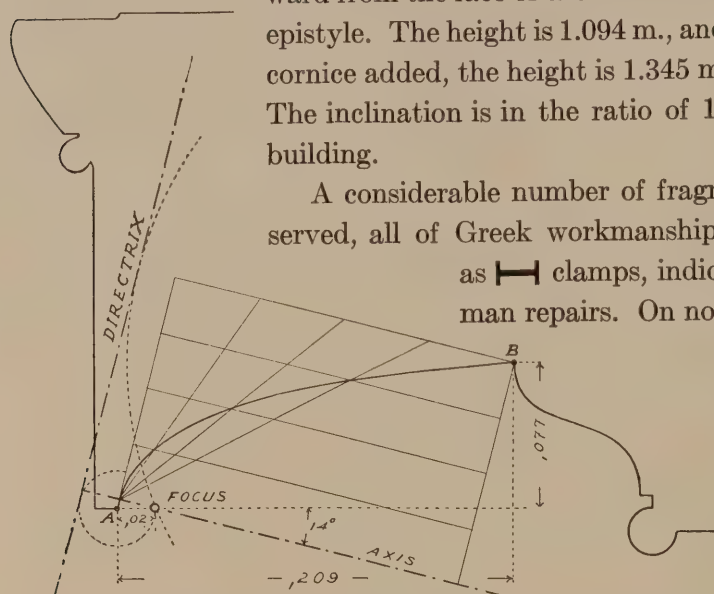


FIGURE 61. NORTH PORTICO: GRAPHIC METHOD OF CONSTRUCTING THE PARABOLIC CURVE OF SOFFIT OF CORNICE

given by a cutting for a **T**-dowel in the southeast corner of this block, has been restored in accordance with this indication (PLATE VIII, 4). The first block of the raking cornice from the west side of the pediment is preserved, and shows by the cutting of its bed that the tympanum came to a "feather edge" in the angle (PLATE XXIV), thus departing from the general practice in Greek construction. Three of the fragments preserved have joints which are not at right angles to the beds, but vertical to the horizon, when the blocks are placed in position. Two of them evidently belong at the apex of the pediment on the north side of the portico, and the third may be assigned to the south side of the portico, at the point where the raking cornice ended against the west wall of the building. The other joints of this raking cornice are perpendicular to the bed.

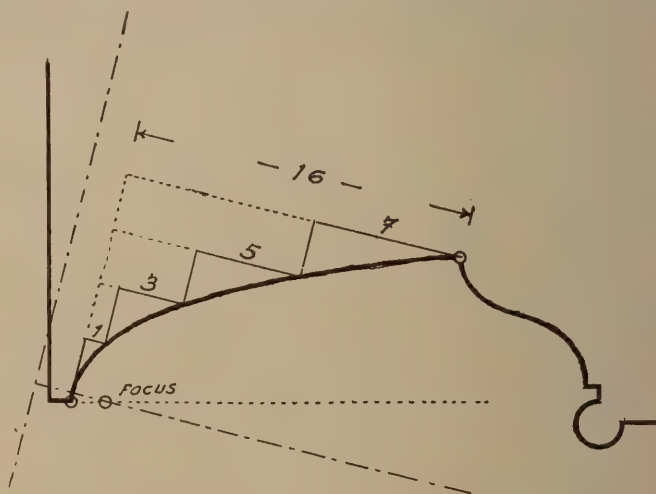


FIGURE 62. NORTH PORTICO: ANOTHER METHOD OF CONSTRUCTING THE CURVE OF THE SOFFIT OF THE CORNICE (SCAMILLI IMPARES)

A cutting in the middle block of the tympanum, 0.65 m. high in the centre and 0.586 m. at the sides, 0.515 m. wide, and 0.29 m. deep, fixes the position and the approximate dimensions of the ridge beam. In the drawings (PLATES XXII, XXIII, XXIV; Fig. 63) it has

BEAMS AND
RAFTERS

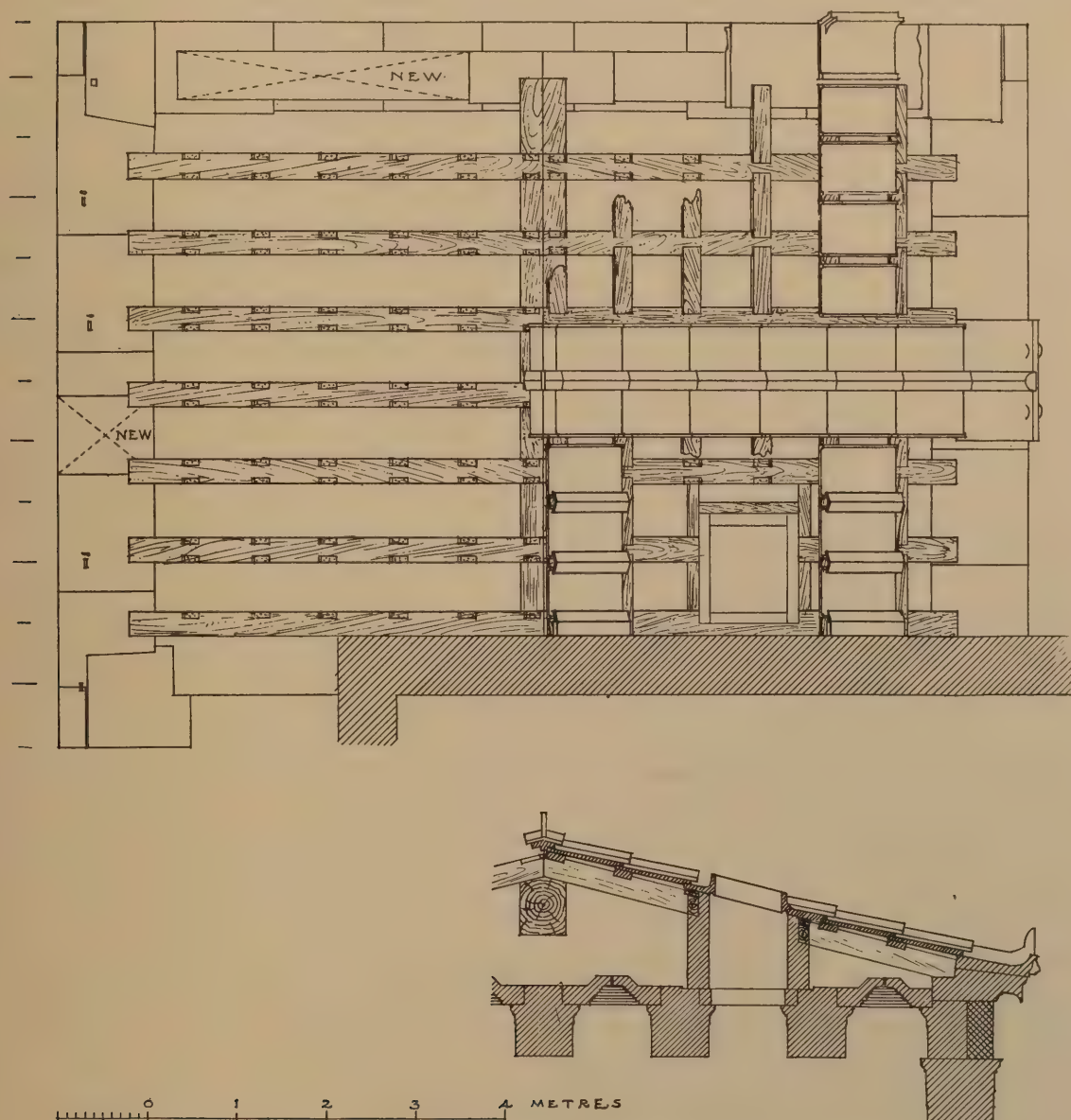


FIGURE 63. NORTH PORTICO: PLAN AND SECTION OF ROOF: RESTORED

been assumed, as seems reasonable, that the ridge beam filled the whole of the cutting made to receive it, so that the total thickness of the wooden construction in the roof was a little more than the height of the raking cornice, which is 0.244 m. (PLATE XXII).¹ The width

¹ This excess in height is due to the fact that the tiles are 0.018 m. thinner than the raking sima (PLATE XXII).

of the rafters is known to have been 0.28–0.29 m. (0.287 m. = 14 dactyls) from the cuttings for the ends in the horizontal cornice (PLATES VIII, 4, XXIII, XXIV; Figs. 56, 63). These cuttings also show the axial distance (0.85 m.), and the plane of the bottom of the rafters, which is the same as that of the bottom of the raking cornice. The height of the rafters is unknown, but cannot have varied much from that of the raking cornice, which is the height given them in the plates. Since these rafters have a longer unsupported span and are more widely spaced than those in the roof of the main building, it is natural that they should have a larger cross section. Their position is independent of the jointing of the tiles, as is shown by the cuttings for the dowels which held the latter to the horizontal cornice (PLATE VIII, 4). The cross-pieces have been restored as having the same width (0.205 m. = 10 dactyls), and approximately the same position beneath the horizontal joints of the tiles, as on the main building (Plates XVIII, XXIII). Their height, however, has been increased from three dactyls to four (0.082 m.). Such an increase may be reasonably assumed, since in the North Portico the cross-pieces sustained a heavier weight. Not only was their axial distance greater than on the main building, but, owing to the placing of the rafters without reference to the tiles, some of the rows of cover tiles fell between the rafters and so were in large part borne by the cross-pieces (Fig. 63).¹ While a rafter is placed close to the wall on the south side of the roof, there is none in contact with the pediment on the north. Here, therefore, the cross-pieces must have been secured to the raking cornice. As on the main building (p. 77) they have been set in notches in both rafters and cornice. It seems probable that over the southern rafter the spaces between the ends of the cross-pieces and the wall were filled by small wedges to support the edge of the special tiles (Fig. 63) which were used at the contact of the roof with the wall.

SIMA Cuttings for dowels and pry holes in the upper surface of the cornice on the west side of the portico permit the average length of the blocks of the sima to be determined as 1.353 m.² No fragments of a special sima for the North Portico have been found, and as the cornice of the portico is identical with that of the main building, except in the height of the fascia, it is probable that the profile of the sima was also the same.³ On the east side of the portico the

¹ The subjoined table shows the difference in the areas, and thus, with a fair degree of accuracy, in the weights, which were supported by the ridge beams of the North Portico, the East Cella, and the central rooms of the temple. It will be seen that the ridge beam of the North Portico carried much the heavier load. The measurements are approximate.

	Span of ridge beam	Length of rafter supported by ridge beam	Area supported by ridge beam
North Portico	5.94 m.	4.70 m.	28 sq. m.
East Cella.	7.30 m.	2.70 m.	19.70 sq. m.
Central Rooms	6.28 m.	3.30 m.	20.70 sq. m.

² The variations are shown in PLATE VIII, 4.

³ The fragment of a sima, published by Penrose, *Ath. Arch.*, p. 93 and vignette at top of p. 88, was recently in the Ephor's office in the Acropolis Museum. Two other fragments of the same design were discovered in searching for it. The larger of these has no gutter behind but a flat bed on top, which is preserved for a width of over 0.30 m. This is against its belonging to the Erechtheum, as is also the failure of the axial distances of the elements of its decoration to agree with those used anywhere else in the building. Its workmanship is also inferior to that of the Greek ornament on the Erechtheum and is probably Roman. See also M. Schede, *Antikes Traufleisten-Ornament (Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes, 67)*, p. 27, note 1.

dowels which held the sima in place have pour channels, pointing to a Roman restoration; these channels are lacking on the west side. A ragged weathering mark on the cornice of both east and west sides (the inner dotted lines on PLATE VIII, 4) shows that this part of the building stood for a long time with the face of the sima broken and missing.

The length only of the flat tiles belonging to the roof of the North Portico (PLATE TILES XXIV, 5) was obtained by actual measurement, as but a single fragment could be identified.¹ The width must, of course, be an exact divisor of the length of the sima block, an allowance of from 0.03–0.06 m. being made for the intervals between the tiles, and it is probable that, as on the main building, there were two tiles to each block. There were six rows between ridge and sima. The corresponding cover tiles (PLATE XXIV, 6) have the same width as those of the main building. The same ridge tiles and the same ridge cover tiles as on the main building have been drawn in the plates referring to the North Portico. No remains of these tiles have been identified, but as the conditions were the same on both roofs, there was no reason for any difference in the tiles.

Antefixes of the same type as those on the main building, but a trifle larger have been ANTEFIXES assigned to the North Portico. There is no evidence as to the size or form of the acroteria, either at the corners or at the apex of the gable. The roof, as reconstructed from the data available, finishes below the cornice of the main building, against the frieze (PLATE XXIV).

In addition to the great door which is described in the following section and which THE SMALL DOOR formed the principal entrance to the western rooms of the Erechtheum, the North Portico contains a small doorway opening into the precinct immediately west of the temple (PLATES II, VII, XI; Figs. 36, 37, 39). Its sill, like that of the great door, is formed by the course below the orthostates, and, as has been said (p. 59), ranges approximately with the middle step of the west wall and the sill of the west door (PLATE XI; Fig. 37). Its dimensions agree very closely with those of the west door (PLATES IV, VII), and it is clear that the two doorways were intended to be of the same size. They are also alike in the entire absence of mouldings or other decoration on either jambs or lintel. The northwest doorway furnishes a somewhat striking example of indifference to exact correspondence between the courses on opposite sides of an opening, provided exact alignment is obtained at the top. Here the west orthostate is 0.042 m. lower, and the three plinths above it are respectively 0.021 m., 0.010 m., and 0.011 m. higher than the same courses on the east (PLATE VII). In the sill of the doorway are three pairs of sockets (PLATE II), but all are late, and apparently belong to Christian or even Turkish alterations. There are no indications of a door or gate here in Greek times.²

¹ In 1905 this fragment was lying on the roof of the small church of the Saviour on the north slope of the Acropolis below the Erechtheum. In 1913 it was no longer to be found.

² For the south side of this doorway see the section on the Pandroseum, pp. 120 ff.

IX. THE NORTH DOOR

[PLATES XXV, XXXV, 3]

It has long been recognized¹ that the present inner jambs and lintel lining of the North Door are relatively late additions, not earlier, in fact, than the transformation of the temple into a church; they will, therefore, be passed over for the present, and the description will begin with an examination of the original jambs and lintel.²

JAMBS Both the jambs were held by T-dowels³ in their lower ends, the lead being run in from the sides toward the wall (PLATE XXV, 6, 7), — an operation which was possible only if the jambs were erected before the orthostates on the right and left of the door were in place. The boss on the north face of the east jamb near the top, which was not worked off in the

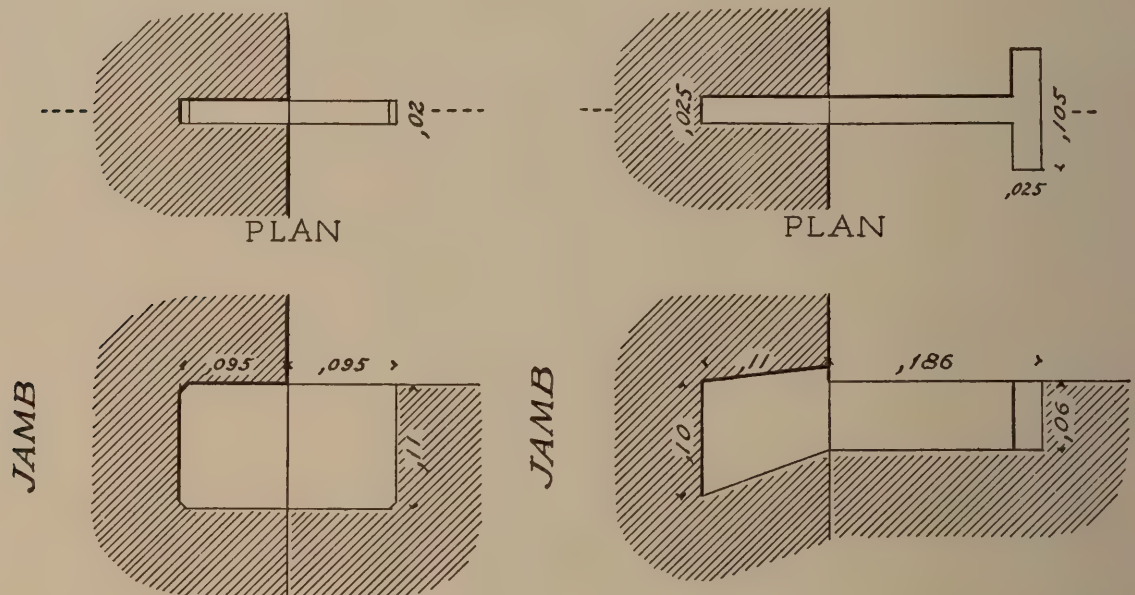


FIGURE 64. NORTH DOOR: SPECIAL FORMS OF CLAMP (RIGHT) AND OF DOWEL (LEFT)
USED TO SECURE JAMBS

final dressing, would have been useful as an aid in steadying the jamb during the construction, although it may have been used merely in erecting the stone. From the top of the orthostates horizontal dowels, two on each side, of the form shown in Figure 64 (left), extended into the jambs and were sealed with lead. In courses 13, 15, and 17 two clamps,

¹ Kinnard (Stuart and Revett,² II, pp. 72, 73, note c) seems first to have called attention in print to the fact that the insertion of the later lining was caused by the breaking of the great lintel. Donaldson, *Ancient Doorways* (1818), text to pl. XXIII, first noted in print that these linings were late. See also Inwood, *ed. maj.*, p. 112. In order to bring out the effect of the door as originally designed the late linings have been omitted in PLATE XXV. They are shown in PLATES VII, X, and XI.

² Cf. on the North Door, R. W. Schultz, *J. H. S.*, XII, 1891, pp. 1-13, pls. I-III, and the correction of one important point by S. H. Barnsley, *ibid.*, pp. 381-383.

³ The cuttings for these dowels are visible from the interior of the building, where the jambs and the sill have been hacked away in the search for metal.

modified from the usual  form (Fig. 64, right), extended from the top of each course into the back of the jamb and were sealed in the same way (PLATE XXV, 6). Similarly, in course 16 certainly, and probably in courses 14 (on the east side of the door), 12, and 11, one such clamp was fixed in the jamb from the axis of the top of the course. The upper ends of the jambs were fastened to the adjacent course (10) of the wall by two  clamps (0.31 m. long) on each side (Fig. 40). As in every course the clamp could be inserted and sealed with lead only before the next course was laid, the conclusion is inevitable: the jambs are contemporary with the erection of the building.¹ It may be added that the jambs are rabbeted to overlap the wall (PLATES XXV, 6, XXX, 18) and that the weathering and final dressing of the wall indicate that jambs with an overlap of this width (0.0207) m. have always existed. The reveals of the jambs are carefully finished for their entire width, which implies that there was no inner sheathing. The inclination of each jamb toward the axis of the door is 0.044 m. The original Greek door was 4.882 m. in height, and 2.427 m. in width at the bottom, so that its opening formed essentially a double square.

The lintel is now composed of two stones, one above the other, and together equal in LINTEL height to two courses (8 and 9) of the wall (PLATES XXV, XXXV, 3; Fig. 98). Its lower surface is smooth, showing that there was no casing. The ends of the lintel are rough and without anathyrosis. The lower stone is fastened at the top of its east end into the block of the console by a dowel, similar to those used between orthostates and jambs, but of different dimensions; how its west end is secured cannot be seen. The upper stone was held in place by iron wedges between it and the blocks of the wall above. One of the latter has a dowel cutting at its end, which has no corresponding cutting in the lintel. West of the lintel is a block of irregular shape, its east end dressed roughly without anathyrosis.² On its outer face are cuttings for the two dowels³ which held the console that was under the west end of the upper part of the lintel (Fig. 65).⁴ East of the lintel a space of similar shape is filled by

¹ As urged by Barnsley, *l. c.*

² PLATE VII, and, for the stone as seen from the inside, Figure 40; cf. *J. H. S.*, XII, 1891, p. 2, fig. 1.

³ These cuttings are only about 0.05 m. wide, and 0.09 m. high by 0.10 m. deep, so that heavy dowels of metal seem more probable than tenons of marble projecting from the console.

⁴ It is not certain when the west console disappeared. In the British Museum (MSS., *Add.* 22,153, fol. 153) is a drawing made in 1818 by R. H. Sharpe of York, showing apparently the west corner of the door (Fig. 65). The console differs in details from the surviving one, but since there are errors in the rendering of the other mouldings, these differences may be due to the inaccuracy of the artist in preparing the finished drawing from his notes. This drawing is on tracing paper, and it is possible that it has been traced from a reversed drawing on heavy paper of the east corner, for it is not an uncommon architectural process to draw an object roughly, and then to make a clean and accurate tracing, which is turned upside down upon heavy paper and rubbed, thus making a clean reversed drawing upon the heavy paper. This drawing cannot, therefore, be cited as conclusive evidence for the existence of the console in 1818. On the other hand there is no direct statement that it had already been broken at that time. The portico then contained the Turkish powder magazine, which was protected by a concrete vault rising nearly to the top of the door and concealing in 1811 all but the upper part of the lintel (see Cockerell's drawing, *J. H. S.*, XXIX, 1909, pl. VII = Fig. 223). In 1818 things were somewhat better, for then Inwood (*ed. min.*, p. 15, to pl. XX) cleared away "part of the ground . . . over the bottom of the console and ornaments for the purpose of making casts of them." This was the east console, but Inwood elsewhere, Wolfe (see App. A, XVII), and Donaldson (*Ancient Doorways*, pl. XXIII) regularly refer to *consoles* in the plural, without a hint that one was missing; in fact Donaldson writes of the ceiling of the vault as "not reaching higher than the consoles, which were quite clear." After the Greek Revolution and the

two blocks, the smaller of which — in the part of the space only one course high — has a rough dressing on its west side, while the larger is the one already mentioned on which is worked the console still *in situ* (PLATE XXV, 5). This block is firmly fixed by iron wedges above and to the west, with lead about those in the latter place to close the joint. The adjacent block in the wall has in the upper surface, which is in line with the upper surface of the console block, remains of two cuttings for  clamps, without any corresponding cuttings in the console block.

The better the Erechtheum is known, the stranger seem some of the things just described, — a marble lintel composed of two blocks in the largest door in the building, when the lintel

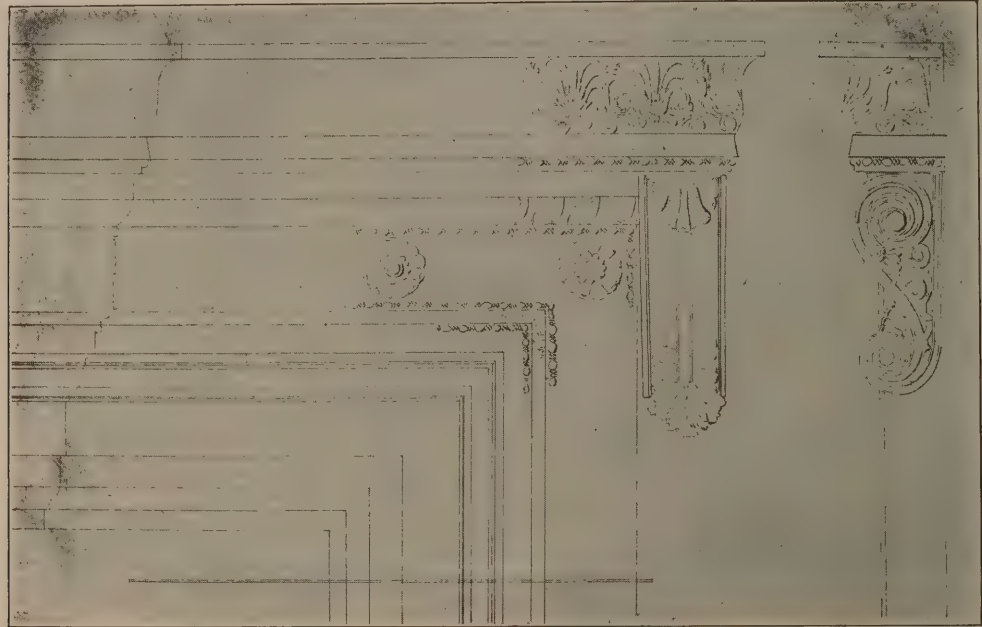


FIGURE 65. NORTH DOOR: WEST UPPER CORNER: FROM A DRAWING IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

of even the smallest door is composed of a single block extending through two courses; the use of wedges in place of exact fitting; the rough ends of stones, without carefully worked anathyrosis; the lack of correspondence in clamp and dowel cuttings. These irregularities — and a much smaller number would fully suffice — prove conclusively that the

disaster to the North Portico we find Schaubert noting (MSS., Breslau, V, 312) “die linke Console in der Thür der Nordhalle war mit einem Zapfen angesetzt,” which suggests that the west console was not then in place. It must be added that we still continue to hear of the consoles as if both were present (Schaubert, *Museum*, I, 1833, p. 261; Chenavard, *Voyage en Grèce*, to pl. XVIII). The first definite statement is made by Rangabé (*R. Arch.*, II, 1845, p. 323) who, in describing the door after the clearing of the Portico, speaks of “deux très-belles consoles aux deux côtés de son linteau (une seule existe).” It would seem, however, that some fragments at any rate of the lost console were believed to have survived, for Beulé (II, p. 273) mentions “une des consoles, toute différente de l’autre par ses ornements et par son style” and G. Castellazzi (*Ricordi di architettura orientale*, to pl. XXVIII) states that “una delle mensole esterne, ora caduta a terra, differisce sensibilmente dalla sussistente.” In view of this evidence it is probable, though not certain, that the west console remained in place until 1827, that it was broken by the fall of the western ceiling beams in that year, and that some fragments, which survived for a time, have since been lost.

present lintel is not original,¹ but an insertion to replace the original lintel, after it had met with serious injury. This original lintel was longer than its successor, and the peculiarly shaped stone to the west and the small stone east of the console block are the remains of its ends, which were left after the central portion had been cut away. Originally the east console, as well as the west, was separate and attached by dowels to the face of the lintel. Apparently the former was damaged, while the other one was not, and in the restoration it seemed easier on the whole to form the new console on the face of a block which extended through the wall.

Of the six rough cuttings visible in the stones immediately above the lintel (PLATE XXV), the first, third, fourth, and sixth run through the wall (PLATE XXV, 2), and were evidently made at the time of the repairs for the insertion of beams, which, properly supported, held the weight of the wall above while the old lintel was cut out and the new one inserted. There are corresponding slight depressions in the top of the upper stone of the Roman lintel (PLATE XXV, 4). The other two cuttings were probably also used to assist in some way in the propping, but their exact purpose is not certain. All of these cuttings are invisible from the pavement of the portico.

A comparison of the design and execution of the ornament on the lintel with that on the jambs² confirms the conclusions reached by a study of the evidence from the construction. The anthemion of the crowning member of the lintel is much more crudely cut than elsewhere in the building. The egg-and-dart on the cymatium is inferior to that which appears, for example, on the beams of the ceiling of the North Portico, and the method of repairing accidental damage is entirely different, in that the joint of an inserted piece runs through an egg, instead of being so placed that it falls on the axis or follows the outline of a dart and is thus concealed. The carving of the band of leaf ornament, between the rosettes and the opening of the door (PLATE XXXVII, 6)³, exhibits on the lintel a much more extensive use of the drill, especially in rendering the outline of the serrate leaves, and the two leaves at the angles differ from one another, showing how carelessly the spacing was planned. The axial distances of the bead-and-reel mouldings differ on the lintel (0.034 m.) and on the jambs (0.0265 m.), and in the case of the former there is no agreement with the neighboring band of leaves, as there is on the jambs, and in fact generally in the Erechtheum. On comparing

¹ Much of the evidence and the conclusion have been already presented by R. W. Schultz, *l. c.*

² These differences in the ornamentation aroused the suspicion of some of the early travellers. Haller von Hallerstein (MSS, Strasbourg, Box III, Vol. 8, p. 239): "Le travail dans les Ornaments des Moulures de la Porte est beaucoup au dessous de celui de Reste de l'Architecture; et on reconnoit même dans le style de ces ornements une malheureuse imitation des autres." Donaldson (*Ancient Doorways*, pls. XXIV, XXV) assigns the "cyma of the cornice" to repairs after the fire of 406 B.C. J. L. Wolfe (1820; App. A, XVII) notes: "The great cymatium enriched with an ornament most vilely executed and as vilely designed. It would disgrace the middle ages." Schaubert (*Museum*, I, 1833, p. 261) thought that the consoles were a later addition. Rangabé (*R. Arch.*, II, 1845, p. 322) suggested that the door had been altered in antiquity. Tétaz (*R. Arch.*, VIII, 1851, p. 84) argued that the character of the ornamentation showed both the lintel of the door and the columns of the West Façade to be later constructions. Beulé (II, p. 273) writes, "Je crois que dans l'antiquité la porte a été, soit remaniée, soit achevée par différentes mains."

³ The photograph has been reversed. The leaf-and-tongue ornament should be on the right of the rosette.

the rosettes on the lintel and the jambs the carving is seen to be different, particularly in the small petals of the inner row, and, furthermore, on the lintel the second rosette from the west end has but eight inner petals instead of the usual twelve. The axes too of the rosettes on either side of the central rosette are inclined instead of being vertical like the others. In none of the rosettes on the lintel is the centre bored to receive an ornament of another material, as is the case in most of the rosettes on the jambs.¹

The side of the console next to the jamb is nearly vertical, while the other side is considerably inclined (PLATE XXV). That part of the acanthus leaf, which projected below the stone on which the console was formed, is now missing, and in the drawings on PLATE XXV has been freely restored.

There is every reason for believing that the present lintel is a tolerably accurate copy of the original one. The band of rosettes and everything inside of it must, of course, have been the same in both, and something like the cymatium with the egg-and-dart, and the crowning anthemion is obviously required above, while the combined height of these ornaments is determined by the height, equal to two courses, of the lintel block. The consoles, too, are certainly part of the original design. This can be stated with greater assurance since the discovery of the door of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi,² and also since the recognition of the striking similarities between the design of the lintels of the windows in the east wall of the Erechtheum (p. 44) and that of the North Door. In both, above the framing proper of the opening, there are additional bands of ornament, the uppermost of them resting on the consoles which seem to have been traditional in the Ionic order. It may be added that in both cases the consoles were applied.

And, indeed, why should there have been any change in the treatment when repairs were found necessary? It was certainly less difficult to copy the old than to invent a new design. Moreover, the style of the present cymatium and anthemion is more in the spirit of the end of the fifth century than in that of the period when these repairs seem to have been found necessary. For, in default of any evidence to the contrary, it is reasonable to assume that the same catastrophe which necessitated the replacing, in the ceiling of the North Portico, of the beam on the axis of the door (p. 87) was responsible also for the repairs on the door and for the alteration of the West Façade. A fire sweeping out through this door might easily calcine part of the lintel and of the beam without seriously injuring the jambs. The

¹ The centres of all the rosettes on the east jamb and of the two upper ones on the west jamb were certainly bored; the two lower ones on the west jamb were as certainly not bored, or at any rate not bored to the depth of those on the east; while a fragment belonging presumably to the west jamb, but the exact place of which cannot be fixed, shows a rosette with its centre unbored. As for the rest of the west jamb, the surface is so badly damaged that it is impossible to say whether the remaining rosettes were bored or not. Rangabé (*R. Arch.*, II, 1845, p. 323) calls attention to the difference in the rosettes on the lintel and on the jambs, and adds that remains of perforated wooden plugs, in which metal ornaments had doubtless been inserted, were still to be found in the holes on the jambs. See also Tétaz, *ibid.*, VIII, 1851, p. 94; Beulé, II, p. 273. All traces of the plugs had disappeared before 1905. Inwood (*ed. min.*, p. 15 and pl. XX) in clearing away rubbish from the east console, in order to make a cast, found close to the doorway a small bronze disk, about 0.043 m. in diameter, which may well have decorated the centre of a rosette.

² On early Ionic consoles at Delphi, cf. Dinsmoor, *B. C. H.*, XXXVII, 1913, p. 59.

weakness of the decorative carving and the clumsiness displayed in fitting the inserted stones agree with the evidence of the West Façade in suggesting a fairly late date for these repairs, probably not far from the end of the first century B.C.

The latest linings of the door (PLATES VII, X, XI, XXXV, 3; Fig. 98) were evidently inserted to hide from below the crack in the Roman lintel. The jambs are each formed of three pieces of stone, attached to the earlier jambs by  clamps at each joint. The lower ends are sunk into the sill. The later lintel is set with an interval of about 0.12 m. between it and the broken stone above to avoid any possible danger of fracture by the settling of the upper stone. This open space is masked on the exterior by a stone, triangular in section, with several mouldings on its face (PLATES VII, X, and, on a larger scale, *J. H. S.*, XII, 1891, p. 6, fig. 5).

LATE
LININGS

The door sill has suffered greatly in the course of its existence, and the wear of feet and maltreatment have destroyed much evidence as to its earlier condition. The step cut on the exterior is manifestly not ancient (PLATE XXXV, 3); it may date from the alteration into a church or possibly from a still later time. On the inside the sill is rabbeted (PLATE XXV, 7; Fig. 98), but the workmanship is poor, even for the Roman alterations, and it may well be later.

SILL AND
SOCKETS

Within the building, on the axis of the later jamb linings, are iron sockets set into the sill and fixed with lead (PLATE II.) They belong manifestly to a door contemporary with these linings. Other cuttings for door pivots (PLATE XXV, 6, 7) belong with the earlier jambs, but to judge by the character of the workmanship in the cuttings themselves and in the rabbet in which they are sunk, they are Roman, or perhaps Christian, rather than Greek, being contemporary with the earlier set in the small western door. The absence of the rabbet in the original Greek construction implies that probably the pivots were then on the level of the sill. The distance of the Greek western cross-wall (p. 152) is just sufficient to allow the eastern leaf of the door to fold against the north wall. On the other side, however, the face of the course below the orthostates in the west wall was about 0.078 m. farther east than the west jamb of the door, and its top was somewhat higher than the sill (PLATES I, XI). It thus became necessary, if the western leaf of the door were to swing back about 90° or a little more, that this course should be cut down, at least in part, and of this cutting a perfectly distinct vertical trace can still be seen, 1.065 m. from the south face of the sill, and 0.137 m. from the west orthostate (Fig. 36).¹ The bottom of the preserved surface of this cutting is 0.17 m. or less above the level of the pavement in the west room (p. 163) and about 0.05 m. below the threshold of the door. It seems clear, therefore, that this course was cut down to the level of the pavement and not merely far enough to give the door free swing. The line of the cutting, however, was not parallel to the west wall, for near the sill

¹ The total traceable height of the cutting is 0.15 m.; the original surface is visible for about 0.015 m. from the present top of the block (the upper part of the block is broken away) and the cutting itself can be felt for about 0.135 m. more.

the course below the orthostate projects 0.073 m. farther east than it does at the vertical trace of the cutting (PLATE II; Fig. 36). Hence we may assume that the cutting ran obliquely from the vertical line, which marked its southern limit, to the face of the sill near the original pivot of the door (PLATES I, II).¹ The nature of the doors in Greek times is unknown, as they are not mentioned in the inscriptions, but that they were swinging doors is proved by the cutting just mentioned. The sill shows two sets of two bolt holes, much worn from long use and without distinguishing features such as would justify their assignment to the two periods respectively.

On the south face of the Greek jambs are dowel holes for the attachment of a wooden or metal casing, or perhaps solely for the attachment of the doors (PLATE XI). Similar holes on the lintel were destroyed in 1904 in inserting a steel girder to sustain the weight of the rebuilt ceiling and roof of the North Portico (PLATE XI). Among these latter holes were those for the dowels which must have held the upper pivot of the east valve of the door. There is also a cutting, possibly to receive the lower end of a casing, to the south of the west jamb in the course below the orthostates of the west wall (PLATE X). It is 0.10 m. wide, overlaps the jamb to the west 0.03 m., and at the bottom aligns with the sill of the North Door. On the late jamb linings are cuttings for doors or gratings of uncertain date, but which may well be mediaeval or Turkish.

X. THE CRYPT BENEATH THE NORTH PORTICO

FISSURES In the southeast corner of the North Portico several slabs of the pavement are lacking, revealing in the rock below three groups of fissures of different sizes and varying depths (PLATES II, VII, VIII, IX; Fig. 66 A, 1, 2, 3). The rock here shows no trace of dressing, though, so far as can be seen, it has been carefully smoothed where it was to receive the foundations of the portico. These foundations have been built about the irregular space in which the fissures lie so as to enclose them in a small crypt, which is connected with the main building by a passage beneath the north wall. How important it was considered that these fissures should remain untouched may be judged from the fact that, in order to avoid any encroachment on group 1 (Fig. 66), the crypt was even carried under the east anta of the portico, although this to a slight extent weakened the foundation of the anta. Moreover, it was intended that the fissures should remain, at least technically, under the open heaven, for the opening in the pavement above them is itself beneath the opening in the roof of the portico (p. 89). These facts clearly show that some special religious significance was attributed to this spot, and indeed, since the clearing of the crypt by Tétaz in 1848,² its ancient origin has

¹ For the dressing on the south face of the sill of the door and the conclusions that may be drawn therefrom, see pp. 162 ff.

² Tétaz, *R. Arch.*, VIII, 1851, p. 9. In Fauvel's plan of the Erechtheum (Bibl. Nat., Estampes, G b, 15 a, fol. 16) there has been added in pencil this reference to the North Portico, "Ici une citerne moderne." The date of the addition is not known, but Fauvel died in 1831, and is not likely to have added this note after leaving Athens in 1823. He probably obtained his information from some of Lord Elgin's artists, who were permitted to enter the powder ma-

been generally accepted,¹ and the fissures identified with the *σχῆμα τριάλυης* of Pausanias, or, more recently, with the marks of a thunderbolt and the cult of Zeus Hypatos.

The crypt has suffered a good deal in the course of time, its chief injuries arising apparently from the construction just east of the portico of a cistern (PLATE II), which was connected with the crypt by breaking away the poros foundations beneath the steps and stylobate at the southeast corner of the portico, as shown by the hatched lines on PLATE VIII, 7. That this opening is not ancient is obvious. The rock here is dressed to a smooth bed for the foundations; dowel cuttings in both steps and stylobate above this bed are now in mid-air with no corresponding course below; a clamp in the back of the bottom step, two more in the back of the middle step, and another in the backing of the same step, below the inner edge of the stylobate, imply adjoining blocks now missing; and finally the poros behind the lowest step and in the southeast angle has been roughly hewn away (PLATES VII, VIII, IX). Probably in connection with these alterations a circular well of concrete for drawing water, not yet removed, was constructed in the northwest corner of the crypt, and a channel was roughly cut in the pavement of the portico (PLATE II) to carry off any water spilled in drawing from the well.² In spite of these mutilations enough remains to make possible, in combination with the statements of the inscriptions about the altar of the Thyechoüs, a fairly probable reconstruction of the original conditions, and in Figure 66 are given a plan and sections of the pavement and its superstructure above the fissures.

LATER
ALTERA-
TIONS

The position here assigned to the ancient opening is based on the following considerations. The south side of stone A projects about 0.08 m. beyond the poros foundations beneath (PLATE VIII, 5). The present eastern part of this southern face is due to a fracture, but the western part has a carefully finished surface (PLATE VIII, 6; Fig. 67), which now extends about 0.40 m. ($1\frac{1}{4}$ At. ft.) east of the joint *a* (Fig. 66 A), and may well have extended a little farther, perhaps as much as $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet in all (Fig. 67). It may be regarded as certain that no other stone was in contact with this finished surface and that it formed part of the north side of an opening in the pavement. The present south face of stone B shows rough dressing with a pointed chisel, which has destroyed all evidence of the continuation upon B of the smooth surface of A (Fig. 67 A). If, however, the width of the opening in the pavement was two Attic feet — a probable inference from the inscription, as will be shown below — this surface must have extended from one-half to three-quarters of a foot on B. Anathyrosis on the west face of stone C, so far as it is preserved, and of the stone immediately to the south (PLATE IX; Fig. 67 A), and also on the east face of stone D (PLATE VIII, 5) shows that in all probability stones A and B extended south nearly, if not quite, to the wall

THE
ANCIENT
OPENING

gazine in the portico, from which strangers were generally rigidly excluded. The passage under the north wall was noted by Ross in 1835 (*Arch. Aufs.*, I, p. 99).

¹ Bötticher (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 190 ff.) seems alone in assigning a largely modern origin to the opening in the pavement and the present crypt. His promised discussion of the ancient conditions was apparently never published.

² Some writers, as for example Bötticher (*Untersuchungen*, p. 192) and Michaelis (J.-M., *Atlas*, pls. XX, XXVI), consider that these constructions belonged rather to a cesspool and latrine than to a cistern and well. It is certain that the whole construction, whatever its purpose, was within the Turkish house on this spot (p. 524).

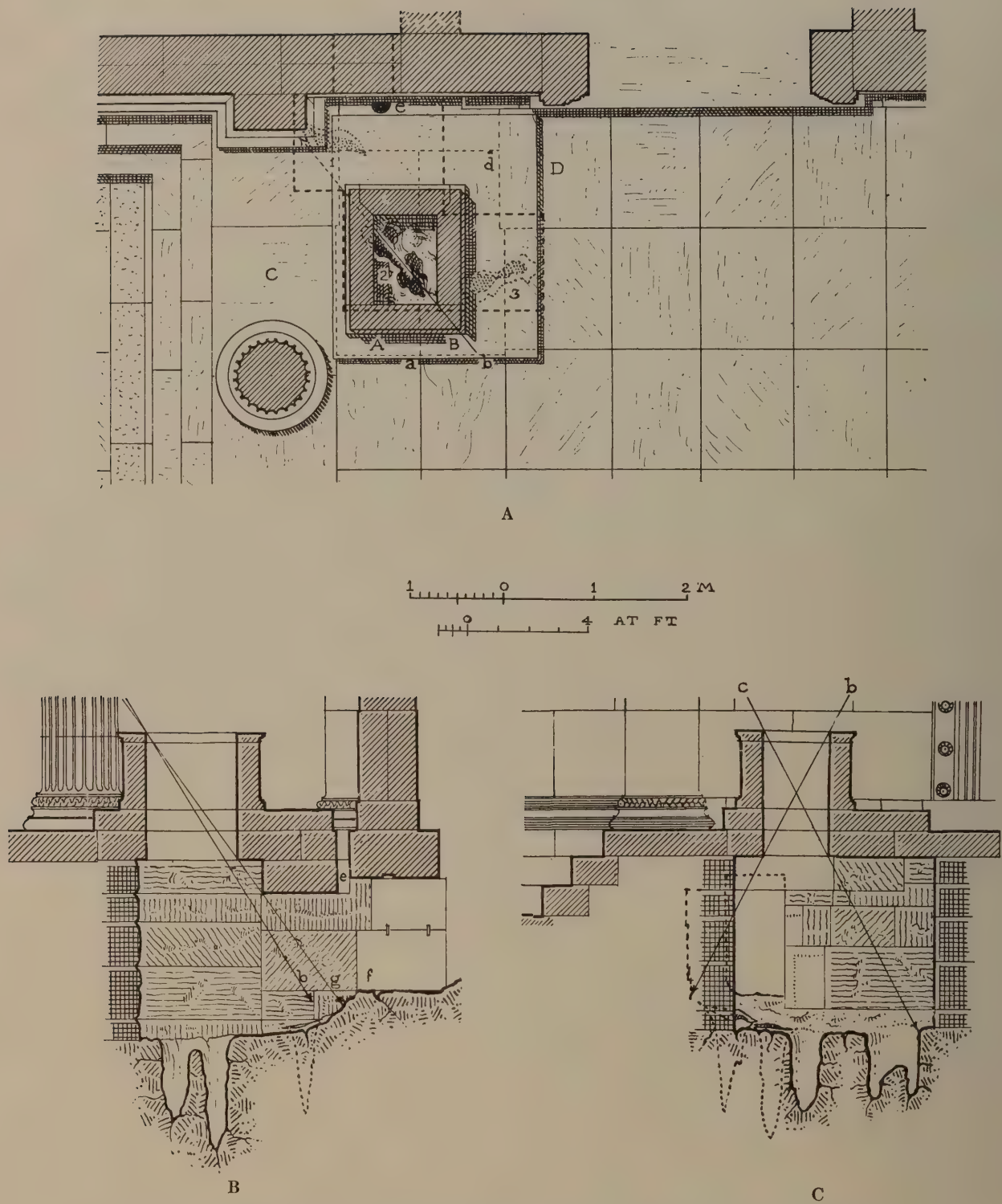


FIGURE 66. NORTH PORTICO: OPENING IN PAVEMENT AND ALTAR OF THE THYCHOÛS: RESTORED.
 (A) PLAN. (B) SECTION, LOOKING EAST. (C) SECTION, LOOKING SOUTH

of the portico, the southern end of B being apparently marked by a pry hole (PLATE II; Fig. 66 A, d) in the top of the large block over the southern part of the crypt. Anathyrosis on the north face of stone D (Fig. 67 B) shows that another block of the pavement filled the space now largely occupied by the circular concrete well. It thus appears that the ancient opening in the pavement must have been cut in the stones A and B and that a part of its north face is preserved on the south face of A.

For the probable size of the opening it is necessary to turn to the inscriptions. In the ALTAR report of the Commissioners of 409/8 B.C. we are told that in the North Portico the Altar of the Thyechoüs was still unplaced.¹ By the following year (408/7 B.C.), however, it seems to have been erected; at least in the eighth prytany thirty-five drachmas were paid for smoothing the two orthostates beside this altar.² Since in the North Portico there are two orthostates on the east of the great door and only one on the west (PLATE VII), it follows that the altar stood in the southeast corner of the portico and probably at no great distance from the wall.³ It was thus in close proximity to the opening in the pavement and can hardly be separated from the cult associated with the marks in the crypt. A third passage throws some light upon its size and shape.⁴ Among the partly worked stones which were lying on the ground in the summer of 409 B.C. were at least four blocks — a considerable gap in the inscription leaves the total number unknown, — which were intended for this altar. Three of these blocks were four Attic feet long, two feet and one-quarter high, and one foot thick; of the fourth only the length, three Attic feet, is certain, but traces of a few more letters indicate that the height was the same as that of the other blocks, and presumably this was also true of the thickness. These blocks have thus the form of orthostates,⁵ and it is a reasonable supposition that they formed the four sides of the altar. In that case the latter cannot well have been less than four feet broad and four feet and one-half long, and may have been larger. There is not sufficient room for an altar of these dimensions between the wall and the opening in the pavement and therefore it must be placed around the opening.⁶ In this position the arrangement of the four blocks mentioned in the inscription, as shown in Figure 66, although conjectural, accords with all the available evidence. As thus restored the altar measures four feet from east to west and five feet from north to south; the enclosed space, which may be assumed to correspond with the opening in the pavement, is two feet by three.

In accordance with the usual Greek practice the altar has been placed upon a step or

¹ See Ch. IV, Inscription II, col. I, ll. 77–80.

² See Ch. IV, Inscription XVII, col. I, ll. 60–63.

³ The altar must have been sufficiently near the wall to serve as a natural indication of the position of the orthostates, and yet not near enough to conceal them. Even if it were not yet in place, the orthostates would not have been given the expensive final dressing unless they were to remain visible.

⁴ See Ch. IV, Inscription II, col. II, ll. 95–99, and Commentary, p. 318.

⁵ Since the height is greater than the thickness, it is clear that the blocks stood upright, and were not flat paving slabs.

⁶ A position north of the opening would remove the altar too far from the wall.



A



B

FIGURE 67. NORTH PORTICO: OPENING IN PAVEMENT (1922): (A) FROM WEST.
(B) FROM NORTHWEST

small platform, which conceals the irregular jointing of stones B and D on the west of the opening, and of stone C on the east (PLATE II; Fig. 66 A),—an irregularity quite at variance with the careful adjustment of the pavement elsewhere in the portico. The step has been given a greater width on the west, as is customary, and the following evidence justifies continuing this greater width across the south end.¹ On the base of the wall (course 19) there is a horizontal line 0.223 m. above the pavement with a weathered surface above but not below; a boss only partially worked off lies just below this line (Fig. 67 B); the lower torus of the base of the adjacent anta is not fluted on the west side and the guilloche on the upper torus has not been fully carved in the corner by the wall (PLATE IX; Fig. 67).² All these facts indicate the presence of a stone, about 0.223 m. high, which hid the lower part of the base of the wall and of the anta, but was not in actual contact with the wall, as is shown by the projecting boss. The broad step furnished a standing place for the priest on the west and perhaps for an assistant on the south. On the existing pavement there are no marks of the presence of such a step, or indeed of any enclosure around the opening, or of an altar. Yet the opening can hardly have been left unprotected and the altar was certainly in the portico. Under the protection of a roof, however, the difference in weathering between the exposed and concealed parts of the pavement would be slight, and any marks might easily have been effaced during the long period in which the portico served as house or powder magazine.³

As thus restored, the opening in the pavement is out of the way of those entering the great door, and yet directly above the most important group of fissures, while the other two groups are easily seen from the portico (Fig. 66 B, C, lines of sight **b** and **c**). The relative positions of the fissures and of the two openings, in the pavement and in the roof, with reference to the same north and south line are shown in PLATE VIII, 4, 6, and 7, which are all drawn at the same scale; Figure 66 shows the relation of the restored altar to the crypt and fissures. The difference in axis between the opening in the pavement and that in the roof is due to the fixed position of the marble beam of the ceiling, which made it necessary to shift the opening in the roof somewhat toward the west; it is also slightly farther south than the opening in the pavement.

Close to the wall, in the marble block on which the south ends of stones A and B rested, is a small opening of excellent workmanship, roughly semi-circular in form like the cutting for a gutter placed vertically, and extending downward through the stone (Figs. 66, 67, E). It seems certain that it is original and not connected with Christian or Turkish alterations, for the block in the wall on the south shows no trace of chipping or injury, which could

¹ The step of the altar of Athena Hygieia east of the Propylaea is broader on the west (0.825 m.) and very slightly broader on the south (0.33 m.) than on the north and east.

² The cutting in this corner resembles that in a mitred joint, and suggests that the anta was cut to fit a moulding at the base of the wall. It was probably the architect's intention to carry all the mouldings at the base of the north wall across the North Portico as was done in the East Portico, but the design was changed and the moulding omitted, perhaps because of the presence of the altar.

³ See Ch. V, pp. 524, 532.

hardly have been avoided had the hole been cut in later times.¹ It was probably continued through the block in the pavement above, but its purpose is quite uncertain.²

DOORWAY

Crowded between the foundation under the southeast anta of the North Portico and the western cross wall of the interior is a small doorway, 0.63 m. wide and about 1.20 m. high (PLATES I, VII, VIII, 5, 7, IX, XI; Figs. 66, 112). It has no sill and the rock here is not even smoothed, though it is dressed under the roughly finished marble blocks to the right and left of the opening. In the under surface of its lintel is countersunk an iron bar, 0.08 m. wide and at least 0.035 m. thick, set in lead³ and running across the opening from east to west. It was probably inserted to strengthen the lintel, which is only about 0.497 m. high instead of the usual two courses (0.96 m.), although it had to bear the weight of the wall above, and has, in fact, cracked on the north side under this pressure.⁴

XI. THE PORCH OF THE MAIDENS

ENTRANCE
ON EAST

The construction of the podium on which the maidens stand is shown on PLATES XXVI, XXVII, and XXVIII, and does not call for any detailed description;⁵ both the exterior and interior faces are vertical.

The opening at the northeast corner of the podium seems to have been first observed in January, 1789, by Fauvel while clearing and measuring the Porch of the Maidens, and it appears upon his plan of that year.⁶ Its date remained, however, a subject of dispute, even after the removal in 1845 of the masonry which filled it, until C. Bötticher, who had been one of the most pronounced sceptics, withdrew his objections in consequence of his investigations in 1862, and indeed argued convincingly in favor of its antiquity.⁷ Since then there has been general agreement that it is part of the original construction, and not due to a later alteration. The entire absence of anathyrosis on the face of the anta, and the presence of mouldings on all three sides of its base are, in fact, decisive arguments against the existence here of an ancient wall; and this conclusion is confirmed by the continuation of the mouldings at the bottom and top of the podium from the outer face through the

¹ A modern origin is claimed for the hole in, for example, *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 25; Nilsson, *J. H. S.*, XXI, 1901, pp. 328 f.

² It would be tempting to assume that this hole was used for the emission of mysterious sounds or vapors. There is, however, no record of such phenomena on the Acropolis, apart from the noise of waves heard within the salt "sea" when the south wind blew (Paus, I, 26, 5), and the probable position of the "sea" (pp. 169 ff.; PLATE I, D) renders it extremely unlikely that this sound was supposed to become audible at a point so remote from its reputed origin as the North Portico. It may well be that the opening merely aided in lighting the passage into the crypt from the main building.

³ Some of this lead has been torn out, and an examination of the surface thus exposed shows that the lead was poured into the cavity in two instalments, and that the first pouring was allowed to cool before the second was added. During the whole operation the stone must have been lying with the bottom side up.

⁴ See W. B. Dinsmoor, 'Structural Iron in Greek Architecture,' *A. J. A.*, XXVI, 1922, pp. 151 f.

⁵ For some peculiarities of construction, see Ch. II, pp. 218 f.

⁶ *Bibl. Nat.*, MSS., *Fonds fr.* 22877, fol. 23^{vo} (App. A, XIV, 8); Estampes, G b, 15 a, fol. 16; cf. below Ch. V, p. 546. The discovery was published in 1806 by J. G. Legrand, *Gal. ant.*, I, p. 76; see App. A, XIV, 13.

⁷ C. Bötticher's earlier view is in *Z. Bauwesen*, IX, 1859, cols. 325-328; his later in *Untersuchungen*, p. 44.

opening and along the inner face (Fig. 68), although it is only on the exterior that they are reeded or given the carved egg-and-dart ornament.

It may further be regarded as certain, as has indeed been frequently maintained,¹ that this opening was not intended, like the two chief doors of the temple, for the general public. The distance from the upper step to the sill (0.488 m.) is too great to be taken comfortably by a person of ordinary height; there would always be danger of injuring the upper member

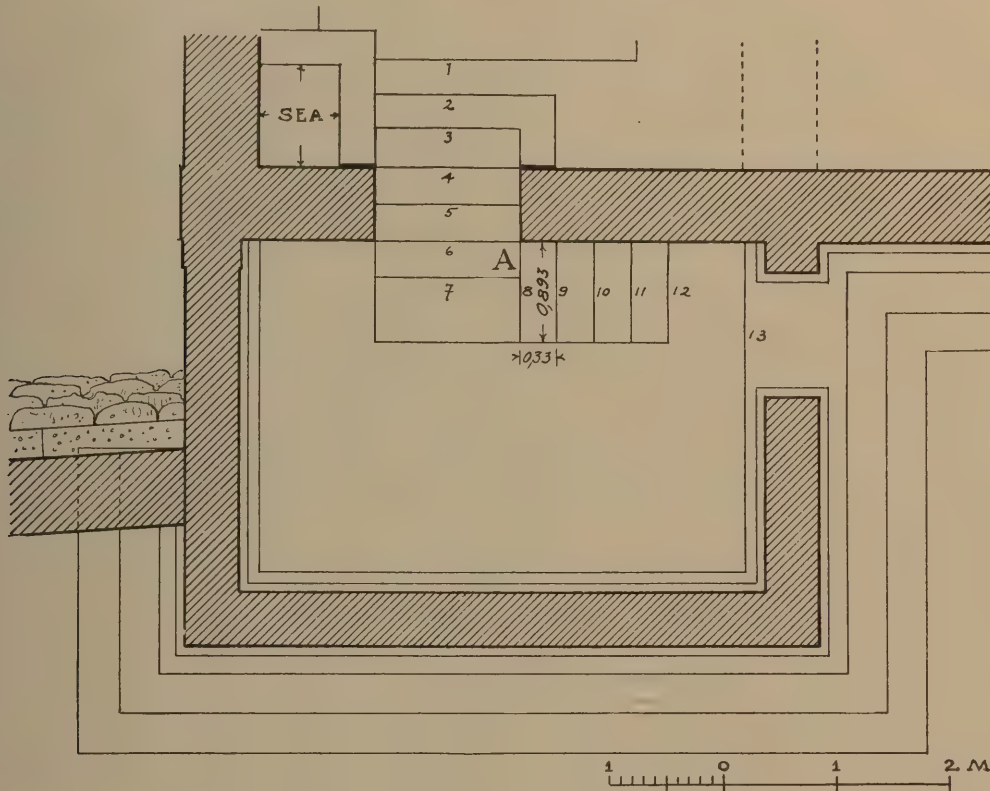


FIGURE 68. PORCH OF THE MAIDENS: PLAN OF STAIRCASE: RESTORED

of the scotia, which was continued from the south wall about the porch; and there was an awkward projecting "jog" between the sill and the level of the floor inside (PLATES VII, XXVIII).

The statues of the Maidens (κόραι)² have all suffered much injury, and the northern statue on the east side is in large part modern. During the restoration in 1908 all the statues were removed, repaired, and, when replaced, were carefully centred beneath the joints of

THE
MAIDENS

¹ For example, Kinnard, Stuart and Revett,² II, p. 63, note; Beulé, II, pp. 220-222. Julius, however, in *Bau-meister, Denkmäler*, s.v. 'Erechtheion,' calls it "ein monumentales Treppenhaus," and in his *Erechtheion*, p. 7, writes, "die ganze Halle hatte den Zweck eine Treppenanlage . . . zu verdecken," so that he seems to have regarded it as a general entrance.

² For description and illustration of these statues, see Ch. III, pp. 232 ff.; PLATES XXXVIII, XXXIX; Figs. 145-149.

the epistyle. The intervals between the maidens on the front are, therefore, unequal, and the northeast maiden is a little farther north than the northwest one (PLATE XXVII, 8, 9; Fig. 69).

The six maidens also differ from one another in minor details, such as the treatment of the hair behind — whether more or less straight — or of the drapery.¹ The figure in the British Museum (*Sculpture*, I, p. 233, No. 407; PLATE XXXVIII), which stood on the south side next to the figure at the southwest corner, has by far the most elaborate arrangement of the drapery as seen from behind and the most wavy hair. The next κόρη on the east (Fig. 149) has three curls hanging down on each side, while the others have but two. On the same figure the cushion below the echinus shows traces of very low and irregular lines which are perhaps the remains of a vertical reeding or else the outlines of a leaf-and-tongue ornament such as may well have been painted on the cushions of the other statues without preliminary carving. The original capital of this maiden has disappeared. The west half of the present capital is modern (Fig. 149), the east half (PLATE XXXIX, 4, 5, 6) is the east half of the original capital of the northeast maiden,² both the head and capital of which are restorations. In both these capitals the joint fell between the cushion and the echinus, the latter being on the same block as the abacus. The capitals of the other four maidens have the joint between the abacus and the echinus, which is here part of the statue. In this group of capitals the echinus is secured to the abacus by wrought iron pins, 0.015 m. in diameter, held in place by cement³ (PLATES XXVI, XXVIII). Similar pins hold the plinths on which the maidens stand to the podium, but the maidens themselves are fastened to the plinths by wooden empolia (PLATES XXVI, XXVII, 8).⁴ In Stuart and Revett's drawings,⁵ which have been followed with but few exceptions⁶ by later illustrators, the maidens are shown with a dart of the moulded echinus on the front axis. This is incorrect, as in all cases an egg is on the axis.

ANTAE The base and shaft of the east anta were formed of one stone, which was applied to the

¹ The comments of J. L. Wolfe (App. A, XVII) on these points are not without interest: "Nothing can be more beautiful than the whole of the drapery on the front of the figures but the back is too flat; — no care seems to have been bestowed on [it] although it is seen from many points of view. . . . The hair on the back is most frightfully arranged."

² The identification is proved by the position of the cutting in the top of the capital for the dowel which secured a block of the architrave. The horizontal axis of the capital, which coincides with the long axis of the dowel, passes through an egg in the moulding. Since in all the capitals the north and south axis passes through eggs and the east and west through tongues, it is clear that the direction of the dowel, and consequently of the block which it secured, was from north to south, or in other words that the architrave was on the side and not the front of the porch (PLATES XXVI, XXVII, 9). The fragment must, therefore, belong to the only missing capital from the sides or corners, that is, to the capital of the northeast maiden.

³ For an analysis of this cement see Ch. II, Note A, p. 225.

⁴ The left sandal of the northwest maiden was fastened to the plinth by a small metal pin, 0.005 m. square, set in cement. It is probable that this sandal and the foot above were carved separately and inserted to repair an injury to, or defect in, the original block.

⁵ Stuart and Revett, Vol. II, Ch. II, pls. XVI, XVII, XIX.

⁶ Bühlmann, *Architektur des klassischen Alterthums*, pl. XVII, places the moulding correctly.

face of the wall and fastened near its upper end by a single clamp (PLATE VII).¹ As the plane of the wall under the porch was 0.024 m. behind the plane of the wall outside, the shaft of the anta was rabbeted on its east side.² The capital was carved on a block of the south wall (PLATES XXVII, 4, XXVIII, XXXVI, 1).

The base and the lower part of the shaft (0.489 m.) of the west anta were cut on the huge stone which spanned the Cecropium (p. 128). The upper part of the shaft was a separate stone, held so firmly by the podium that no clamps were necessary on top, only two "keys" to prevent any possible lateral movement (PLATE XXVII, 7). The capital was on a separate block. It was destroyed by the Turks during the siege of 1826,³ but two fragments, which fit together and form the eastern portion, have been identified and replaced (Fig. 69). The two upper mouldings of the capitals of the antae are continued across the face of the wall within the porch, forming a wall capital or epicranitis (PLATES VII, XXVI, XXIX, 9). At the east and west ends these mouldings are worked on the blocks of the wall; in the centre they are carved on inserted strips, one of which is now in the British Museum.⁴

All the clamps in the epistylia, as shown in PLATE XXVII, 9, were visible during the reconstruction in 1908. On the east side of the porch the northern epistyle block, as is proved by a dowel in its south end, was laid before the block at the southeast corner. This latter block is an extreme example of a favorite construction in the Erechtheum — that of forming both sides of an angle on the same stone.⁵ The egg-and-dart moulding at the top of the epistyle on the inside was continued across the face of the wall. This moulding was carved on separate pieces inserted above the eastern and central blocks of the wall, but was worked directly upon the western block (PLATES XXVI, 2, XXVIII).

The discs on the upper fascia of the architrave are carved on the face of the stone with the exception of the third from the west on the south side, which is inserted. According to the report of the commission of 409 B.C. it was intended to carve these discs into rosettes,⁶ but apparently this intention was not carried out, since there is no clear trace of carving on any of them.⁷ The spacing of the discs is not uniform but shows considerable variation even on the same block. By actual measurement the distances on centres vary from a minimum of 0.343 m. (the second and third spaces from the west on the south side) to a maximum of

¹ Since the shaft of the anta rose about 0.108 m. above the joint between courses 6 and 7 of the wall, the cutting in the shaft for the clamp must have been unusually deep, unless a special form of clamp, similar to those which held the jambs of the North Door (Fig. 64) was employed. The former alternative seems more probable.

² The thinning of the wall within the porch may be connected with the efforts to lighten the load at the weakly supported southwest corner of the main building. Above the porch the three upper courses have the same thickness as the rest of the south wall and consequently overhang the wall beneath the roof of the porch (PLATE IV)

³ Neigebaur and Aldenhoven, *Handbuch für Reisende in Griechenland*, p. 92; see also Figs. 225, 228.

⁴ This fragment from the Inwood collection is not from the capital of the anta (*Sculpture*, I, p. 237, No. 411), but from this moulding, as is correctly stated on the label in the Museum. The gap from which it came can still be seen (PLATE VII; Fig. 69).

⁵ On this extravagant use of material see Ch. II, pp. 219 f.

⁶ See Ch. IV, Inscription II, Col. 1, ll. 90–92, and Commentary, p. 314.

⁷ On the southwest block many of the discs show indications of a raised rim, but this seems to be due to weathering, not carving, for a similar rim appears at the edge of the fasciae of the same block, where it can hardly be original.

0.452 m. (between the two southern discs on the west side); from calculation it appears that the second, third, and fourth spaces from the south on the east side, where the stone is too defaced to permit accurate measurements, were each about 0.477 m.

ROOF In order to receive the stones forming the roof of the Porch of the Maidens the wall at the rear of the porch in course 5 was dressed down 0.044 m. for almost half its thickness east of the niche (PLATE XXVII, 2, 9), thereby destroying the clamps which had already been set, as is shown by the traces still visible (PLATE XXVII, 9).¹ In the niche and southwest anta, where the blocks were thin, the reduction was carried through the entire thickness, thus making course 5 about 0.09 m. lower than course 4, — an irregularity which was plainly visible from the outside in the anta, and from the inside in both anta and niche (PLATES IV, X, XII). On top of the roof-stones were laid thin slabs of marble in order to fill the gap between them and a horizontal joint of the wall (PLATES XXVII, 2; XXVIII). They were about 0.70 m. long (judging from dowel cuttings), 0.051 m. thick, and projected 0.05 m. from the face of the wall. Dowels, and at the west end a round pin, 0.01 m. in diameter and set in cement, held them to the roof-stones (PLATE XXVII, 11).

In the interior of the building the ends of the roof-stones were naturally masked by regular courses. East of the *μέτωπον* (p. 174) these blocks were about one-half the thickness of the wall, but on the west, in the niche, they were slabs of marble only 0.08 m. thick (PLATE XXVIII). These slabs are now missing, but dowel cuttings and pry holes show that they were three in number (PLATE XV, section looking south, course 4 in niche). They were laid from east to west, the last being dropped into a slot.

The work of laying the roof-stones began with the westernmost, as is shown by the position of the dowels (PLATE XXVII, 10), — a fact which proves conclusively that this stone is contemporary with the others, in spite of the less finished workmanship on its upper surface close to the wall. There are shift holes at the inner end of the second and fourth roof-stones from the west.

As the upper surface of these stones had but a slight inclination, and as the under surface had painted decoration, it was necessary to adopt some method for preventing the water from percolating through the three vertical joints of the roof. The ingenious solution of this problem is shown in PLATE XXVII, 1 and 2. On each stone there is a series of three inclined cuttings in the upper contact band of each side. When the stones were brought together there would thus be formed a series of three cavities at each joint. At the upper end of each cavity it must be assumed that there was an opening from above, as is indicated by dotted lines, although the stones are now so broken that nothing can be seen. Molten lead poured through these openings would fill the cavities, forming a "spline" which effectually sealed the joint. Apparently lead alone was used, as there is no trace of the oxidization of

¹ Penrose, *Ath. Arch.*, p. 90, argues from this cutting away of stones already laid that the Porch of the Maidens in its present form was an addition to the original design, and was substituted for a simpler portico, the construction of which would have involved no alteration.

iron regularly found in cuttings for clamps and dowels. It was probably feared that the lead might cool before the end of a long channel was reached, that caused the cutting of three short cavities rather than a single long one.

The width of the dentils and of the space between them so varies from stone to stone on the south side as to prevent a joint falling anywhere except at the side of a dentil; thus on the eastern stone the dentils are 0.062 m. wide, and the spaces 0.051 m.; on the next stone the respective widths are 0.065 m. and 0.0515 m.; on the third they are 0.068 m. and 0.045 m.; and on the western stone 0.069 m. and 0.051 m. (PLATE XXVII, 10).

The leaf-and-tongue ornament on the cornice above the dentils is so spaced that a tongue is regularly divided down its centre at each joint, thus conforming to the usual Greek practice in the spacing of the carving on the bed moulding of large cornices.

The curve of the soffit of the cornice, when plotted, proves to be a parabola, with a focal CORNICE distance of 0.005 m. The focus is on the horizontal line drawn through the bottom of the drip. The axis is inclined inward and downward about one-ninth of a right angle.¹

Two small fragments, broken from the outer end of a roof-stone and now in the Acropolis Museum, show that the crowning mouldings consisted of an egg-and-dart with a bead-and-reel above (PLATE XXVI), as drawn by Stuart and Revett, who have been generally followed, though some, like Bühlmann,² have omitted the bead-and-reel. On the stones still *in situ* no trace of this bead-and-reel remains. The same two fragments show, better than any part of the moulding still on the building, how at regular intervals the space between an egg and a dart was pierced to discharge the water from the roof of the porch (PLATE XXVI).³ A drip moulding runs directly under the openings. The spouts were closer together (one every three eggs) on the south than on the east side (one every five eggs). On the west side it is certain that they were lacking (PLATE XXVII, 11).⁴

The roof is a warped surface, sloping toward the east, south, and west from its highest point, at the middle of the north side, where it is raised above the bed of the wall (PLATE XXVII, 2). This is structurally bad, because water would tend to gather in the joint between the roof and the wall, instead of flowing off the roof. At the outer angles the rear of the crowning moulding is reinforced as if for small acroteria, but the surface here is badly battered, and no traces now exist of any cuttings for dowels (PLATE XXVII, 11).

The stones of the roof were considerably lightened in weight by the coffers which were COFFERS cut in their under surface to decorate the ceiling (Fig. 69). The arrangement of the coffers is so planned that the joints of the stones fall at the side of a bead-and-reel, and the jointing is thus effectually concealed. The coffers all have the same length from north to south, but

¹ Compare the curve of the soffit of the cornice on the North Portico; p. 93, and Fig. 61.

² Stuart and Revett, II, Ch. II, pls. XVI and XVII; Bühlmann, *Architektur des klassischen Alterthums*, pl. XVII.

³ A similar arrangement for the escape of water is found in the sima of the east part of the central hall of the Propylaea. Cf. Bohn, *Propyläen*, p. 20, pl. XIV.

⁴ The moulding along this side is very badly damaged, but enough of the upper surface of the ceiling block is preserved to show the absence of the little gutters, which on the other two sides lead to the spouts.

from east to west the dimensions vary as a result of the variation in the width of the roof-stones (PLATE XXVII, 10; Fig. 69). The change is also indicated by the number of painted eggs on the mouldings in successive rows of coffers. The west row of coffers is square, and its three tiers of eggs have respectively 10, 8, and 6 eggs on a side; the second, third, fourth, and eighth (east) rows have 9, 7, and 5 eggs, and the fifth, sixth, and seventh rows have 8, 6, and 4 eggs on the north and south sides, but all have 10, 8, and 6 eggs on the east and west. The fifth, sixth, and seventh rows also differ from the others in the treatment of the corners by omitting a tongue on each side of the small palmette at the angle (PLATE XXVII, 3). The ground of the second, third, fourth, and eighth rows of coffers is cut in the form of a flat cloistered vault (PLATE XXVI); that of the rest seems to be flat. In no case were any traces of a painted ornament observed on the ground of the coffers.¹ If the ground were left plain, the difference in the width of the coffers would be less noticeable. The bead-and-reel ornament by which each coffer was framed, was surrounded by a narrow band of color, and a similar band was applied midway between the coffers (PLATE XXVI).

FLOOR Although the floor of the porch disappeared long ago (Fig. 70), it is certain that it once extended around the stairs leading down into the main building. In course 14 of the south wall, west of the doorway, are an anathyrosis and a scratched line (PLATE VII), which are continued also across the great stone on the west side of the porch (PLATE X), and plainly mark the position of abutting slabs of the pavement. The same line is visible along the south and east sides, though on the east the surface of the course is so broken that only a few traces of the floor level can now be detected. The surface of the pavement was 0.244 m. below the bottom of the podium, as measured on the great stone, and 0.04 m. below the top of the upper step on the south and east (PLATE XXVI). This course projects in the interior 0.05 m. beyond the face of the course above, so that there was a slight jog at the bottom of the wall on both south and east (PLATE XXVIII).

In the eastern part of the south side of the block in course 15 west of the doorway are two cuttings for  clamps running north and south (PLATE VII).² The surface below the clamps is somewhat roughly dressed and on the east there is a trace of anathyrosis. Clearly the clamps held a block about two Attic feet in width, which abutted here and helped to support the pavement above. The western part of the block in the wall, for a width of about 0.32 m., projects some 0.09 m. farther than the eastern, and its south face is more smoothly dressed without any trace of contact. It would seem, therefore, that the paving slab here spanned a gap about a foot wide between the great stone and the block farther east. The existence of such a gap below the pavement is confirmed by the presence on the

¹ E. Metzger, 'Ueber altgriechische Baukunst,' *Kunstblatt*, 1833, No. 24, p. 95, "Im Pandroseum sind in den Cassetten aufgemalte Sterne, Grecques, Eier und Herzlaub zu sehen." A. R. Rangabé, *Ant. hellén.*, I, p. 62, "Dans le fond de chacun on voit encore une grande étoile en couleurs." See also the other testimony on traces of color in the Erechtheum, Ch. II, Note C, pp. 227 ff.

² These clamps are respectively 0.175 m. and 0.51 m. west of the doorway. The east half of the west cutting and the whole of the east cutting are now concealed by a modern block, omitted in the plate in order to show the cuttings. They were visible in 1908 and were then measured.



FIGURE 69. PORCH OF THE MAIDENS: CEILING, FROM BELOW (MARCH 26, 1909)

great stone, close to the wall, of a drafted band which runs from the bottom of the stone to the depressed part of the anathyrosis, and plainly shows that nothing was here in contact with the stone. In course 16 of the wall the south side of the block is broken away, but there are no traces of clamps in the top, and the present surface projects beyond the plane of the wall (Fig. 79). The block doubtless extended farther south originally and probably broke joints with the courses above and below. Course 17 is also poorly preserved, but a roughly



FIGURE 70. PORCH OF THE MAIDENS: INTERIOR, FROM EAST (1922)

picked surface about 0.35 m. wide and a clamp cutting 0.14 m. west of the doorway suggest that here once abutted a block about one foot wide. The evidence for a complete reconstruction is obviously somewhat defective, but from the facts just described, we are warranted in concluding that the opening in which the stairs descended was closed on both south and west by a wall (PLATE XXVIII), which on the west aided in supporting the pavement, but on the south can have been little more than a facing hiding the foundation of the Old Temple.

DOORWAY

The lintel over the doorway from the porch into the main building is a large stone, extending from the south wall east of the door to the great block over the Cecropium, and supporting the western end of the south wall (p. 13). To receive this block the adjacent orthostate was cut down at its west end to the height of an ordinary wall block (PLATE VII).

That the jointing on either side in the interior of the temple might appear symmetrical above the door, the north face of the lintel was formed of two thin slabs, 0.15 m. thick and two courses high, which were clamped on top to the main lintel. The short western slab is in place, since it forms part of the west end of the south wall, but the longer one over the door has disappeared (PLATES IV, XII; Fig. 99). It is possible that the latter stone was given some architectural decoration in harmony with the pilasters below. On the south side of the door there is no indication of jambs, except immediately below the lintel, where moulded capitals and the beginnings of flat pilasters, 0.331 m. or about one Attic foot wide (PLATES VII, XXVI, 6; Fig. 70), are cut on the blocks of the wall. The mouldings were carried through the opening and returned as capitals around flat pilasters of about the same width as those outside, which thus marked the jambs on the inner (north) face of the door (PLATE XV). Later, either in connection with the Roman repairs, or possibly at the time of the transformation of the Erechtheum into a church, these jambs on the inside were cut down to about three-fourths of their original width, and given new capitals worked on separate blocks, for which sockets were somewhat rudely cut in course 13 (PLATE XII). Traces of the original width of the jambs are still preserved in the following places (PLATE XII):—at the bottom of the orthostate east of the door a projecting surface 0.318 m. wide¹ extends to a height of 0.18 m., is then narrowed to 0.245–0.25 m. by chiselling much like that found in the Roman repairs, and is traceable for about 0.30 m. higher; a similar surface with a projection of 0.015 m. and a width of 0.32 m. is preserved in the same course on the west of the doorway to a height of 0.15 m. and is traceable for about 0.33 m. higher; in course 17 (PLATE XII) east of the doorway, are indications that a projecting surface with its east edge about 0.32 m. from the opening has been trimmed away, though the block is too much damaged to show how far to the west this operation was continued. To the later alterations belong the sinkings in the sill for the pivots of a door. No traces of an original Greek door have been found. The sides of the opening are inclined at the rate of 0.009 m. per metre.

XII. THE PANDROSEUM

The presence of the small door in the North Portico suggests that in Greek times the area west of the Erechtheum did not lie entirely open on the north and west as it does to-day. Such an entrance would be unintelligible unless it led into an enclosed precinct, and when we find that in the inscriptions the west wall and its parts are regularly described as lying *πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου*² and that Pausanias mentions the shrine of Pandrosus as adjoining that of Athena,³ it seems clear that this precinct was the Pandroseum. This area has suffered greatly in the course of time, but existing remains at its northeast corner, in the angle

¹ This surface projects 0.02 m. from the finished band of drafting at the foot of the orthostate and 0.015 m. from the unfinished protecting surface (*Werkzoll*) above.

² See, for example, Ch. IV, Inscriptions II, col. i, l. 45, col. ii, l. 63; X, col. i, l. 20, col. ii, l. 27; XI, col. iii, l. 33.

³ Pausanias, I, 27, 2.

formed by the North Portico and the west wall of the Erechtheum, afford considerable information as to conditions here in the fifth century B.C.

ENTRANCE From the south side of the pier at the southwest corner of the North Portico, a wall 0.517 m. thick, consisting of an orthostate and three courses of plinths, extends to the south for a distance of 0.645 m. In the three courses above the orthostate the pier and the wall are formed on a single block. The orthostate of the pier is worked on two blocks, the southern of which is also the orthostate of the wall (Figs. 36, 71); the joint between these two blocks passes to the south of the recess on the west face of the pier and through the angle formed by the side of the door and the wall.¹ The passage between the short wall and the west wall of the Erechtheum, whereby the Pandroseum was entered from the North Portico, was covered with a roof formed by a marble slab, 1.02 m. wide from north to south (PLATES IV, XI, XIII, XV, XX, 8, XXXV, 1; Figs. 37, 39). This slab is set into the pier of the North Portico for a distance of 0.103 m., with the same bearing on the top of the short wall south of the pier, and into the west wall for 0.19 m.; above the door the slab does not enter the wall, though the latter overlaps the upper edge of the slab by 0.005 m. (PLATE XX, 8; Fig. 39). The upper surface of this roof slopes slightly to the south in order to throw the rain away from the north wall.

NORTH BOUNDARY The short wall projecting from the pier ends abruptly in an oblique line which is continued on the west by the steps and foundation of the North Portico and on the east by the sill of the small door (PLATE II; Fig. 36). The lowest course of the poros foundation of the portico² projects on the south beyond the courses above, the projection increasing toward the east (Fig. 71, 8). The poros block in the next course at the corner has anathyrosis on the south side, and this is also true of the three steps and the short wall above; moreover, the middle and upper steps are dressed to varying vertical planes (Fig. 71). All these signs show plainly that these blocks were here in contact with a wall which formed the northern boundary of the Pandroseum.

EARLY ENTRANCE Farther east, beneath the lowest step of the west wall, is a block of marble (Figs. 71, 3, 72, 3) with the smooth dressing of a visible surface on its north side and on top, although both these faces were concealed. At the bottom of the north side is a drafted band about 0.055 m. high, such as is often found at the bottom of steps. The west end of this block has anathyrosis, and in the south side (not the top) are the remains of the  clamp by which the adjoining block, now missing, was secured (Fig. 72). The south side is roughly dressed without anathyrosis, and was, therefore, not in contact with another block, but

¹ The bottom of the orthostate follows the line of the pier and wall, returning east 0.325 m. and then south (Figs. 36, 71). At the base of the wall the torus is reeded, instead of having the guilloche, thus resembling the north wall east of the portico. The moulded course below the orthostate, consisting of the scotia and the lower torus, was not returned around the south side of the pier and along the base of the wall, but continued on the same line as the mouldings on the western face of the anta between the two projections (Fig. 36). This course is, however, badly broken south of the pier, only about 0.12 m. being actually preserved out of about 0.65 m., measured in the scotia.

² This foundation generally rests on the native rock, but the second block from the southwest corner is supported in part by two small stones which fill a hollow in the rock.



FIGURE 71. PANDROSEUM: NORTHEAST CORNER (APRIL 13, 1914)

probably hidden by earth.¹ The northern part of this block rests on and is firmly dowelled to another marble block (Figs. 71, 4, 72, 4), which projects about 0.04 m. beyond its northern

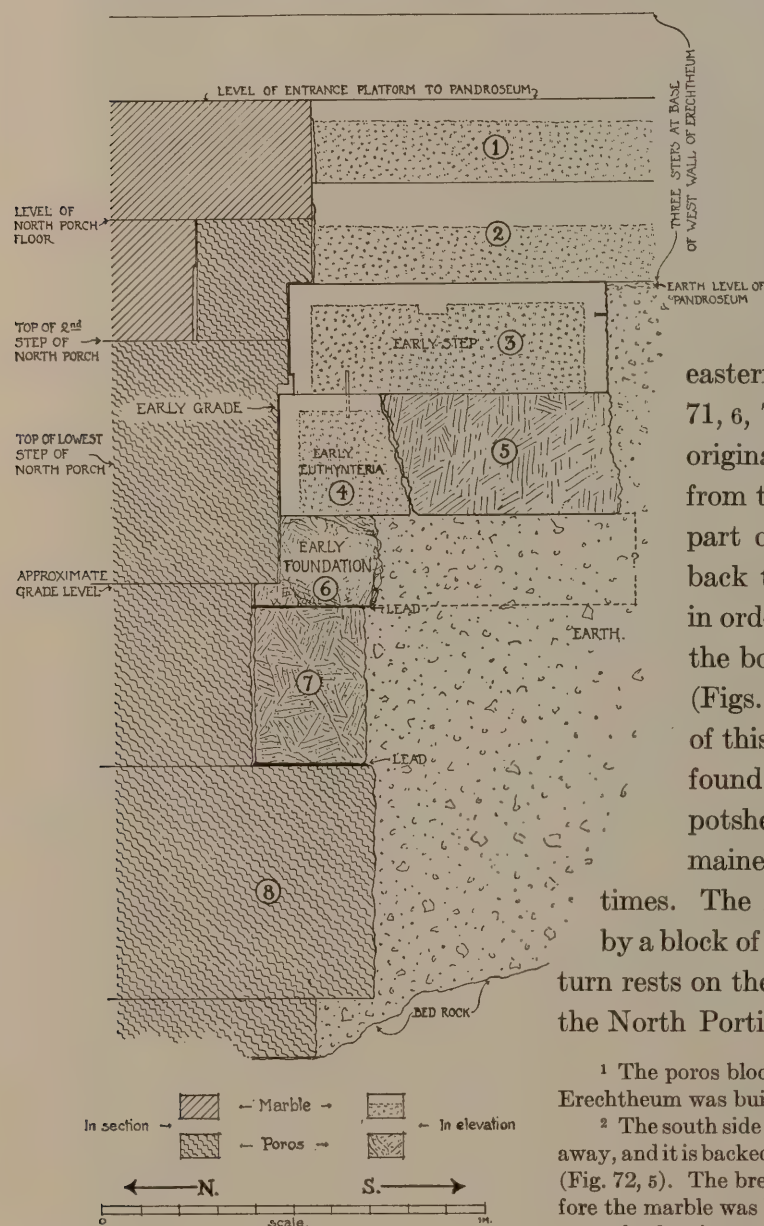


FIGURE 72. PANDROSEUM: SECTION THROUGH FOUNDATIONS BENEATH ENTRANCE FROM NORTH PORTICO, LOOKING EAST

of the steps of the North Portico to the north face of the new stone; and by the agreement of a setting line on its top with the east end of the block with the water channel, the position of which is assured by the cutting for the spout in the upper step of the North Portico. East of the setting line is a cutting for a dowel which held the missing block east of the stone with the water channel. The latter has dowel cuttings at both ends, but it is certain that the one at the east end was never used.

face.² Anathyrosis on the west end of this lower block and a cutting for a  clamp in its top (Fig. 73) show that the course continued westward, and the abutting stone has been recognized and replaced (Fig. 36).³ The marble block (Fig. 72, 4) is supported at its

eastern end by a block of poros (Figs. 71, 6, 72, 6), which is also part of the original construction, as is evident from the manner in which the greater part of the north face has been cut back to the line of the course above in order to receive the poros backer of the bottom step of the North Portico (Figs. 39, 72). The southeastern part of this block rests on earth, which was found in 1914 to contain only Helladic potsherds and which had evidently remained undisturbed since very early times. The northwestern part is supported by a block of poros (Figs. 71, 7, 72, 7) which in turn rests on the projection of the foundation of the North Portico (Figs. 71, 8, 72, 8). Both the

¹ The poros block now on this side was inserted when the Erechtheum was built.

² The south side of the lower marble block has been broken away, and it is backed by a poros block cut to fit the broken edge (Fig. 72, 5). The break, therefore, seems to have occurred before the marble was laid, since there can be no doubt that the poros backer is part of the original construction. See L. B. Holland, 'Erechtheum Papers, I,' *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 10-12.

³ The identification is proved by the correspondence in the cuttings for the  clamp in both blocks; by the adaptation

upper and lower joints of this second poros block (Fig. 72, 7) are filled with lead. The explanation of these conditions is not far to seek. The two marble blocks, Figure 72, 3 and 4, are the undisturbed remains of the threshold and euthynteria of an earlier entrance at the same point as the later.¹ Since there was no great weight to be supported, a single course of poros (Fig. 72, 6), resting on earth, was a sufficient foundation beneath the euthynteria. When the Erechtheum was built a stronger support was deemed necessary, and was secured by extending the foundations of the North Portico (Fig. 72, 8) a short distance under the earlier construction. Upon the shelf thus formed the poros block (Fig. 72, 7) was inserted as the earth was removed, and the new support made thoroughly secure by pouring molten lead into both upper and lower joints.²

West of the old entrance the wall of the precinct seems to have rested upon the rock, and poros blocks from its foundation are still in place about 4 m. west of the North Portico (PLATE I).³ They rest on a rock-cut bed which extends for about 10 m. to the west, where it turns to the south and can be traced for about 3 m. more (PLATE I). The height of this wall was probably the same as that of the short wall projecting from the pier of the North Portico, with a coping on the top at the level of the slab over the northwest door.

With this wall are also connected certain peculiar cuttings in the upper and middle steps of the North Portico, first noted and rightly interpreted by Bötticher.⁴ In the south end of the upper step is a rectangular cutting (Fig. 71). In the top of the middle step there is a round depression, in part directly under this cutting (PLATE VIII, 1, section; 2, plan). From this depression a hole, 0.04 m. in diameter, leads, with a slight fall, to the west face of the step, where it formerly ended in a spout now broken away. Above this hole the marble has been roughly cut out, probably in removing a metal pipe, which ran from the depression to the spout. The traces of lead and bronze, which Bötticher (*op. cit.* p. 212) detected in the hole and inferred were due to a bronze pipe set in lead, are no longer visible. Beneath the spout the face of the lowest step lacks its final dressing, and it is possible that it was concealed by a basin to catch the water. The block from the wall (PLATE VIII, 3; Fig. 73)⁵ against which the middle and upper steps of the Portico were laid, also identified by Bötticher, has now been replaced (Figs. 36, 37, 234). In the upper surface is a channel ending in a projecting spout, which exactly fits the rectangular cutting in the upper step of the North Portico. When thus placed the top of the block aligns with the top of the depressed lower half of the step, while the drafted band at the bottom fits against the raised strip across the

WATER
CHANNEL

¹ The assignment of these blocks to an earlier entrance is due to L. B. Holland; see *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, p. 10.

² A similar process was employed in the interior along the base of the north wall; see pp. 6, 142. Since molten lead expands in cooling, both joints were thus made thoroughly firm and tight.

³ Some of these blocks have been reddened by fire, and this suggests that they have been taken from buildings burned by the Persians. Another block, which in 1905 was lying near the steps of the North Portico, has disappeared. It is uncertain whether it was then in its original position.

⁴ *Untersuchungen*, pp. 209-213; figs. 39-43.

⁵ The photograph, taken in April, 1918, shows the stone with the spout placed upon the block from the course below in the wall of the Pandroseum.

middle step (PLATE VIII, 1, 2). Cuttings in its upper surface for clamps, a dowel, and a pry hole, no less than the dressing, prove that the block formed part of a wall, not of a pavement.¹



FIGURE 73. PANDROSEUM: NORTH FACE OF TWO BLOCKS FROM NORTH WALL, NOW REPLACED (APRIL 4, 1918)

The upper block shows the remains of the spout through which water was drained from the sacred precinct

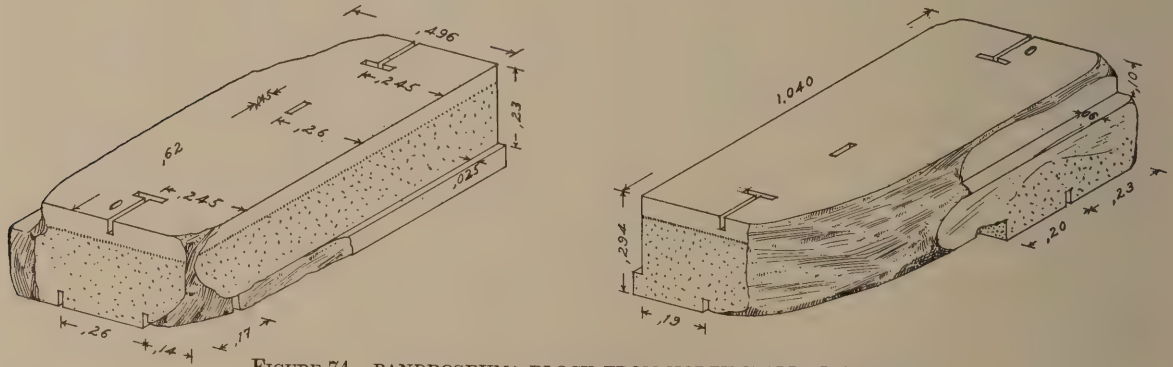


FIGURE 74. PANDROSEUM: BLOCK FROM NORTH WALL: ISOMETRIC

Another stone with a similar channel (Fig. 75) now lies near in the Pandroseum (Fig. 37).² This stone, however, differs from the other in the depth of the channel, which slopes from 0.045 m. to 0.05 m., as compared with 0.075 m. on the south face of the first stone.

¹ Another stone from the wall now (1924) lies north of the North Portico (Fig. 74). It has on top a dowel hole near the centre, and at either end a cutting, 0.14 m. long, for a  clamp. On each of the long faces there is a slight jog.

² Also identified by Bötticher, *op. cit.* p. 212; fig. 43. The fragments seen by him in or near the north wall of the Acropolis have not been found.

On the side where the channel is shallower is a drafted band, 0.075 m. wide, with a projecting surface below; on the other face is an anathyrosis, 0.043 m. wide, through which the water channel cuts. The surface is broken here, but no traces can be detected of a projecting spout such as occurs on the other stone. Moreover this stone has a height of only 0.225 m. as against 0.293 m. for the stone from the wall. It seems certain, therefore, that the two stones were not in contact, and that, if the inclination of the channel was uniform, the second stone originally was placed some distance to the south, perhaps a few feet in front of the west door.¹ The purpose of the channel is clear: it was intended to drain the Pandroseum, and was cut in the surface of the pavement below the bottom step.

That the boundary wall with its entrance is earlier than the Erechtheum is plainly evident from the manner in which the builders of the latter adapted their work to it, and also

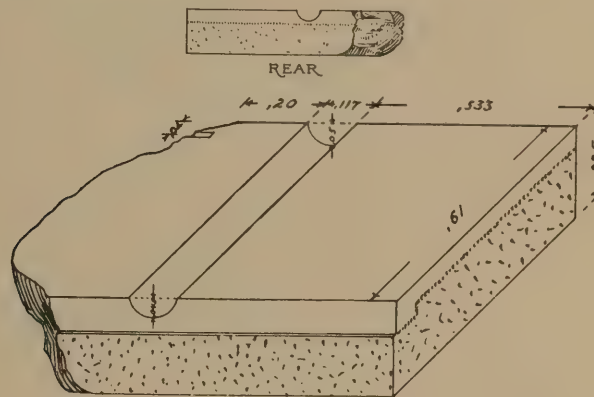


FIGURE 75. PANDROSEUM: BLOCK WITH WATER CHANNEL: ISOMETRIC

from the striking divergence in orientation. A difference in dates is also indicated by certain variations in technique, which assist in assigning individual blocks to their proper period. Thus the **—|—** clamps used in the earlier wall are somewhat smaller than those found in the walls of the Erechtheum,² and a line is scratched to indicate the position of the joints, which are not usually marked in this way in the later building. In spite of these slight variations, the technique of the earlier work is that of the fifth century B.C., and as none of the marble blocks employed show traces of fire or damage on the exposed faces, the wall may with great probability be assigned to a restoration of this precinct after the Persian invasion. The poros foundation farther west, in which are fire-stained blocks (p. 123, note 3), was doubtless laid at the same time.

Another remnant of the earlier Pandroseum is preserved in a marble block, which projects from beneath the lowest step of the west wall in a line parallel to the boundary wall,

¹ The bottom is worn smooth, since the stone was at some time built into a threshold face down; a pivot hole still remains in one corner. There is a trace of a dowel cutting in the broken edge of the upper surface (Fig. 75), which shows that the stone was covered, at least in part.

² On the size of the clamps used in the Erechtheum and the Pandroseum, see Ch. II, pp. 196, 198, note 2.

about midway between the North Portico and the west door (PLATES II, IV; Figs. 36, 37, 71, C). Its west end has been broken away. On the north and south faces are drafted bands, 0.115 m. deep, with a rough projecting surface below. This treatment shows that the block was not in contact with other blocks on either side, and suggests that originally it rose a little above an unpaved area. Its top, which has the same level as the earlier threshold, is dressed as a visible surface, and it may be conjectured that it formed part of a stylobate parallel to the enclosing wall. Beneath this stone is a poros block,¹ which rested on earth. Below, on the

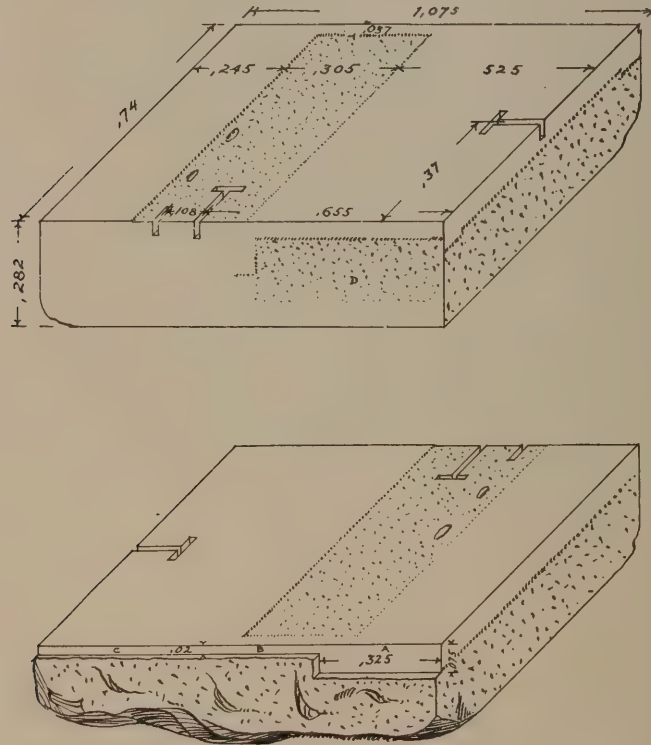


FIGURE 76. PANDROSEUM: BLOCK, APPARENTLY
FROM PAVEMENT: ISOMETRIC

The two views show the four sides and the top; the bottom
is roughly dressed

native rock, are remains of an Helladic wall. Above the lowest course the foundations of the west wall were here cut back a little. In 1914 it was found that for a short distance (about 0.15 m.) west of these foundations the earth filling contained fragments of fifth century pottery, while farther west there were only Helladic sherds. A similar stratification was noticed to the south, near the west door, in the undisturbed earth beneath the lowest step of the west wall (Fig. 38, 3, 4). It would seem that before the building of the Erechtheum there were no deep foundations in the eastern part of the Pandroseum, and that in erecting the new temple the existing conditions were disturbed as little as possible. Apart from con-

¹ The wall under the western end of this poros block is modern.

cealing the old entrance and the blocks to the south of it beneath the steps of the west wall, the only change known to us was the laying of a marble pavement, and even this was kept at the old level, since it seems to have incorporated the blocks in which had been cut the earlier water channel.

In June, 1910, a block (Fig. 76), apparently belonging to this area, was found buried almost directly in front of the west door. It is of the same height as the bottom step of the west wall, and the clamps are of the size used in the Erechtheum proper, but as yet no satisfactory explanation has been given of the varieties of dressing on its sides and top,¹ nor

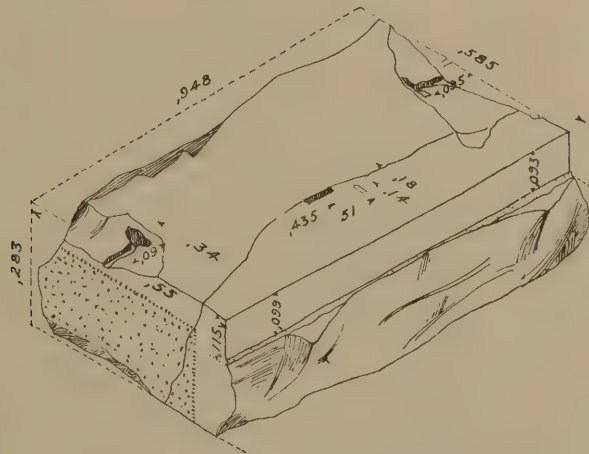


FIGURE 77. BLOCK, PROBABLY FROM PANDROSEUM:
ISOMETRIC

has it been possible to determine its original position. Still another block which is very probably from the Pandroseum is shown in Figure 77. It has the same height to within a millimetre as the stone just mentioned (Fig. 76), it shows excellent workmanship, and it has the short cuttings for clamps found in the stones from the north wall of this precinct.

XIII. THE CECROPIUM ²

At the southwest corner of the Erechtheum numerous irregularities, some of which have been already mentioned (pp. 14, 58), suggest the presence of a serious, and perhaps rather unexpected, hindrance to normal construction, and, when taken together, permit some fairly probable conclusions as to the extent and nature of this obstacle.

¹ At A there is good cutting both at the side and on the bottom; at B is good cutting at the side but a rough bottom; at C the side is rougher than at B, and the bottom is similar but a bit deeper; at D the surface is cut back, as if to receive an abutting block of the pavement, 0.19 m. to 0.20 m. thick.

² This section was in great part written before the appearance of the paper on the Cecropium by the late Professor Collignon ('L'Emplacement du Cécropion à l'Acropole d'Athènes,' *Mem. Acad. Insc.*, XLI, 1916). It is gratifying to find that on many points his independent investigations had led him to substantially the same conclusions that we had already reached.

SOUTH END
OF WEST
WALL

The difficulties evidently began with the foundations. In the west wall the three lowest courses (PLATE IV, courses 20, 21, 22) are of marble, instead of the usual poros (probably for greater strength, as they were not in sight), and stop about 0.70 m. short of the corner (Fig. 78). The ends, though rough, show Greek tooling, and it is quite clear that the blocks



FIGURE 78. OPENING UNDER SOUTHWEST CORNER OF THE ERECHTHEUM, LOOKING EAST (SEPTEMBER 4, 1922)

were not reduced to their present length in making the later cistern inside the temple. Above the foundations the course beneath the orthostates (PLATE IV; Fig. 78) does not reach the corner, but it has been broken and certainly once extended to the south wall in the interior, where it was visible. The orthostate itself and the two courses above (PLATE IV, courses 16–18; Fig. 78) were in contact with the south wall inside the temple, but outside were cut back obliquely, though not uniformly (Figs. 78, 79). To compensate for the absence of foundations the next three courses (13–15) are here filled by the great block already mentioned (p. 58),¹ which, firmly supported at either end on the west wall and on the eu-

¹ At its south end this block is cut down to receive the southern block in the west face of the podium of the Porch of the Maidens (PLATE IV), and its top there ranges with the top of the moulded course at the base of the podium.

thynteria of the Old Temple, spans the gap and bears the entire weight of this corner.¹ That there was some anxiety as to its strength seems evident from the obvious efforts to reduce the strain at this point, as shown, for example, by the reduction in thickness of the south wall in the Porch of the Maidens (p. 113), by the construction of the niche (p. 172), and by the probable absence of backers at this end of the western tympanum.²

The conditions in the south wall are similar to those just described. West of the east jamb of the doorway from the Porch of the Maidens little remains below the orthostate (Figs. 99, 106), in which the threshold of the door is cut (PLATE XII), but there are traces of a block below the threshold, and the course must have continued to the corner to unite with course 19 of the west wall. It was probably supported, as we have seen (p. 13), by a remnant of prehistoric wall, or by a regular foundation which has now disappeared. The block which forms the threshold and orthostate is dressed back on its south side until it has a thickness of only about 0.50 m. as compared with 0.675 m. in the wall above (PLATES IV, IX, X; Fig. 79), and at its west end has a slight vertical jog (Figs. 78, 79). The two courses above are cut back obliquely, though not in the same line; nor does either oblique cutting continue the line of the block ranging with it in the west wall (Fig. 79).

Above this line the surface of the block is dressed back slightly to the plane of the podium as far as the west anta of the porch. The shaft and base of this anta are also carved on this stone, and the west end of the south wall is indicated by a band slightly behind the surface to the south and in front of that to the north (PLATES II, A, IV).

¹ The block cracked under the weight resting upon it, and in 1837 the space beneath was cleared and the block supported by a wall of rubble. According to Pittakis (*Report Gr. Comm.*, § 15) nothing was found at this time. Later a pier of masonry was built beneath the anta, and finally in 1907–1908 all these additions were removed and the lintel supported by an iron column (PLATES IV, VII, X; Fig. 78). In setting this column the rock on the north side of its base was slightly cut and then hammered. The dressing here is wholly modern.

² See Ch. IV, Inscr. X, col. II, ll. 27–42, and Commentary, p. 361.

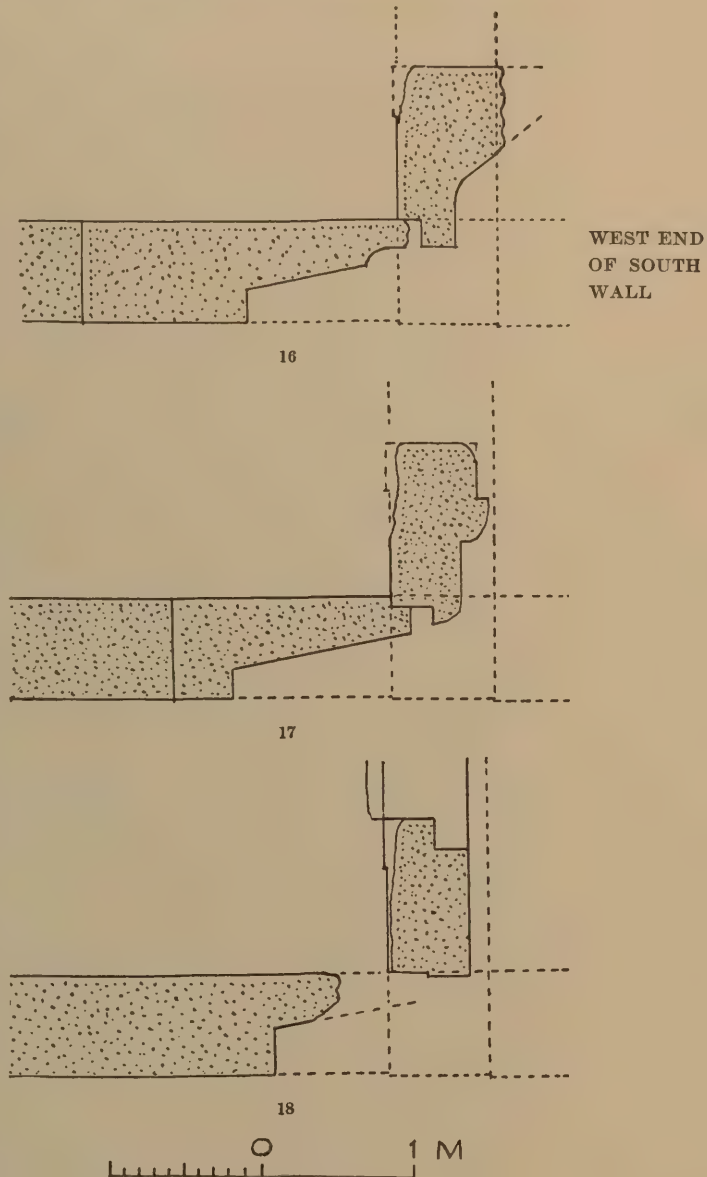


FIGURE 79. PLANS OF COURSES 16–18 AT SOUTHWEST CORNER

These peculiarities of construction are intelligible, if this corner had to be built around some obstacle which filled the space beneath the great block in the west wall and, while not encroaching upon the interior of the main building, extended beneath the Porch of the Maidens, although it was there doubtless concealed from view by the pavement of the porch and by the wall at the west side of the stairs which led down into the temple (PLATE XXVIII). The fact that the blocks in both west and south walls are not dressed to a uniform oblique line indicates that they were cut rather to avoid contact with this obstacle, whatever its nature, than to fit accurately against it. The same protective care was apparently exercised in the Porch of the Maidens, where there was a narrow gap between the great block and the wall west of the stairway (p. 116), while a similar space was perhaps left below the great block itself, — at least the fairly smooth dressing given to its under surface suggests the possibility that it was not in contact with another stone or with earth.

WEST WALL
SOUTH OF
DOOR

Turning now to the outside we find clear proof that this obstruction continued as far as the south side of the door in the west wall (PLATE IV; Fig. 80). Its presence accounts for the absence of steps at this part of the temple, where the course below the orthostates projects beyond the face of the wall only in the block forming part of the threshold and is everywhere left rough.¹ The lack of the final dressing on the face of the stones above this course (p. 58) suggests that this part of the building, too, was concealed in some way, — a suggestion confirmed by an examination of the lintel itself. Here, in the lower corner on the right, is a slightly raised surface, with distinctly marked limits above and to the left, which can also be traced on the next block to the south in course 14 (PLATE IV). It would seem that, when most of the lintel, the block in course 13, and the great block received their final dressing and were given a uniform smooth surface, this corner remained *ἀκατάξεστος*, because it was covered by something which left no interval sufficient to admit a tool.

To the influence of this somewhat mysterious structure may also be traced some peculiarities in the construction of this corner above the west wall. On the moulding which connects the base of the south anta with the base of the adjacent column and on the base of the column itself the upper torus is without the reeding which it is given elsewhere in this course.² The anthemion on the west face of the anta is not continued on the north face, which is here smooth, and in courses 5 and 7 a boss has been left on the west end of the blocks of the south wall (PLATE IV). Furthermore, the mouldings of the cornice and of the top of the podium at the north end of the west side of the Porch of the Maidens are not returned against the southwest corner of the main building but abruptly cut off (Fig. 81), which is certainly clumsy. The lack of finish shown in these details would appear to indicate that this part of the building was more or less screened from view.

Some writers have supposed that it was the shrine of Pandrosus which thus hampered

¹ In the second course below the threshold the stone is so cut as to suggest that it was fitted around a block already in place (PLATE IV; Fig. 80).

² The upper torus of both antae is without reeding.



FIGURE 80. WEST WALL: LOWER PORTION OF SOUTH END, FROM NORTHWEST (APRIL 13, 1914)

the builders of the Erechtheum.¹ The language of the inscriptions,² which is not in any way contradicted by the other evidence,³ leads rather to the inference that this was the site of the Cecropium, and that it was the legendary tomb of Cecrops with its surrounding temenos, which was partly under and partly outside this corner of the Erechtheum. It is interesting to recall that none of the water which collected on the roof of the Porch of the Maidens was permitted to escape on the west side (p. 115).

SOUTHERN
PRECINCT
WALL

On the south this sacred precinct was enclosed by a wall which has left unmistakable traces on the steps and podium of the west side of the porch of the Maidens. Tooling on



FIGURE 81. PORCH OF THE MAIDENS: JUNCTION OF ARCHITRAVE AND CORNICE WITH SOUTHWEST ANTA OF MAIN BUILDING

the lowest step shows that its direction here was not at right angles to the porch, but parallel with the axis of the Old Temple of Athena, and in fact it was laid directly on the old stylobate, and its north face coincides with the edge of the latter. Moreover, the surface of the middle step of the porch is cut down to form a bed at the same level as the top of this stylobate,

¹ This view has been maintained, for example, by Michaelis, *Ath. Mitt.*, II, 1877, p. 34 (abandoned later, see J.-M., *Atlas*, pl. XX); Julius, *Erechtheion*, p. 12; Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, p. 337; Weller, *A. J. A.*, XXV, 1921, p. 140.

² See Ch. IV, Inscription II, col. I, ll. 9, 59, 63, 84.

³ The only definite references to the Cecropium are found in the inscriptions connected with the building of the Erechtheum cited in the preceding note. Apart from these passages the word is found only in the Hecatompodon inscription (Ch. V, p. 440), where it has been restored with a high degree of probability. Decrees of the fourth century B.C., in honor of the ephebi of the tribe Cecropis, provide for the erection of inscribed stelae *ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κέκροπος ἱερῷ* (*I. G.* II, 5, 563, b, dated 334–33 B.C.; 563, d, e *conj.*), and a priest of Cecrops appears in the list of the Amyndridae (*I. G.* III, 1276, l. 8) inscribed on the block from the boundary wall. The tomb of Cecrops on the Acropolis (*ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει*) is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria (*Protrepticus*, III, 45) on the authority of "Antiochus," and the statement is repeated in somewhat more precise form by Theodoret (*Graec. affect. cur.*, VIII, 30: *παρὰ τὴν Πολιοῦχον αὐτὴν*) and Arnobius (*adv. nat.* VI, 6: "*in Minervio*"). Obviously none of these later references throws any light on the situation of the *ἱερόν* or the tomb. If the position assigned to the Cecropium in the text is accepted, we may suppose that the sacred precinct was on the terrace north of the Old Temple, while the legendary tomb was underground at the southwest corner of the Erechtheum, and probably extended beneath the great block in the west wall.

and the upper step ends at the south edge of this bed. There is nothing left to show how far the wall extended to the west. The vertical traces of its contact with the podium and the great stone below are about 0.675 m. apart, and this is also the approximate thickness of two blocks (Figs. 82, 83, 84), which have been identified on other grounds as belonging to it.¹ Traces of horizontal joints still visible on the face of the podium and a cutting for a key clamp show that the courses composing the wall were for the most part 0.489 m. high.

Marks of this wall appear as high as the top of the eggs of the podium of the Porch of the Maidens, but it was certainly somewhat higher, for the upper surface of the stone which

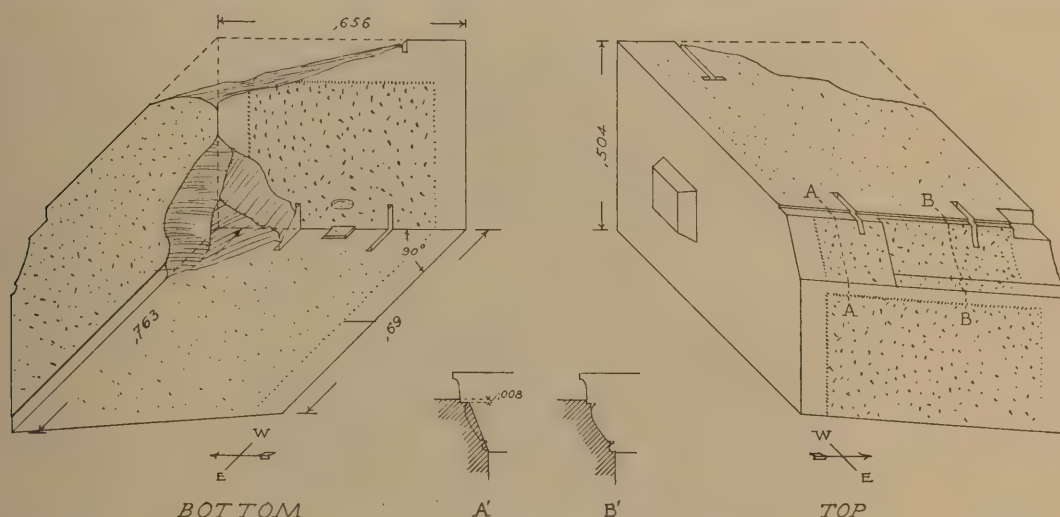


FIGURE 82. BLOCK FROM PARAPET SOUTH OF CECROPIUM ABUTTING AGAINST PODIUM OF PORCH OF THE MAIDENS: ISOMETRIC. AT A' AND B', SECTIONS TAKEN AT A-A AND B-B, SHOWING DRESSING OF BLOCK TO FIT MOULDINGS OF PODIUM

here abutted against the podium (Fig. 82) is dressed as a bed, has dowels at the east end for securing a block above, and at the west end a **H** clamp, which can scarcely have been left uncovered. It is, however, probable that the course above was only a coping. The egg-and-

¹ Figs. 82, 83. This block, now lying on the stylobate of the Old Temple close to its original position, is cut at the upper right end (A' and B') to fit the mouldings on the top of the podium of the Porch of the Maidens (A-A and B-B). On the bottom there is a scratch line at right angles to the south face and 0.345 m. from the west end of the stone. A boss remains on the south face, while the back has a drafted edge at the bottom and has also not received its final dressing. Apparently none of the faces is inclined. The surface of the block shows two styles of dressing, but neither seems to be earlier than the Erechtheum.

Fig. 84. The clamps in the block are of the same size as those used in the Erechtheum, and there is no reason to assign the stone to an earlier structure. One face bears the upper part of an inscription (*I. G.*, III, 1276) from the last quarter of the first century B.C. containing a catalogue of the Arynandridae, in which the priest of Cecrops occupies the second place. The condition of the stone makes it difficult to determine accurately whether the faces are inclined, but the inscribed side seems to have the upper angle obtuse and a slope of about 0.001 m. in 0.300 m., while the face on the right may also have a slight batter with the upper angle acute. The original position of the block is uncertain, though the correspondence in width and height with the stone just described (Fig. 82) renders it extremely probable that it is from this wall. It is, however, not from the bottom, for the inscription was continued on the block below, and clamps and a dowel in the upper surface prove that it is not from the top course. The dressing shows that both sides and one end were exposed, and there is also a **T**-dowel in the top, implying a position either at one side of an opening or at the end of a wall. If the inscription faced the south, where it could be easily read, the

dart pattern on the upper moulding of the podium was left uncut north of the south face of the wall.¹

NORTHERN
BOUNDARY

The northern boundary of the Cecropium is not so sure as PLATE I might perhaps seem to imply. All that is certainly known is the approximate point at which it started, close

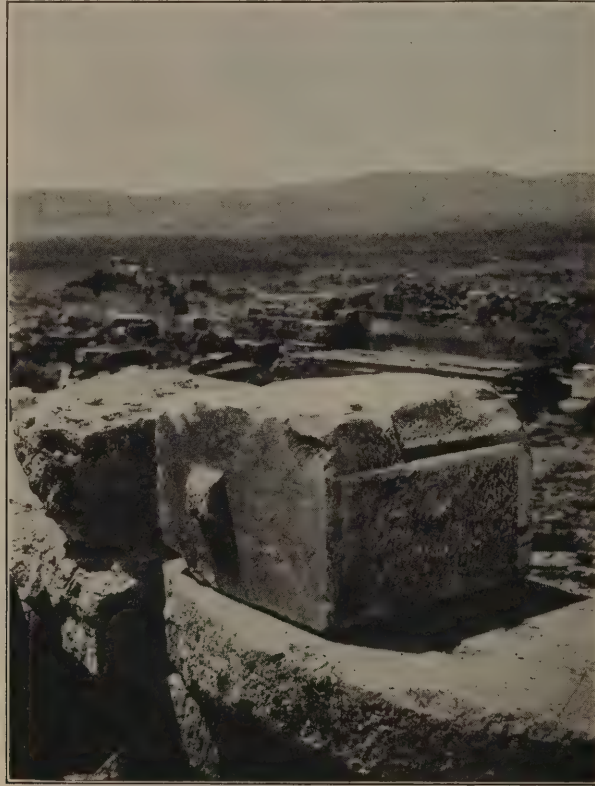


FIGURE 83. PHOTOGRAPH OF BLOCK DRAWN IN FIGURE 82

to the west wall of the Erechtheum, south of the door. Its exact direction is a matter of inference only. It has been drawn parallel with the north wall of the Pandroseum and the

stone would have been on the west side of an opening in the wall; if, however, the inscription was within the Cecropium, as is not improbable in view of the connection of the family with the cult of Cecrops through the hereditary priesthood, the stone might come either from the east side of an opening or from the west end of the wall. In the latter case it would furnish proof that the wall did not turn to the north at the end, since it is clear that nothing covered the inscribed face. Since such an ending of the wall does not seem very probable, it is perhaps preferable to assign it to one side of an opening. It is natural to suppose that there was access to the Cecropium from the terrace of the Old Temple.

¹ A third block (Fig. 85) may perhaps be connected with this wall. One long side has anathyrosis on the top, the other has a boss, and was therefore exposed. The two ends are dressed smooth, without anathyrosis, though, if they were not covered, two dowel cuttings were left visible. These cuttings are in the top at one end and in the bottom at the other; the latter is accompanied by a shift hole to aid in setting the stone. A third dowel cutting, near the middle of the upper surface, seems to have held a block two Attic feet long, if the end with the shift hole was exposed, or four feet long, if that end was covered. The height of the stone is the same as that of the steps about the Porch of the Maidens. It is possible that the steps of the porch were continued along the base of the wall, or that the stone formed part of the pavement within the porch. Its connection with the Erechtheum seems certain, not only from its height, but also from the character of the shift hole, pry hole, and cuttings for dowels, but its exact position remains uncertain.

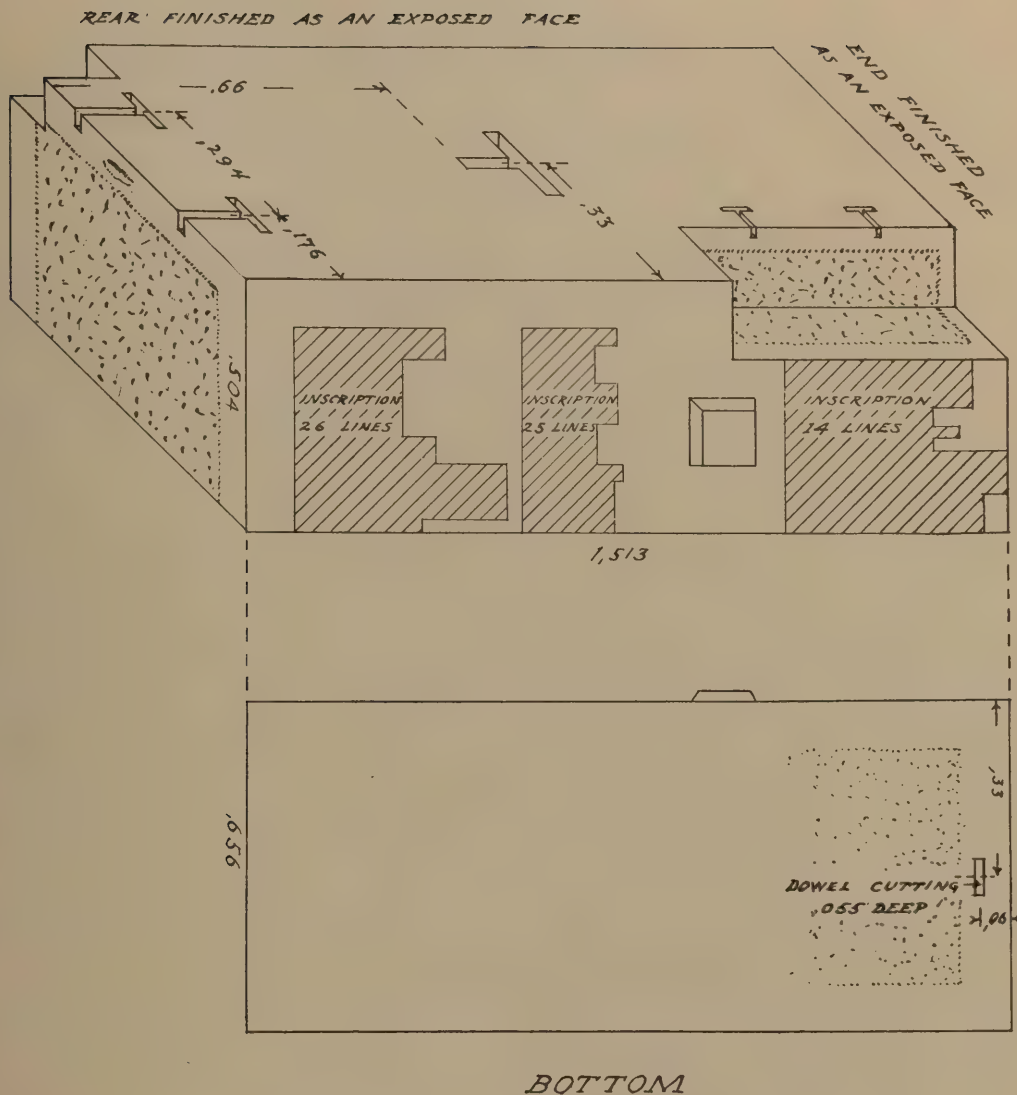


FIGURE 84. INSCRIBED BLOCK FROM WALL OF CECROPIUM: ISOMETRIC

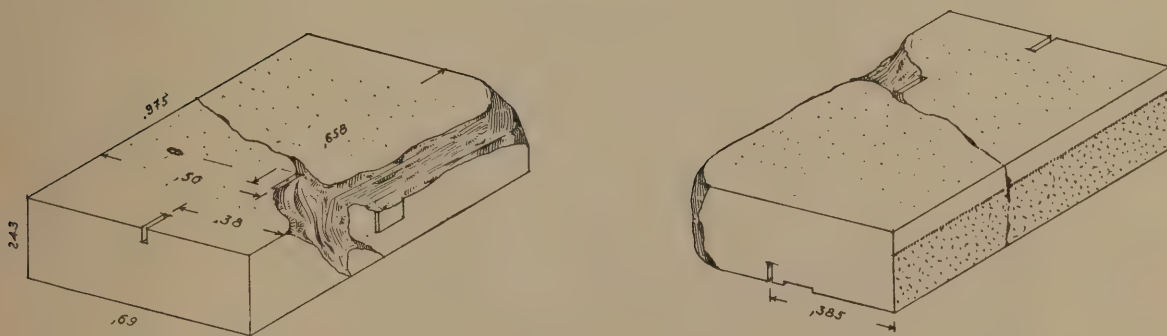


FIGURE 85. BLOCK PROBABLY FROM WALL OF CECROPIUM OR FROM PORCH OF THE MAIDENS: ISOMETRIC

early blocks which project from beneath the steps of the west wall (PLATE I); but the possibility that it was parallel with the southern boundary, the terrace of the Old Temple, cannot be excluded. Absolutely nothing is known of the thickness of the wall, but it may be regarded as almost certain that the lower part, reaching perhaps to the level of the euthyn-teria of the Old Temple, was the retaining wall of a terrace. Above was probably a parapet, such as formed the southern boundary west of the Porch of the Maidens, and the outline on the lintel of the west door suggests that this parapet was crowned by a projecting coping or cornice. The extension of the parapet to the west is also unknown, for the Cecropium need not have occupied the entire extent of the terrace which masked the foundations of the Old Temple. On the east it was bounded by the west wall of the Erechtheum and the Porch of the Maidens. The southern boundary was doubtless formed by the terrace of the Old Temple and the wall above.

STEREOBATE
OF OLD
TEMPLE

Thus far the evidence concerning the Cecropium has been drawn from the Erechtheum; it remains to notice certain facts which throw some light on conditions before the temple was built. The stones composing the stereobate of the Old Temple west of the Erechtheum have a rough and unfinished surface, which it is hard to believe would have been left visible even in the sixth century,¹ and this roughness continues beneath the Porch of the Maidens to a point nearly opposite the east jamb of the door into the temple, that is, to about the western limit of the original solid foundation of the south wall of the Erechtheum. From this point eastward, so far as examination is possible (about 2.25 m.), the face of the stereobate has been dressed smooth (Fig. 78). Such a difference in treatment indicates that, while the terrace of the Cecropium concealed the western part of the foundation wall, the eastern, before the Erechtheum was built, was visible, probably for a considerable distance, though the exact limits cannot, of course, be fixed with certainty.

Although the facts which have been presented are not sufficient to warrant any detailed reconstruction, it is perhaps permissible to draw the following conclusions as to the conditions which confronted the builders of the Erechtheum. On the north side of the Old Temple was a terrace or precinct having at its eastern end something which was later believed to be the tomb of Cecrops. The appearance of this monument is unknown, but it can hardly have been of stone on the outside, since it is improbable that the Erechtheum would have been so planned as to bring its corner on a spot already occupied by a solid structure of so sacred a character. It seems more likely that only a mound of earth was visible and that it was not until an attempt was made to lay foundations that something more solid was discovered — perhaps a corner of the old “Mycenaean” palace,² the walls of which must have

¹ For the probable extent of the terraces on the north and west of the Old Temple, see Dörpfeld in J.-M., *Atlas*, pls. XXVI, XXVII, *e, f*; *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, p. 37.

² There is, of course, no need to suppose that a grave had ever existed at this spot. The name of Cecrops could easily be attached to any bit of masonry or mound that suggested a tomb. For the early walls, see Cavvadias and Kawerau, pl. Γ'; L. B. Holland, 'Erechtheum Papers, II,' *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 161 ff., pl. VII, fig. 13. See also Ch. V, pp. 427 ff.

had an orientation agreeing fairly closely with that of the Pandroseum, — to which, since it could not be removed, the builders were compelled to adapt their construction as best they could, even perhaps to placing the west wall two feet farther east than they had originally intended (p. 167).

XIV. THE INTERIOR OF THE BUILDING

Certain features of the interior, such as the foundations and the inside of the western façade, have already been described, since their close connection with corresponding portions of the exterior rendered a separate treatment undesirable, while the reconstruction of the ceilings, as depending wholly on epigraphical evidence, is discussed in the commentary on the inscriptions (pp. 362 ff.; 408 f.). In the present section it is proposed first to examine the remains of earlier structures which survived within the new building, and then to consider the division of the temple into its several parts, their levels, and means of intercommunication, as well as any structural peculiarities confined to the interior. These points will be treated under the following headings:

1. Remains of structures earlier than the Erechtheum.
2. The East Cella. (A) The cross-wall separating this cella from the western division of the temple. (B) The level of the floor in the cella.
3. The Western Rooms. (A) The western cross-wall, in Greek times and after the Roman reconstruction. (B) The central part of the building. (C) The Prostomiaion and Erechtheis. (D) The Niche. (E) Temporary repairs before the Roman restoration.

All architectural evidence as to the arrangement of the interior must now be derived from such traces as may remain on the natural rock, in the foundations, and on the side walls, or from a study of single scattered stones, since in the transformation of the Erechtheum into a Christian church all the ancient interior east of the western cross-wall, including even the foundations, was destroyed.¹ This evidence, although very scanty, is sufficient, when combined with some statements in the inscriptions, to render possible a reconstruction which seems fairly certain in essentials, though there are naturally not a few details which must remain subject to more or less probable conjecture.

1. REMAINS OF EARLIER STRUCTURES ²

Attention has already been called to the probable survival of a prehistoric wall in the foundation beneath the threshold of the south door (p. 14), and also to the remains of an ancient entrance south of the doorway leading into the Pandroseum from the North Portico

¹ The natural rock does not seem to have been materially affected by the transformation. Certainly it shows not the slightest indication of having been hewn and hacked away by the Christians in a deliberate attempt to destroy all traces of earlier construction, as is asserted by Bötticher, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 194–195, and repeated by D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, p. 311. Bötticher seems to have been led to this statement by his failure to find any evidence of the solid stereobate, which he wrongly believed to be universal in Greek temples, or of the crypts, which his reconstruction of the Erechtheum required.

² See L. B. Holland, 'Erechtheum Papers, I,' *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 1–23. We are much indebted to Dr. Holland for permission to reproduce some of his drawings and photographs.

(p. 123). Moreover, the excavations of 1886 and 1887 brought to light considerable fragments of Helladic walls south, east, and north of the Erechtheum (PLATE I).¹ It is not surprising, therefore, to find within the Erechtheum itself evidence for the existence of similar walls, which seem to have been preserved and probably utilized by the builders of the temple, but which have now in great part disappeared.

ALONG THE
NORTH
SIDE

This evidence is most abundant along the bottom of the north wall. Against this wall at some period after the Roman restoration, but before the alterations due to the Christian



FIGURE 86. NORTH WALL: PREHISTORIC REMAINS WITHIN THE TEMPLE, WEST SIDE OF WEST PIER

church, foundations or piers of concrete were constructed,² two of which are important in this connection. One of these is situated about one metre east of the entrance to the crypt under the North Portico; the other, some 6.50 m. farther east, now supports the threshold and part of the pavement of the Prothesis in the church (PLATES II, XI, XXXI). On the west side of the first pier, at the bottom, a piece of Acropolis limestone abuts against the marble jamb of the entrance to the crypt (Figs. 86, 1; 88). The north side of this stone has been roughly dressed to a vertical plane at its contact with course 23, and a rabbet 0.04–0.05 m. wide has been cut in the top to receive the projection of course 22. South of this stone are

¹ See also Cavvadias and Kawerau, Pl. Γ'; L. B. Holland, 'Erechtheum Papers, II,' *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pl. VII.

² On these masses of concrete see Ch. V, pp. 516 ff. To distinguish them from the foundations of the Erechtheum they will be called piers in the following description.

more uncut pieces of Acropolis limestone, extending about 1.25 m. from the north wall (Fig. 86, 2, 3, 4, 5), and wholly without any admixture of marble chips and mortar, although both are abundant in the concrete above. This of itself suggests that the later pier rests in part upon a primitive wall, and the inference is confirmed when we find similar stones, also

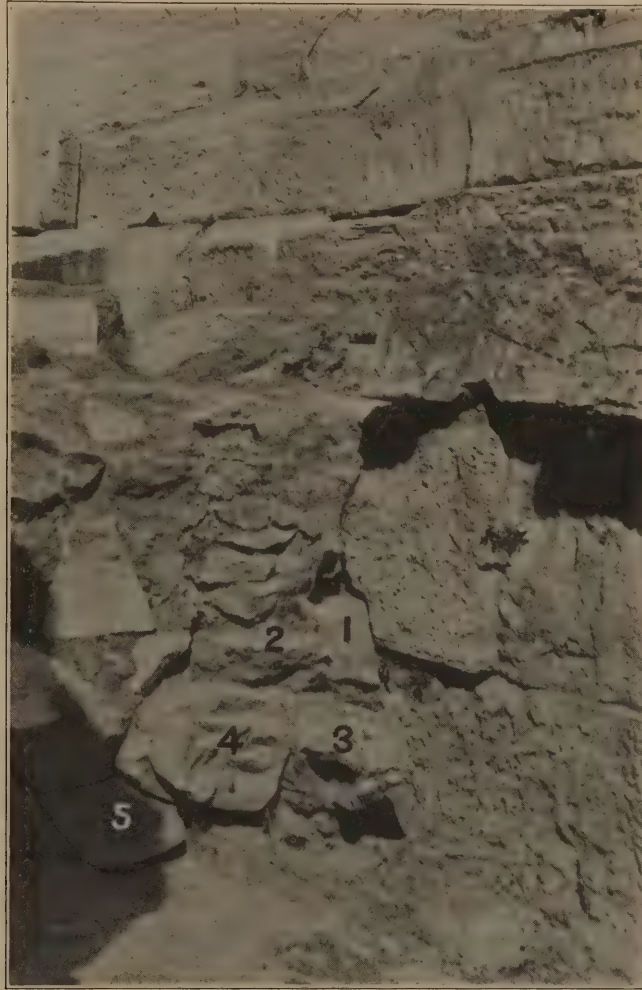


FIGURE 87. NORTH WALL: PREHISTORIC REMAINS WITHIN THE TEMPLE, EAST SIDE OF WEST PIER (SEPTEMBER 2, 1922)

free from marble or mortar, appearing on the east side of the pier (Figs. 87, 1-5; 88). None of these stones has been dressed to fit the foundations of the Erechtheum; on the contrary here the poros blocks 2 and 3 of courses 22 and 23 (Fig. 88) have been cut away to a depth of at least 0.21 m. to receive a projecting piece of hard black and white stone (Fig. 87, 1), of a kind not infrequently used along with the common Acropolis limestone in Helladic walls. Since it is out of the question that the builders of the rough pier should have taken the trouble to cut this hole in the poros, the conclusion seems certain that the foundations of the Erechtheum were here laid against, and in part adapted to, a prehistoric wall.

Between this pier and the one below the Prothesis no stones of this early wall have remained *in situ*, though it is quite possible that some remains were unsuspectingly destroyed when the concrete pier on the line of the east cross-wall was removed and the north aisle of the church cleared.¹ There are, however, abundant traces of its former presence in the numerous cuttings, sometimes of considerable depth, on the south face of the poros foundations (Figs. 88, 93);² for, in view of what is preserved under the western pier, there can be no doubt that these cuttings were made to adapt the blocks of the Erechtheum to the stones of an irregular wall. Since the poros is softer than the Acropolis limestone, it was generally easier to cut the new blocks to fit the projections of the old than to dress back the existing wall to the plane of the foundations.

More of the old wall itself is preserved beneath the eastern pier. At the lower north-western corner a piece of Acropolis limestone rests on a slab of the hard black and white

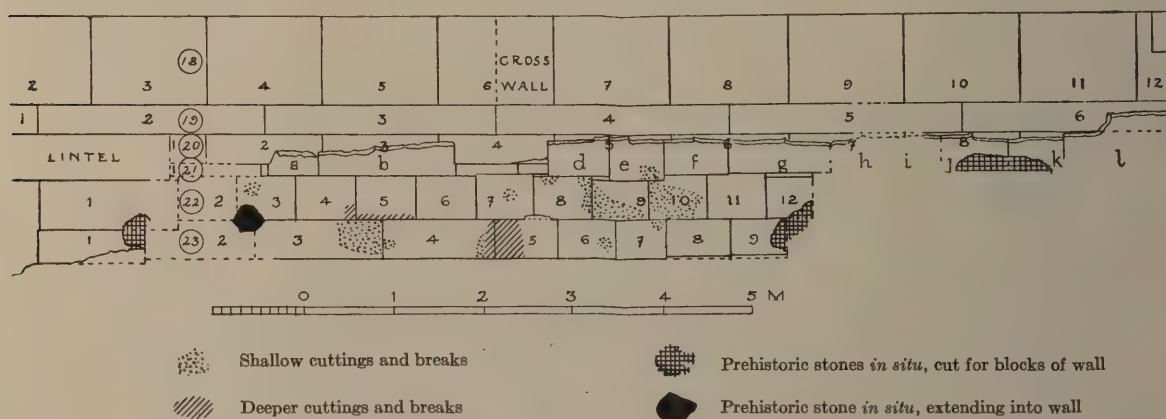


FIGURE 88. NORTH WALL: FOUNDATIONS INSIDE, SHOWING MARKS OF CONTACT WITH PREHISTORIC REMAINS: ELEVATION

stone and this in turn on the native rock (Figs. 88, 89, 1, 2). These two stones and also the rock below have plainly been cut to make room for block 9 in course 23, while the piece of limestone also has a rabbet along the upper edge to receive the bottom of block 12 in course 22. East of the pier, from the threshold of the Prothesis to the east wall, the foundations of the north wall are to a great extent concealed by rubble and concrete. The upper part of this masonry is certainly late, probably mediaeval, but the lower part consists largely of

¹ On these operations see Ch. V, pp. 516, 569.

² These marks (PLATE XI; Fig. 88) may be briefly catalogued as follows: Course 23, block 3, at the right a cutting from 0.04–0.10 m. deep; block 4, at the left a slight scar, at the right the whole height is cut away to a depth of 0.32 m.; this cutting is continued into the southwest corner of block 5, forming a hole from 0.26–0.31 m. wide (Fig. 93) which extends for 0.05 m. under the north wall itself; block 6, small scar; block 7, in right upper edge a cutting from 0.03–0.055 m. deep. Course 22, block 3, upper left, a scar about 0.03 m. deep, partly hidden by the late pier; block 4, lower right corner, a hole 0.08–0.11 m. deep, showing marks of tools; block 5, lower edge broken away, probably before the stone was laid as no marks extend into the course below; block 7, small hole near centre (Fig. 93); block 8, at the top a rough cutting, at the upper right corner and along the right side a hole about 0.10 m. deep; block 9, nearly half the surface cut back roughly for 0.05–0.06 m. (Fig. 93); block 10, more than half the surface cut back from 0.03–0.055 m. Course 21, the inserted poros block *e*, a cutting about 0.035 m. deep (Fig. 93).

blocks of Acropolis limestone unmixed with marble or mortar, and the earth filling between the stones of this stratum has yielded no pottery later than Late Helladic III. Just east of the remnant of the pavement in the Prothesis the Acropolis limestone rises higher and is found in contact with the poros blocks resting on course 22. The uppermost limestone is a small loose piece (Fig. 90) which may have been broken away on the north side when

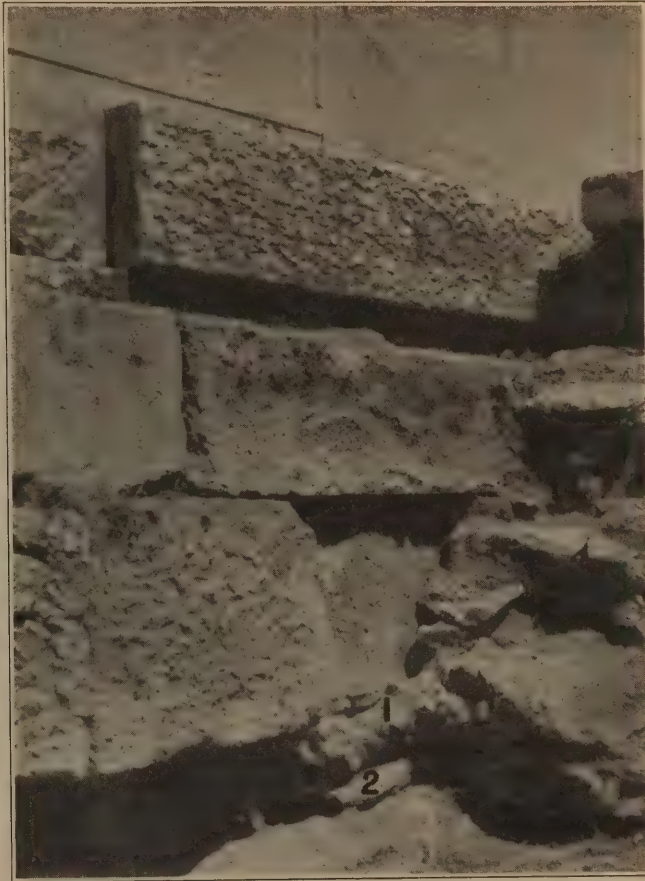


FIGURE 89. NORTH WALL: PREHISTORIC REMAINS WEST
OF PROTHESIS OF CHURCH (SEPTEMBER 2, 1922)

the poros was laid, but may also owe its present position to the building of the pier. Below on the east is a larger stone (Figs. 88, 90), in the top of which a shallow rabbet has been cut to receive the lower south edge of two poros blocks (Fig. 88, *j*, *k*). The stone extends very slightly beneath the poros, although in its present position it is impossible to determine whether its north face has been cut back below the rabbet. To the southeast of this stone and lower down, another large piece of Acropolis limestone extends about 1.50 m. into the Erechtheum.

The evidence thus far collected proves the presence of a prehistoric wall, about 1.25–1.50 m. thick, in close contact with the foundations of the north wall and extending from

about a metre east of the doorway of the crypt almost or quite to the foundation of the east wall. No traces of its continuation outside of the Erechtheum on the east were brought to light by the excavations of 1887.¹ The construction of the doorway into the crypt and the excavation of the mediaeval cistern have destroyed all traces of its extension toward the west, but it may be noted that the foundation below the North Door is free from any cuttings or holes resembling those which are visible farther east. It is possible that, when the Erechtheum was built, only the lower courses of this wall were preserved west of the east cross-wall;



FIGURE 90. NORTH WALL: PREHISTORIC REMAINS EAST OF THRESHOLD OF PROTHESIS (1926)

at least the marks of its presence in this section appear to be confined to course 23 and the lower part of course 22. East of the cross-wall the traces are generally somewhat higher and are found even on the inserted poros blocks (Fig. 88 *e, j, k*) which rest on course 22.

INSERTED
POROS
BLOCKS

It remains to consider the probable function of these inserted poros blocks (Figs. 1, 2, 88). As has been said (p. 6) they vary somewhat in length, height, and thickness. The top of the course shows in elevation a series of irregular, long, shallow (0.02–0.05 m. in depth), concave curves, with the high points roughly in the middle of each block. In section, the top is dressed to slope downward from north to south. It will be remembered that in the northeast corner of the Pandroseum a poros block, resting upon a projecting course of the foundation, was inserted to sustain older blocks which would otherwise have lacked adequate support (Figs. 71, 72). The similarity between the conditions there and those along

¹ Cf. Cavvadias and Kawerau, pl. Γ'; Holland, *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pl. VII. There are remains of two prehistoric walls running east from the Erechtheum; one is about in line with the second column from the north of the East Portico, the other with the second column from the south.

the north wall is so close as to leave no doubt that the explanation is the same. Clearly these inserted poros blocks were pushed in like wedges (hence the oblique cutting of their tops) between course 22 and older stones left undisturbed above. The lead, which was run in below and above, removed all danger of displacement.¹ Only two small fragments of the older stones have survived. One is below the west edge of the sill of the Prothesis (Fig. 88, above *h*), the other a little east of it (Figs. 88, above *i, j*, 90); both fragments are of poros bedded in lead. Some additional information may be gathered from an examination of the top of the inserted blocks. The long shallow curves must have been cut to fit the bottoms of the stones above, and the high points, therefore, should mark the joints in that course. The length of the stones, as thus ascertained, varies between 0.82 m. and 1.15 m. with an average of about 0.95 m.² The fact that their bottoms were slightly convex would at first sight suggest that they were neither wholly rough nor yet carefully smoothed, but rather stones which broke naturally to a fairly flat surface. Such a fracture, however, is not characteristic of poros, and if the course was wholly composed of that material, its blocks must have been especially dressed to this irregular line.³ This dressing would be intelligible, if they had been fitted to the uneven top of an earlier polygonal wall. It is, of course, clear that when the foundations of the Erechtheum were laid, these blocks projected on the north beyond the primitive wall below; otherwise it would have been neither necessary, nor indeed possible, to have inserted the poros wedges to sustain them. It is, however, unlikely that originally they had any such projection, since foundations are usually broader than the wall above. It would seem, then, that in building the Erechtheum a part of the primitive wall, which was below these blocks, was removed and its place taken by the inserted poros wedges and the courses beneath them.

Any further reconstruction of pre-Erechtheum conditions must be tentative and largely hypothetical.⁴ If, as seems highly probable, the site of the East Cella was even then a raised terrace with a retaining wall approximately on the line of the later east cross-wall (pp. 426 f.), it is quite possible that on its north side was either another retaining wall, if the ground farther north had about the same level as in later times, or the poros foundation of a building, if the terrace extended to the wall of the Acropolis.⁵ West of this terrace there seems

¹ Lead is still in place below the poros blocks, between their joints, and also between the tops of these blocks and the two small fragments of the course which they supported.

² The first poros block on the west (Fig. 88, *a*) is too broken to yield any points of measurement. From the joint on *b* to the joint on *e* (the block *c* is missing and there is no joint on *d*) is 2.71 m., which we may suppose was covered by three stones averaging 0.903 m. in length, unless the order was broken by the east cross-wall or its predecessor. From *e* eastward the lengths of the missing blocks are 0.82 m., 1.00 m., 0.93 m., 1.15 m. (the surviving fragments belonged to this block), 1.02 m., 0.59 m., 0.81 m. The two easternmost blocks rested on *l*, which is distinctly higher than the other inserted poros blocks (0.64 m. against a maximum of 0.45 m. farther west). The top of its west end has disappeared, but the line of the joint is preserved. From the bed cut on its eastern top it would seem that the block it supported only extended to about 0.30 m. from the north wall.

³ The use of poros suggests that this course is not part of the early Helladic work. Indeed it seems quite possible that here, as in the Pandroseum, there are remains of a restoration after the Persian invasion.

⁴ These conditions have been examined and a reconstruction attempted by L. B. Holland, 'Erechtheum Papers, II, III,' *A. J. A.* XXVIII, 1924, pp. 142-169, 402-425.

⁵ On the site of the Erechtheum, see Ch. V, pp. 424 ff.

to have been no building corresponding to the central rooms of the Erechtheum. It will be remembered that the foundation of the Old Temple east of the south door of the Erechtheum was given the dressing of a visible surface (p. 136), and thus apparently formed the southern boundary of an open court. The northern boundary may well have been marked by a primitive wall with a poros superstructure, but the possibility must also be admitted that here the inserted wedges did not support a poros wall but a step or pavement of unknown material.¹

AT THE
EAST END

The foundations of the east wall (PLATE IX) and of the southeast corner (Figs. 4, 5, 92) also show irregularities which can only be due to the presence of earlier structures. In the lower courses of the east wall marks of possible contact with an early wall are very few. The block at the south end of course 21 has been roughly and irregularly hollowed out,² and both this block and the one adjacent on the north have been set a little (*ca.* 0.08 m.) east of the rest of the course. Just north of the south aisle wall of the church in this same course is a cutting about 0.33 m. wide, 0.14 m. high, and 0.06 m. deep,³ and in the seventh block from the north in the course above (20) a strip about 0.40 m. wide on the north side of its west face has been cut back for about 0.10 m. In courses 20, 21, and 22, the west face of each course is in line with that below or slightly east of it. Course 19, however, is set back 0.15 m. to 0.24 m. from the west edge of the course below (p. 9),⁴ thus leaving on the top of course 20 a slightly raised shelf or ledge. Course 18 again projects westward about 0.30 m. beyond the course below (PLATES XI, XII). The block south of the gap made by the apse of the church (Fig. 4) has a rabbet in the lower western edge, 0.30 m. deep and 0.11 m. high, the back of which aligns with the western edge of the course below, and has been given an anathyrosis at its south end. The remaining block on the south and those north of the gap have no rabbet. Eight blocks of this course were removed to make room for the apse, and six of these have been identified, five in the north and one in the south aisle wall of the church.⁵ Three of these blocks, like the northern blocks *in situ*, have no rabbet; two others have a rabbet, like that in the block south of the apse, but with slightly different height and depth.⁶ The sixth block (Fig. 91) has a rabbet 0.30 m. deep and 0.125 m. high, but the cutting is

¹ How far the earlier walls were retained beneath the floor of the East Cella is unknown. There was no need of removing anything below course 14 of the north wall. In the north central room, however, the floor was certainly no higher than the bottom of the orthostates, and may very well have been a course lower (p. 159), but this does not suffice to prove that the course which rested on the inserted poros blocks was surely a pavement. The north wall of the sacred precinct might well have been carefully retained until the new structure was sufficiently complete to protect this area from intrusion.

² The longer diameter of this cutting is *ca.* 0.40 m., the shorter *ca.* 0.27 m.; its depth *ca.* 0.12 m. The lower part of the cutting fits against the native rock. The upper part is above the rock, and may well have been made to avoid a primitive wall, but it may be merely a continuation of the lower.

³ The upper left hand corner of this block has been cut away, forming a concave channel running back 0.44 m. from the face of the block. Its purpose is unknown, but it is certainly not due to contact with a wall at this point. Cf. Holland, *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, p. 17.

⁴ The variation is due to the irregular projection of the west face of course 20.

⁵ These blocks were identified in 1923 by G. W. Elderkin by means of their peculiar height, since this course is from 0.02 to 0.03 m. lower than the other courses; see Holland, *l. c.*, p. 2, note; p. 19, note 1.

⁶ One rabbet is 0.295 m. deep, and 0.122 m. high; the other 0.315 m. and 0.12 m.

only 0.435 m. long and stops 0.225 m. from the north edge of the block, thus plainly marking the limit of the rabbet in this direction. As two blocks of the course are still missing, the exact position of this block cannot be determined,¹ but since there were at least six blocks and perhaps eight (if the two missing blocks had no rabbet) to the north of it, it must have stood above either the sixth, seventh, or eighth header from the north in course 20

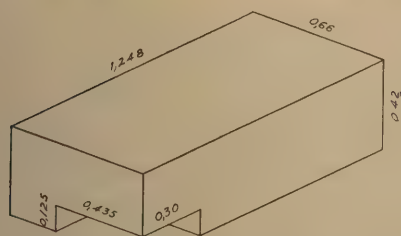


FIGURE 91. EAST WALL: BLOCK FROM FOUNDATIONS, RABBETED AT SOUTH END: ISOMETRIC

(PLATE IX), and according to the place assigned to it, the total length of the rabbet must have been about 3.70 m., 3.05 m., or 2.40 m., — that is, five, four, or three blocks of about 0.65 m. each, plus 0.435 m. on the northern block.

The peculiar recession of course 19 and the rabbet in part of course 18 point to the presence of some obstacle which prevented normal construction, and the even alignment as well as the anathyrosis in the rabbet² may perhaps indicate that the latter course was fitted against regular

coursed masonry rather than against an irregular wall. In view of the methods followed by the builders of the Erechtheum in the Pandroseum and at the base of the north wall, it is natural to believe that here too there was a course of poros wedges on the projecting edge of course 20, propping up older blocks which had been undermined or otherwise weakened by the new foundations; and it is also possible that the rabbet in course 18 was fitted over so much of the pre-Erechtheum projecting course as rose a little above the blocks on the north and south of the rabbet. Whether these old blocks formed part of a wall, a pavement, or a step cannot be determined with certainty from the existing evidence, but that they supported something seems clear from the construction of the foundations at the east end of the south wall (Figs. 5, 92). Here the only trace of a primitive wall is a rough cutting, about 0.35 m. wide and 0.07 m. deep, in the face of the east block of course 20. In course 19 the east block rose originally above the adjoining blocks and ranged with the top of the rabbet in the east wall. It was, however, dressed down to the height of its neighbors over most of its surface, but the original height was left for a short distance at its northwest corner, while the block above in course 18 of the south wall was somewhat irregularly cut back through its entire height around this projection. This recess is continued upward through course 17, but here the sides are cut evenly to a width of 0.323 m. In course 16 the east block is set back and projects only 0.05 m. beyond the rear line of the cutting in course 17; the next block on the west, however, projects northward practically as far as

¹ On the possible positions of this block, see Holland, *l. c.*, pp. 19 f., pl. I, c.

² It does not seem safe to draw any conclusion from the presence of anathyrosis on the west face of blocks in courses 16, 17, 18, and 19 of the east foundation. These courses are composed of standard poros blocks which were doubtless dressed with anathyrosis on both sides and ends, in order that they might be used as either headers or stretchers according to the convenience of the builders. In courses 20 and 21 of the north wall, for example, the blocks have been given an anathyrosis although they are not fitted closely against the inserted poros blocks, and in the south wall some of the poros stretchers have been given the anathyrosis suitable for contact with two headers (PLATE XII; Fig. 5), although it is practically certain no such blocks were ever laid against them.

course 17, and its east corner has been broken away about to the line of the cutting below, but the appearance of the surface in the break indicates that this is due to a search for metal in the joints of the course rather than to an original cutting. A natural explanation of this recess is that it was made to accommodate a thin stone, or stones, resting on the high part of

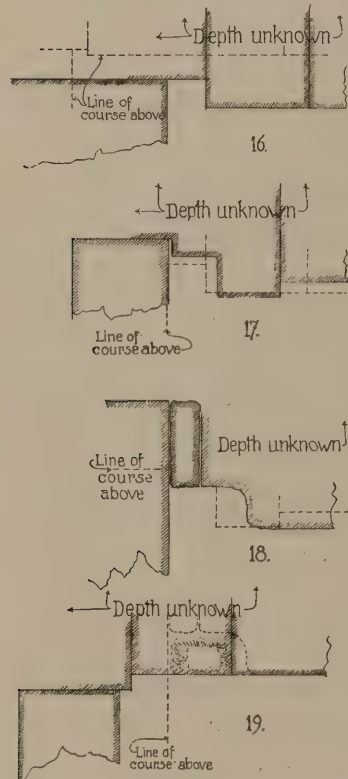


FIGURE 92. PLANS OF COURSES 16-18 AT JUNCTION OF EAST AND SOUTH FOUNDATIONS

the block in course 19 of the south wall and on the early course farther north. The presence of such a vertical wall may also account for the fact that the west faces of courses 16, 17, and 18 of the east foundations are in the same plane — a regularity which is unique in the coursing of the foundations of the Erechtheum. The nature of this earlier structure is unknown. It may have formed part of the enclosing wall of a sacred precinct, or the front of an ancient temple.¹

One more bit of early construction may have survived *in situ*. At the southwest corner of the nave of the church there projects to the north for about 0.60 m. from under the aisle wall a slab of coarse grayish marble, 0.45 m. wide and 0.09 m. thick, resting on earth which is free from chips and mortar (PLATE II). This material is found in Helladic walls on the Acropolis and the stone may perhaps be the only remnant of a wall running through this point.²

It seems needless to attribute the preservation of these remains of earlier walls within the Erechtheum to any other motive than that of convenience. Whatever their original height there is no evidence for the survival of any of these walls above the floors of the completed building, although it is quite possible that some were allowed to stand until the new structure was sufficiently advanced to take over their functions. Below the floors it doubtless appeared easier to adapt the new foundations to the irregularities than to remove the prehistoric blocks altogether, especially as this latter operation would have called for a new filling and grading of the area.

2. THE EAST CELLA

(A) *The East Cross-wall.* The higher eastern half of the temple was separated from the lower western half by a cross-wall, the position of which is certain, although in constructing the church it was entirely removed. The lower part of both the north and south walls is still *in situ*. Here on the interior face, at points opposite each other, are stones which, though

¹ See Ch. V, pp. 442-445, 447. L. B. Holland, *l. c.*, pp. 20-23, 408-414, has suggested that this earlier structure was a sill or threshold for an entrance flanked by a parapet of orthostates enclosing a sacred precinct, and erected after the Persian invasion.

² The suggestion that this block is the survivor of an Helladic wall is due to L. B. Holland, *l. c.*, pp. 16, 425.

now broken off (Figs. 100, 101), evidently once projected as elbows, and thus determine the starting points of the cross-wall, as well as its thickness, which can be fixed at 0.65 m. or two Attic feet.¹ Along the course of this wall the rock shows no signs of regular dressing (Fig. 93), though here and there points of rock seem to have been hammered away. The absence of a prepared bed, such as was cut for the other walls in the Erechtheum (p. 5),



FIGURE 93. ROCK ON LINE OF EAST CROSS-WALL, LOOKING NORTH (FEBRUARY 10, 1914)

and such as is, in fact, usual in Greek buildings of the fifth century and later, is hard to explain, if the foundation here was of regular ashlar masonry. Its absence is, however, perfectly natural, if the builders of the Erechtheum took advantage of an existing primitive wall, such as has already been traced beneath the south door and inside the base of the north wall, for, as has been said (p. 14), these early walls being laid on the natural rock leave no

¹ In the drawing by Pars in the British Museum (PLATE LI, 2) the traces of this wall on the upper part of the inner face of the south wall are very clearly shown.

trace when they are demolished. If, as seems likely on other grounds, an elevated terrace existed from very early times on the site of the East Cella of the Erechtheum, the later east cross-wall may well have rested on the lower courses of the western retaining wall of this terrace.¹

The orthostates were not bonded into the side walls, and at the north end of the cross-wall there must always have been an irregular joint, as the orthostate of the side wall has not received its final dressing, and consequently has a drafted edge below.² Above the orthostates the wall, except at each end, was composed, presumably, of blocks of the usual length, four Attic feet.³ At the ends, as the total width of the temple inside was thirty Attic feet, the projection of the blocks from the inner face of the side walls was in alternate courses respectively one foot and three feet, as in the wall at the east front (PLATE XVII). It is certain that the projection of one foot was always cut as an elbow, and that in the lower part of both north and south walls the projection of three feet was also formed in the same manner. In the upper courses most of the blocks are lost, but a few remain (Figs. 94, 95),⁴ which indicate that here the cross-wall was bonded into the side walls. These blocks have now been replaced, but not in their original positions.

This wall was evidently repaired in Roman times, for there are sundry blocks which seem to be connected with it, all of which show  clamps. To this date may also belong some of the cuttings, about one-half the thickness of the wall, in blocks now replaced in the south wall,⁵ for the reception of the cross-wall. This cross-wall, like the walls of pronaos and opisthodomos in temples *in antis*, probably extended above the ceiling, in order to afford a support for the beams of the roof.

In the interior of the East Cella, except on the east side, there seem to have been no orthostates as a dado for the walls. The construction at the east end of the north wall (Fig. 17) proves that the orthostates of the east front were not continued on the north, while the evidence is conclusive (p. 48) that the external orthostates of the south wall were backed

¹ See Ch. V, pp. 426 ff., and Holland, *A. J. A.* XXVIII, 1924, pp. 16, 151, 409 ff., 432 f.

² Compare the contact of the epistyle of the North Portico with the north wall, p. 86 and Fig. 54.

³ Since the corresponding courses in the north and south walls are not always of exactly the same height (pp. 44, 156; Fig. 19), it is probable that the bed of each course was slightly inclined, as in other cases.

⁴ Fig. 94. A block 0.312 m. wide, or about one-half the thickness of the side walls. The face shows no trace of fire, so that it is not from the interior backing of the south orthostates, but belongs to the outside of the wall. One end of a block was clamped to it, 0.335 m. from the west end, and the remaining space was filled by another block which was clamped to the stones on its east and west. One of these blocks, probably the former, belonged to the cross-wall; the other was merely backing. The back has anathyrosis. It is now the third block west of the cross-wall in course 2 of the south wall (PLATE XII). Another similar block has been found, 1.30 m. long, 0.386 m. wide, and 0.49 m. high; it also has anathyrosis at the back. The face of both blocks has a batter. Both are shown to be Greek by the presence of  clamps.

Fig. 95. A block which was originally the full thickness of the wall, but bearing on top traces of the presence of a block only one-half the usual thickness, like that shown in Figure 94. It has only Greek clamps.

⁵ Fig. 96. Two blocks re-used in Roman times. The upper is cut away for about one-half its thickness to receive the cross-wall. It has been replaced in course 2 of the south wall on the line of the cross-wall. The lower shows where the cross-wall abutted on the surface and was secured by  clamps. It is now in course 3 of the north wall next to the east anta, where it certainly does not belong.

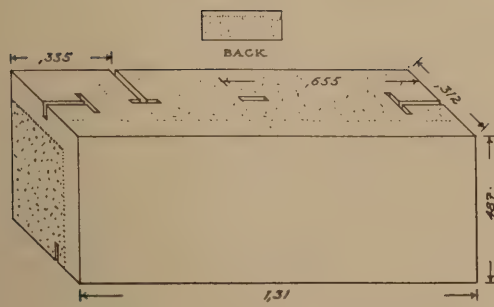


FIGURE 94. BLOCK, ONE-HALF USUAL THICKNESS, FROM EITHER NORTH OR SOUTH WALL AT JUNCTION OF EAST CROSS-WALL: ISOMETRIC

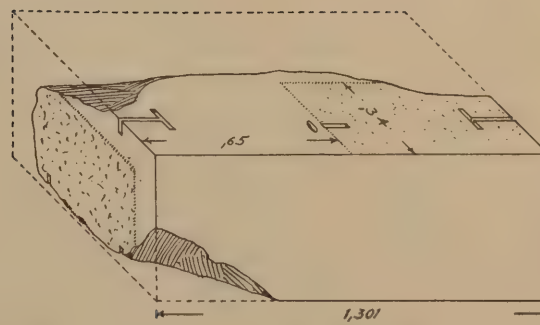


FIGURE 95. BLOCK, FROM EITHER NORTH OR SOUTH WALL, ON WHICH RESTED A BLOCK ONLY ONE-HALF THE THICKNESS OF THE WALL: ISOMETRIC

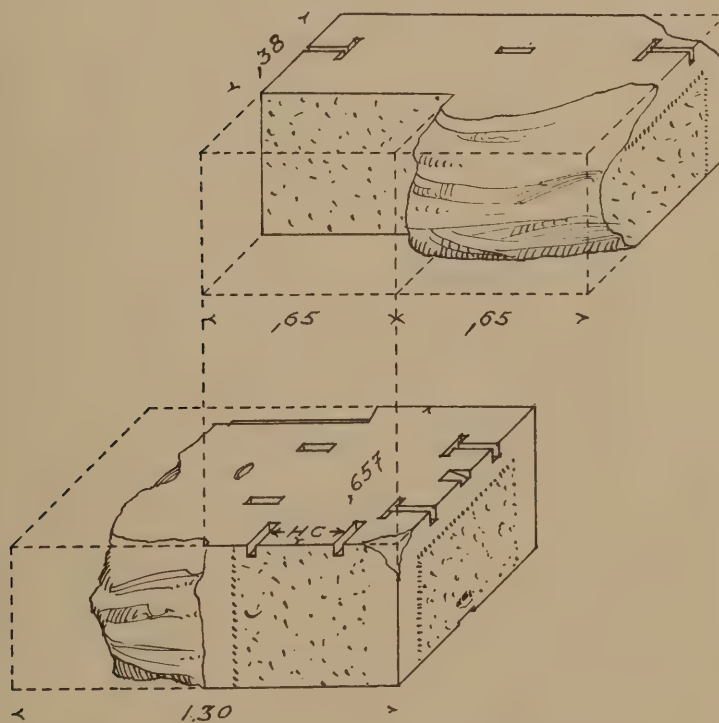


FIGURE 96. TWO BLOCKS FROM EITHER NORTH OR SOUTH WALL AT JUNCTION OF EAST CROSS-WALL, SHOWING ROMAN METHOD OF BONDING: ISOMETRIC

on the inside by two courses of ordinary height. The west wall of the cella would naturally resemble the north and south walls in this respect.

(B) *The Level of the Floor in the East Cella.* — The inner face of the orthostate at the southeast corner of the East Cella never received its final dressing, and in the corner was not even cut to a right angle but was left slightly rounded. At the bottom is a smooth drafted surface, 0.055 m. high, and above this a second drafted surface, about 0.065 m. high, projecting a little from the plane of the first (PLATE XVI). These conditions are quite inconsistent with the presence of a floor above the bottom of the orthostate, although they may suggest that this corner was concealed by a bench or some other object placed in front of it. That the floor, on the other hand, was no lower than the bottom of the orthostate seems indicated by the projection of the block beneath the orthostate into the interior of the temple (PLATES XII, XVI; Fig. 30). We may fairly assume, therefore, that its level is given by the top of this block.¹ The height of the sill of the east door has been so restored (PLATES XV, XVII) that it aligns with the top of the upper torus of the base moulding, which is carved on the orthostate, in order that this moulding may finish against the sill. The result is that this sill has approximately the same height as that of the North Door² and that it is also a little above (*ca.* 0.087 m.) the floor within the cella, thus permitting the free movement of the valves of the door, customary in Greek temples. The tops of the sills of both doors thus align with the tops of the upper tori in the bases of the east and north walls (PLATES VII, XVII).

There is no evidence in the building itself for any door in the eastern cross-wall, nor for any stairway between the higher and lower levels of the temple. The only places where any remains of such a stairway could possibly be sought are on the side walls, and here the evidence is clear that the cross-wall, in its lower part at least, abutted on the side walls, so that the arrangement of marble in relation to poros on the interior of the south wall (PLATE XII; Fig. 100), which misled many observers,³ cannot have anything to do with a flight of steps. It may be noted also that an interior stairway would have seriously diminished an already scanty space, — a consideration too frequently neglected in the early attempts at reconstruction. Furthermore, there seems no good reason why there should have been direct communication between the two cellas, which were separate in cultus. The only passage in literature which can seem to imply a stairway, is the quotation from Philochorus,⁴ and this is couched in too general terms to be in any way conclusive.

¹ It is, of course, possible, as has been suggested by Holland (*A. J. A.* XXVIII, 1924, pp. 413 f.), that this block formed part of a step or low platform along the foot of the south wall, but there appears to be no positive evidence for this hypothesis. The blocks in the northeast corner are too much damaged to furnish any information on this point.

² The height of the east sill, as restored, is 0.331 m.; that of the north sill is 0.322 m. The height of the upper torus, as may be seen in PLATE XXIX, 2, is 0.087 m.

³ See, for example, Rangabé, *Ant. hellén.*, I, p. 70; Tétaz, *R. Arch.* VIII, 1, 1851, p. 9; H. Hettner, *Griechische Reiseskizzen*, p. 130; Beulé, II, p. 227; Julius, *Erechtheion*, p. 21.

⁴ Frg. 146, ap. Dionys. Hal., *de Din.* 13. See Ch. V, pp. 474 f.

3. THE WESTERN PART OF THE TEMPLE

(A) *The West Cross-wall.* — Early publications of the Erechtheum fail to distinguish between the traces left by the original Greek western cross-wall and by a later wall, constructed at the time of the Roman restoration. The marks of the earlier wall were first noted by Borrmann, but the credit for their correct interpretation is due to Dörpfeld, and the position of the wall was first indicated in the plan of the Erechtheum which accompanied his discussion of the Old Temple of Athena.¹

For the foundations of the Greek wall the rock was generally dressed to a series of horizontal beds, but at three points (Fig. 97, A, B, D) small gaps or pockets were left, which were spanned by blocks of the wall. In two of these pockets (A, D) the filling was marble chips and clean earth, while at B were found Roman potsherds and impure earth.² The block at C has on its bottom an anathyrosis which indicates that it is an old stone not in its original position and inverted. It thus appears that the foundations of the Greek wall are preserved only in the two lower courses at the north (Fig. 97).³ The two upper courses of poros, and the

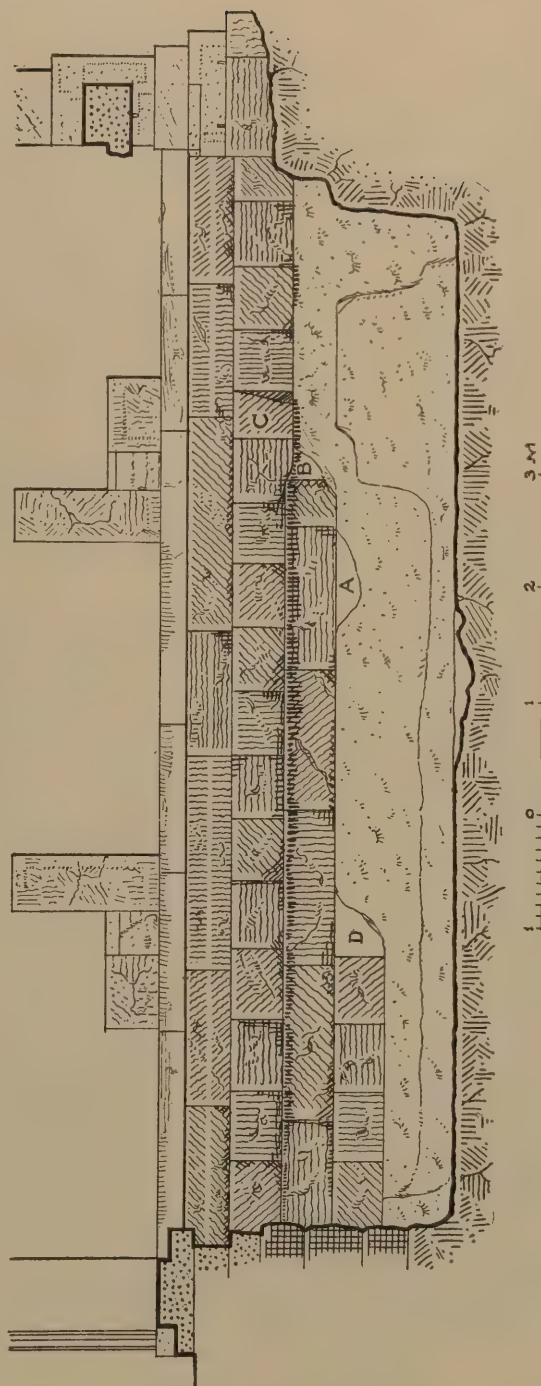


FIGURE 97. SECTION, LOOKING EAST, THROUGH CISTERN BENEATH THE PROSTOMAION, SHOWING PRESENT CONDITION OF WEST CROSS-WALL

¹ Borrmann, *Ath. Mitt.*, VI, 1881, pp. 388, 389, fig.; Dörpfeld, *Ant. Denk.*, I, 1; cf. Michaelis, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, p. 17. See also Penrose, *Ath. Arch.*, p. 91; Middleton, *Athenian Buildings*, p. 13, pl. XIV; J.-M., *Atlas*, pls. XXV, XXVII. Penrose

and Middleton believed that the earlier partition was narrow and of wood. The latter also suggested that the plan was altered and a stone wall substituted during the construction of the building.

² It is certain that neither the Greek nor the Roman foundations were watertight, and that, therefore, this wall could never have formed part of the boundary of the ancient "sea" (p. 169).

³ L. B. Holland (*A. J. A.* XXVIII, 1924, pp. 423 ff.) argues that these two courses were probably laid before the Erechtheum was built.

marble sill are later. These poros courses align on the east, but not on the west, with the Greek foundations. The marble threshold is set about 0.30 m. behind the east face of the wall below, but in line with the west face of its upper course (PLATES XI, XII).

THE GREEK
WALL

The original wall, set close to the east edge of the foundation of poros, was in line with the east side of the Porch of the Maidens (PLATES I, II). The later wall was set 0.325 m. to the west of the earlier wall, the lines of the two overlapping for about half their thickness. The traces of the contact of the original cross-wall with the side walls are few but perfectly conclusive. On the north wall the blocks in courses 13 and 15 still show clear evidence that a projection has been cut away, although some of the surface has been dressed with considerable care (PLATE XI; Fig. 98). Moreover, to the east of the half of each block which has been thus treated, is a slightly depressed and carefully finished band, 0.092 m. wide, running from the top to the bottom of the stone (PLATE XI), while farther east the surface of the wall is left, as is usual in the interior of the temple, without this finish. This band alone would imply that there was an angle here, that is, that the block had an elbow. Just such finished surfaces in the angles are frequent in the Propylaea.

On the south wall (PLATE XII; Fig. 99), in course 16, there is a Greek anathyrosis on that half of the block which is in line with the projecting blocks of the north wall, showing that at this point a block of the cross-wall was in contact with the side wall.¹ Between courses 14 and 15 the T-dowel, which secured the long block east of the door into the Porch of the Maidens and is now visible from the inside, was certainly concealed by the Greek cross-wall. In courses 9 and 10 of the same wall are remains of bosses, which, had the cross-wall continued to this point, would have been intersected respectively by the east and west edges of that wall. The cross-wall, therefore, did not reach higher than the bottom of the tenth course.

This height will appear reasonable enough, if we bear in mind that the only light available for the central part of the building was that which was admitted through the gratings in the western intercolumniations. In view of the available evidence, the most satisfactory reconstruction seems to be to assign to this western cross-wall, or rather screen wall, the same height as that of the western wall below the columns, and to finish it at the top, in the lower half of the twelfth course, with a coping, aligning with and similar to the one on the west wall.²

The thickness of the screen wall may be measured on the side walls as 0.65 m. In it also, oddly enough, there was a careless joint between its orthostates and those of the side walls, which were not dressed down to a final surface at the plane of contact.

The same evidence which proves that the wall did not extend above the bottom of course 10, is also conclusive against the presence of antae in contact with the side walls and

¹ The smooth band across the top indicates the contact of a block rather than of a flat pilaster, which would have called for a smooth band only on the two sides of the block in the south wall.

² On the probable position of this screen wall in the original plan of the Erechtheum, see p. 168.



FIGURE 98. NORTH WALL: WEST END, INSIDE, FROM SOUTH DOORWAY (MARCH 28, 1909)

consequently of columns on the cross-wall. At the same time the great span of the western division of the temple — 10.753 m. from east to west and 9.837 m. from north to south — renders it unlikely that the beams of the roof and ceiling were without an intermediate support. As this support was not furnished by the western cross-wall, and as the space between ceiling and roof was too low to permit the insertion of a structurally effective truss to which the ceiling might be tied, it is necessary to inquire whether the side walls throw any light upon the solution actually adopted.

THE
TRANS-
VERSE
BEAM

In course 5 of the south wall, west of the Greek cross-wall but on the line of the later wall, the surface of the block is countersunk about 0.01 m. and also has a Greek dressing very like the depressed centre of an anathyrosis; its height is that of the course, but its breadth cannot be determined with certainty on account of the poor preservation of the stone (PLATE XII; Fig. 99). Below, in the top of course 6, are two cuttings, 0.33 m. apart, for  clamps running north and south (PLATES XII, XXVII, 4), and beneath them traces of anathyrosis. It is clear that in Greek times a stone was here held against the face of the south wall by the clamps, and as it cannot have been connected with the cross-wall, since it is not on its axis, it is reasonable to suppose that it rested on a corbel which projected from the course, or courses, below.¹ Direct evidence for the presence of this corbel has been destroyed, since courses 7 and 8, immediately below, were cut away to permit the insertion of blocks of the later cross-wall. The surface of the corresponding block in course 6 of the north wall is too badly damaged to yield any clear evidence of an abutting block, but in course 5 there are traces of a Greek anathyrosis corresponding to that in the countersinking on the south wall, in course 7 the cutting into which the block of the later cross-wall is inserted (the end of the stone is still in place) may itself be Greek, and there are faint traces of anathyrosis in course 8. Nothing, therefore, remains that is inconsistent with the hypothesis that a similar block and supporting corbel once existed on this side of the temple. Such a construction finds its natural explanation in the presence above this point of a heavy transverse beam, about two Attic feet wide, supported by struts resting on the stones over the corbels which, being firmly inserted in the walls, would be well able to bear the downward thrust (Fig. 111 B). The bottom of the struts would be received in the countersinking in course 5 of the south wall, and against the anathyrosis on the corresponding course of the north wall.² It has already been noted (p. 76; Fig. 49) that the presence of such a truss helps to explain the peculiar position of the purlins in the roof at this end of the temple.

The number and character of the openings in the Greek wall, by which communication was maintained between the divisions of the lower western half of the building, will be considered in connection with the probable arrangement of the rooms in this part of the temple (p. 158).

¹ In Figures 49 and 111 B, a corbel one course high is indicated by solid lines, one two courses high by dots. The latter restoration, first suggested by L. B. Holland, is not inconsistent with the traces on the side walls, and seems more effective architecturally. On the possible presence of pilasters above the corbels, see Additional Note I, p. 646.

² See, also, on this construction B. H. Hill, 'Structural Notes on the Erechtheum,' *A. J. A.*, XIV, 1910, p. 296.



FIGURE 99. SOUTH WALL: WEST END, INSIDE, FROM NORTH DOOR (MARCH 26, 1909)

THE ROMAN
WALL

On the north wall, in the fourth and seventh courses, butts¹ of stones belonging to the later cross-wall are still in place (PLATE XI; Fig. 98). In the fifteenth and seventeenth courses are holes cut for the reception of similar stones, by which the cross-wall was secured. Both of these holes expose Greek dowels in the side walls and are relatively rough. In the fifth, eighth, ninth, and thirteenth courses there are clear traces of the contact of the cross-wall with the north wall. On the south wall (PLATE XII; Fig. 99) there are similar cuttings in the seventh, eighth, and seventeenth courses, while the fifth, sixth, ninth, and fifteenth show traces of the contact of the later wall. This evidence on the side walls indicates that the later wall extended nearly or quite to the ceiling. Probably it was a screen wall with columns and *antae*, which, in the absence of the great transverse beam, was needed to support the timbers of the roof and ceiling.

That this later wall forms part of the Roman repairs and is not due to the transformation into a church is shown not only by the general construction, which is much more careful than in the clearly Christian work, but also by numerous details. Thus the blocks in the marble sill are held together by clamps in the usual Roman way, and the dowel cuttings of the normal Roman type, while consistent with a marble wall above, bear no relation to the poros used in the Christian wall; in the side walls the blocks were secured by  clamps, which appear in all Roman repairs; and finally the longitudinal walls, which separated the aisles and nave of the church, show at their contact with the cross-wall that they are of later construction.²

(B) *The Central Part of the Building.* — The following considerations furnish strong reasons for believing that the western cross-wall was not the only line of division in this part of the building.

LONGITU-
DINAL
WALL

The orthostates of the north wall are 0.976 m. high, while those of the south are only 0.897 m., being 0.059 m. higher at the bottom and 0.02 m. lower at the top³ than those in the opposite wall. It is obvious, therefore, that if the central portion of the temple formed a single room with the floor at the same level throughout, this floor must have stood in very different relations to the orthostates in these two walls, — an unusual irregularity in a Greek building. If, however, there existed a wall running east and west, forming two chambers (PLATE I), these difficulties would be much lessened. Such a wall would make it possible to bring the tops and bottoms of the orthostates on all four sides of each room into line. Differences in height in the orthostates of the east wall would be concealed by the dividing wall, and since in the Erechtheum the orthostates were regularly only one-half the thickness of the wall, in this dividing wall they could be given different heights on opposite faces, while the two openings in the west wall, described below, would make it easy to bring the orthostates at the ends into accord with the side walls, as their height could be

¹ The one in course 7 shows a two-sided, or Roman, lewis.

² See Ch. V, p. 496.

³ The resulting difference in level between the two walls is removed by slight increases in the height of the courses of the south wall, and a true level attained two courses higher at the base of the crepis on the east and south.

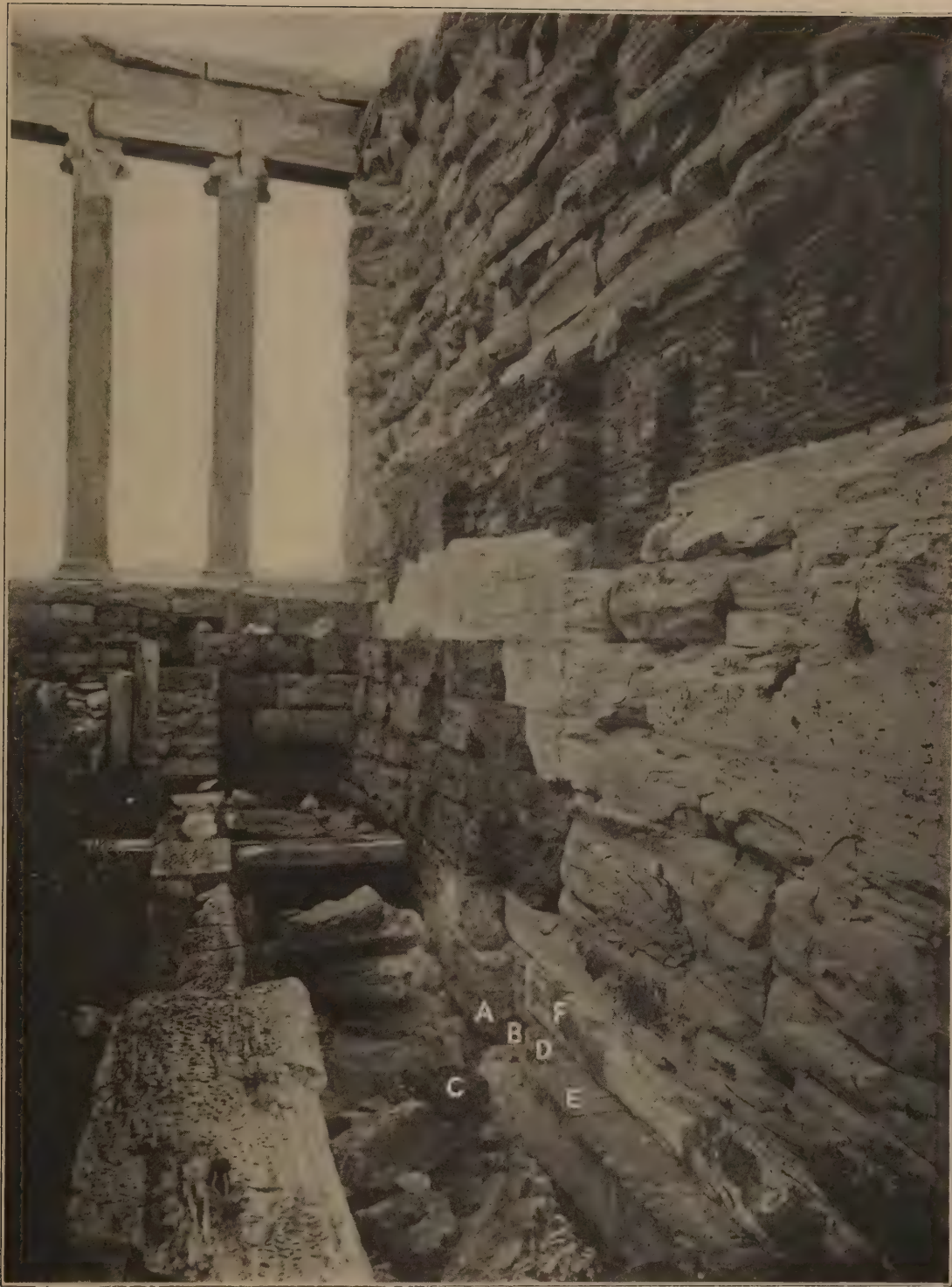


FIGURE 100. SOUTH WALL, INSIDE, FROM WEST (1922)

slightly varied on either side of an opening, as is done, for example, on either side of the door into the Pandroseum from the North Portico (PLATE VII).

STONE
DOORS

The hypothesis of such a dividing wall, which in default of definite evidence may be conjecturally placed on the axis of the temple, appears to be supported by certain phrases in the report of the commissioners of 409 B.C. (Inscription II). In col. I, ll. 69–76 the record of unfinished carving in the interior of the temple is most easily understood, if the walls there listed include two screen walls in the western part.¹ Later in the same report we hear (col. II, ll. 87–92) of four stone doors, or rather of four valves for two doors, which are not adapted to any of the exterior openings, but, as will be seen later, are well suited to the west cross-wall. Two doors again naturally suggest two rooms with a dividing wall.²

According to the inscription each of these valves measured eight and one-quarter by two and one-half Attic feet, or 2.706 m. by 0.82 m. Judging from the stone doors discovered in Macedonia and Lydia³ they were probably about 0.15 m. thick, and larger than the openings by about 0.03 m. at the sill, at least 0.05 m. at the lintel, and about 0.15 m. at the jambs. Thus the openings would be about 2.626 m. by 1.34 m., which is very close to the double square to which other openings in the Erechtheum approximate, and nearly the same size as the door into the Porch of the Maidens (2.70 m. by 1.31 m.). The screen wall, as has been said, was probably of the same height as the lower west wall, and its coping would naturally correspond with the moulded course below the columns on that wall. If the lintels above the doors were two courses high, as is the case elsewhere in the building, their bottoms would align with the joint between courses 14 and 15, and also with the bottom of the lintel of the west door into the Pandroseum. If the sills were raised 0.04 m. above the pavement of the west room (PLATE I, C), the height of the openings would be 2.623 m., or within three millimetres of the height estimated from the inscription. As the dimensions given in the inscriptions are not minutely accurate, it has been assumed in the reconstruction (PLATE I) that the width was 1.31 m., or the same as that of the doorway into the Porch of the Maidens. Such elaborate stone doors call for architectural treatment of the sides of the openings, and their jambs have therefore been restored to resemble the jambs of the same doorway.

LEVEL OF
FLOORS

Assuming, then, the existence of two chambers in the centre of the temple, we may now consider what evidence remains as to the level of the floor in each. In the south chamber (PLATE I, B) the course below the orthostates (PLATE XII, course 19), although its face is very badly damaged, preserves, wherever it is unmutilated, from top to bottom the careful

¹ See Ch. IV, Inscription II, and Commentary, pp. 310 ff., 317.

² An analogous construction is found in the central portion of the Old Temple which is divided into two chambers by a wall running from east to west (PLATE I).

³ Heuzey and Daumet, *Mission en Macédoine*, pp. 229 ff., pls. 15, 21 (Palatitza, now in the Louvre); pp. 246–248, pls. 17, 20 (Kourino, Pydna); d'Espouy, *Fragm. arch. ant.*, II, pls. 22, 23; Macridy, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXVI, 1911, pp. 193–215 (doors from Langaza in Macedonia and from Lydia, in the Museum at Constantinople). See also Mendel, *Mus. imp. ott., Sculptures*, I, p. 353; Altmann, *Römische Grabaltäre*, pp. 13 ff. All these doors are from tombs. All open inward. A fragment of a similar door was found at the Heraeum, *The Argive Heraeum*, I, p. 132.

dressing regularly given to a visible surface (Fig. 100) while on its under side pressure is regularly relieved.¹ The next lower course (20), however, is finished with a broad anathyrosis on the inner (north) face, admirably adapted to receive a pavement flush with the joint between courses 19 and 20, and this position has been adopted for the floor in PLATE XV.² Such a pavement is 0.053 m. below the level assigned to the sill of the doorway in the west cross-wall.

In the north wall, course 19, below the orthostates, is finished in much the same way as course 20 in the south (Fig. 101), while the course below is not dressed as a surface of contact, and is, moreover, covered to a considerable height³ by the row of poros blocks set on edge, which, as has been said, were inserted to support some earlier construction while the Erechtheum was being built. It is, however, by no means easy to place the pavement in the north room (PLATE I, A) at the joint between the orthostates (course 18) and the course below, for in that case it would have been level with the sill of the great North Door, and higher than the pavement in the west room (PLATE XV) and the sills of the doors in the screen wall. It seems better, therefore, to restore the pavement in this room either at the same level as in the south room — the solution presented in PLATE XV (cf. Fig. 1), — or else slightly lower, at the hypothetical level of an old pavement, which may have been retained or replaced by new stones. The anathyrosis along the upper part of the face of course 19, however, indicates the presence of abutting blocks, which were probably slabs forming part of a step or bench, since in some places below the anathyrosis the roughly chiselled surface projects slightly, showing that no other stone was there in contact with it. Whether this step or bench was confined to the north side of the room or was continued on the other sides cannot be determined, nor is there any clue to its purpose.⁴ In PLATES I and XV this bench has been restored on the north, east, and south sides of the room. It cannot have run along the west side, as its presence would have prevented the doors from swinging back against the wall.⁵

It is probable that in the Roman reconstruction the longitudinal wall was not rebuilt. The top of the Roman marble sill on the west cross-wall aligns with the top of the bench in room A (PLATE XI) and also with a faint weather line, which can be traced on course 19 of the south wall about 0.10 m. below the upper joint. It would appear, therefore, that this

ROMAN
ALTER-
ATIONS

¹ For relief of pressure, see Ch. II, p. 185.

² Since course 19 projects a little (about 0.047 m.) beyond the face of the orthostates, a similar projection probably appeared along the other sides of the room. Such a projection occurs, for example, in the east hall of the Propylaea.

³ The highest of the poros blocks is only 0.08 m. below the top of course 20; see PLATE XI and Figure 88.

⁴ It must be kept in mind that there may have been access from this room into the crypt beneath the North Portico.

⁵ There is a somewhat similar condition in the hall of the Propylaea. The orthostates there have been given their final dressing, but the course below, which projects slightly beyond the face of the orthostates, has only the smooth band of an anathyrosis along the upper edge. In front of these two courses was set a bench of black Eleusinian limestone. These blocks were dowelled to the pavement, but were not fitted over the projection below the orthostates, so that a small gap was left between the bench and the wall behind it. It is, of course, possible that a similar bench, instead of a step, may have been placed in the north room of the Erechtheum.



FIGURE 101. NORTH WALL, INSIDE, FROM SOUTHEAST (MARCH 28, 1909)

was the level of the later floor. There is now lying in the Erechtheum a Roman ¹ orthostate (Fig. 102) only about 0.003 m. lower than those in the north wall, and of almost half the thickness of an ordinary wall block. It is certainly from an inner wall and is 0.63 m. wide at the bottom and 0.654 m. wide at the top. In the upper surface is a cutting for a dowel with a pour channel to the left face. This shows that the stone above did not overlap on this side and, consequently, that at this point there were two vertical joints one above the other, or, in other words, that the stone was probably from one side of an inclined opening. Anathyrosis on this same face suggests, however, that the opening was provided with a stone

lining, like a jamb, and that, therefore, the block comes from the side of a door in the Roman west cross-wall.

(c) *The Prostomiaion and Erechtheïs.* — The westernmost division of the temple, with entrances from the outside on north, west, and south, served as an antechamber to the central rooms, from which it was separated, as we have seen, by a screen wall, probably pierced by two doors. The reasons for identifying this room with the Prostomiaion are discussed in the commentary on the report of the commissioners of 409 B.C. (pp. 312 f.).

Two opinions have been current as to the level FLOOR of the floor in this part of the building. According to the first view,² the course below the orthostates of the west wall, which on the outside is cut into two steps and on the inside is now broken away in a ragged line except for a very short distance at one point, extended in its full thickness across the

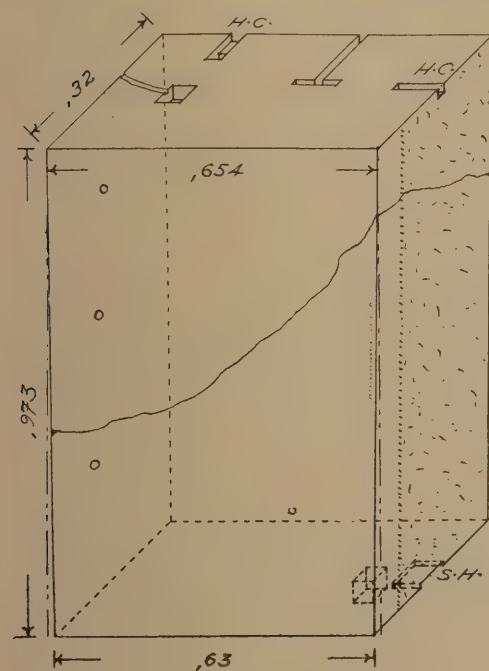


FIGURE 102. ROMAN ORTHOSTATE FROM AN INTERIOR WALL

cistern and rested on the projecting foundation of the west cross-wall (Figs. 98, 99). It is assumed that the cistern is in part ancient, though probably enlarged in later times, and that the extraordinary thickness of the course is due to the absence of any central support for so great a span.

The second theory ³ holds that the floor of the Prostomiaion, as well as that of the cen-

¹ Roman from the cuttings for  clamps in the top and for Roman dowels in the top and bottom. The cutting for a  clamp shows that it was a Greek block re-used.

² This view apparently first appeared in *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 37, and has since been adopted by Lambert, *Mémoire*, p. 9 (MS. in Bibl. Éc. B.-A., Paris); Michaelis, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, pp. 15-16, 81 (on the authority of Dörpfeld), cf. J.-M., *Atlas*, pls. XXV, C*, XXVI; Julius, *Erechtheion*, p. 18; Judeich, *Topographie*, p. 250; D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, p. 204; Petersen, *Burgtempel*, pp. 102, 104; and others.

³ This is the theory found e.g., in Middleton, *Athenian Buildings*, pls. XIII-XVII, and p. 14; Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 358-359. Penrose, *Ath. Arch.*, p. 89, places the pavement at this level, but believes that it was composed of separate slabs about twelve feet long, and not cut from the blocks of the wall.

tral room,¹ coincided with the tops of the sills of the north and west doors. The huge stones already mentioned extended in their full thickness, it is argued, for only a short distance from the wall, and were then cut down to the required level, although this makes them perilously thin (0.221 m.), if they were to span the cistern. Such a procedure is not only unsound construction but wasteful in the highest degree.

It is not necessary to examine the arguments in support of these two theories, since there are compelling reasons for believing that the floor of the Prostomiaion was at a lower level than has hitherto been assumed. The evidence is in great measure to be sought in the traces of the original construction which still remain about the north and south doorways and beneath the course under the orthostates of the west wall.

The inner vertical face of the sill of the North Door is generally dressed smooth from top to bottom, but at the east and the lower part of the west end is the depressed portion of an anathyrosis,² and in the upper part of the west end a rabbet has been cut, apparently to re-

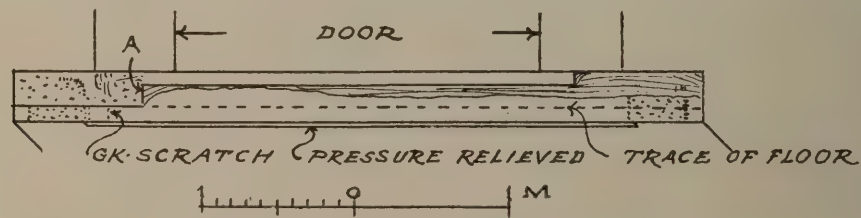


FIGURE 103. NORTH DOOR: SOUTH FACE OF SILL

ceive the projecting course below the orthostates of the west wall (Fig. 103). At a distance of 0.224 m. below the top of the sill, along its inner vertical face, is a horizontal line, evidently scratched to mark the upper surface of blocks once in contact with the sill. It is exactly at the level of the under side of the projecting course below the orthostates of the west wall, as well as of the bottom of the marble sill on the Roman cross-wall. As the line continues across the anathyrosis at the east end, it would seem that this course was laid to the west cross-wall, and probably formed the Greek pavement.

These inferences from the marks on the sill of the door are confirmed by an examination of the interior of the west wall (Fig. 105). On the under side of the large blocks below the orthostates are dowel holes (PLATES X, XI), unconnected with the foundation and left, as it were, in mid-air, which must once have been used in securing these blocks to a course below, now lacking. The east faces of these blocks are now so badly damaged that at only one point is a small bit of the original surface preserved,³ but this suffices to show that the origi-

¹ Both theories presuppose an undivided central room, having a floor level with the top of the sill of the North Door.

² For the probable explanation of these two anathyroses, see below p. 167.

³ This bit of preserved surface begins 0.67 m. from the north end of the second block from the north and extends 0.115 m. towards the south (PLATE II; Fig. 36). Its maximum height is 0.045 m. At its lower edge, 0.107 m. above the bottom of the block, there is a very slight (about 0.0015 m.) projection, which suggests that there may have been a moulding along the base of the bench formed by this course, such as is found, for example, in the Tholos at Delphi (*Klio*, XII, 1912, p. 202; fig. 29).

nal projection from the face of the orthostates was 0.51 m. (PLATE XIX; Fig. 104) and that the blocks never extended across the room. Beneath this course the poros foundation, for part of its length and for a vertical distance varying somewhat irregularly from about 0.127 m. to 0.14 m., is cut back slightly.

A marble block (Fig. 104) has also been discovered, which throws further light upon the construction of this pavement. It is 0.14 m. thick and has at the back, about 0.127 m. below the top, a rabbet, which varies somewhat in depth, as if it had been formed by splitting along the grain of the marble rather than by chiselling. The upper surface is tooled for a width of 0.51 m. from the back and then given a smooth surface, which, from about 0.06 m. farther out, shows marks of foot-wearing. Such a stone would fit under the course below the orthostates, the rabbet at the back corresponding to the cutting in the poros foundation,

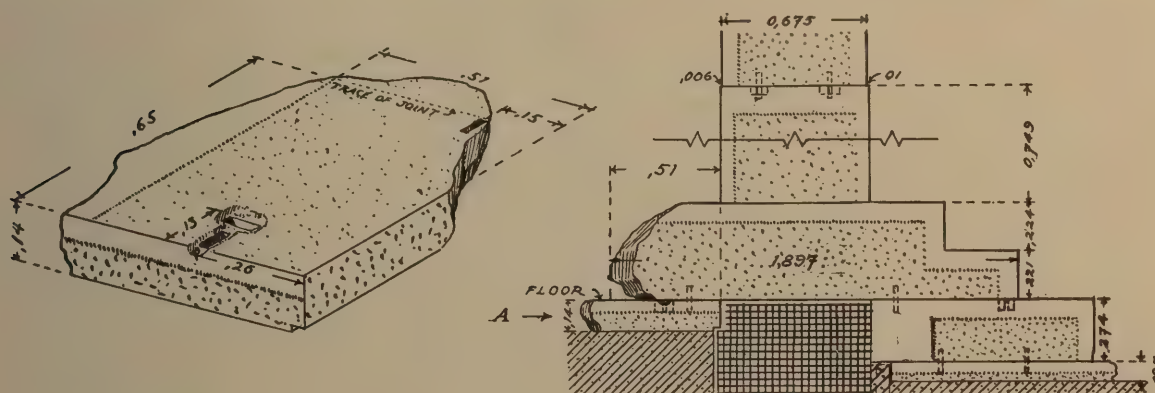


FIGURE 104. LEFT: BLOCK FROM PAVEMENT IN PROSTOMIAION: ISOMETRIC. RIGHT: SECTION THROUGH WEST WALL AND BOTH INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR PAVEMENTS, LOOKING SOUTH

and the smooth surface projecting, as the pavement, beyond the face of the course above. Its original position is definitely fixed by the fact that the dowel cutting in the upper surface close to the "trace of joint" corresponds with the cutting at the south end of the northern block in the west wall, and it has recently been replaced and secured by a steel support (Fig. 105). The upper surface of this pavement block agrees exactly with the level already attributed to the pavement from the marks on the threshold of the North Door. Three other blocks having the same thickness, and probably from this pavement, are lying in the Pandroseum, but are too small and too much damaged to be assigned to their original positions. It has been pointed out (p. 103) that the north end of the bench below the orthostates in the west wall was cut away in order to permit the valve of the North Door to swing back on that side. This cutting may explain the two peculiar dowels at the north end of the pavement block (Fig. 104), as under the circumstances they could easily be leaded from above.¹

¹ The cutting is 0.05 m. south of the north edge of the paving slab, and the dowels would be concealed even if a moulding at the base of the bench were not returned around the sides of the cutting. The surface of the slab is too much damaged to yield any definite evidence as to the presence of such a moulding.

On the south wall, to the east of the doorway leading into the Porch of the Maidens, and below the steps at present *in situ*, is a vertical weather mark, extending down as far as a horizontal weather mark which is at the level of the under side of the course below the orthostates in the west wall (PLATE XII) and, consequently, at that of the top of the pavement. Since the courses of the west wall were naturally carried around this corner, the distance from the bottom of the lowest step in the south doorway to the horizontal weather mark is equal



FIGURE 105. NORTH END OF CISTERN BENEATH PROSTOMIAION (1922)

to the height of the bench at the foot of the west wall, and is also equal, with a variation reckoned in millimetres, to the height of any two existing steps of the stairway in the Porch of the Maidens. It seems certain that the stairway originally had two more steps, extending into the Prostomaion, and that both were formed, like the steps above them, on a single block, which rested on the pavement (PLATE I; Fig. 68). There is a cutting for a block of the pavement in the lowest marble block below the east jamb of the south door, and weather marks at this point show the top and east lines of this stone (PLATE XII; Fig. 106). That the block forming the last two steps now *in situ* rested on a projecting block is proved by the fact that the pressure is relieved from its under surface near the north edge.

It is now obvious why under the orthostates of the west wall there was only a single BENCH course, cut into two steps on the outside, rather than two courses. It was that this course might project from the inner face of the wall and form a bench, 0.445 m. high and about 0.50 m. broad. To the right and left (north and south) of the west door, for 0.60 m. and



FIGURE 106. SOUTH END OF CISTERN BENEATH PROSTOMIAION (SEPTEMBER 9, 1922)

1.65 m. respectively, the upper part of this bench was formed of a separate block, now missing, dowelled to the others (PLATE II). Why this was done is not clear. Perhaps the original block was damaged during the building, since the dowels and workmanship show that this is part of the Greek construction and not of the later repairs.

The sills of the west and north doors were raised 0.224 m. above the pavement. In the restoration (PLATES I, XV) their level has been continued as a broad step on the east side

of the North Door as far as the west cross-wall. Such a step would conceal the anathyrosis on the sill of the door and yet be sufficiently low to permit the eastern valve of the door to fold back against the north wall.¹ This step has also been carried along the base of the west cross-wall, except in front of the sills of the doors into the central chambers, and returned westward along the south wall. The width of the broad step (about three Attic feet), as determined from the anathyrosis on the sill of the North Door (Fig. 103), equals the projection from the base of the south wall of the bottom step in the stairway leading to the Porch of the Maidens, — a significant coincidence, since it brings the north face of both steps into line (PLATE I). It may be added that such a broad step would furnish an adequate platform for the altars mentioned by Pausanias,² if they were in this room — a somewhat doubtful supposition, — or for the exhibition of votive offerings. The open floor between the bench on the west and the broad step on the east is sufficiently wide (eight and one-half Attic feet) to allow free circulation between the north and south doors. It is quite possible, however, that instead of this low broad step there was on the east a bench of the same height and width as on the west, and that a portion of the anathyrosis at the east end of the sill of the North Door was left exposed. In its inconspicuous position the unfinished surface would be less noticeable than, for example, the boss on the east jamb of the North Door (PLATES VII, XXV). If, as is suggested below, the original plan of the room provided for a floor ten Attic feet wide with benches two feet wide on either side, it seems natural that, when in the actual building the total width of the room was reduced to thirteen feet and the western bench to one foot and one-half, the eastern bench should also be reduced, and not replaced by the broader and lower step, with a consequent reduction in the width of the floor. It is true that most of the northern end of such a bench must have been cut away, if the east valve of the North Door folded back against the north wall, while if it only swung as far as the west valve, this end of the bench would have been of very little use when the door was open. There is, of course, no evidence for either restoration to be derived from the west cross-wall, since none of the original Greek construction remains at this level (p. 151); nor does the south wall, east of the doorway leading into the Porch of the Maidens, furnish anything decisive. The course below the orthostate, although smooth, is not finished as a surface of contact, while the orthostate itself has never received its final dressing and still shows remains of a boss (PLATE XII; Fig. 106). This unfinished surface suggests that the lower courses were hidden by some object, perhaps an altar or pedestal, which filled the corner but was probably not in contact with the wall. It must be admitted that in the present state of our knowledge there are no compelling reasons for adopting one restoration rather than the other.

¹ On the west side of the door the lower portion of the anathyrosis at this end of the sill was concealed by the pavement and the west wall; the upper portion was destroyed by the rabbet which received the bench at the base of the wall.

² Pausanias, I, 26, 5. See also Ch. V, pp. 489 ff.

The following facts indicate that the west room as actually constructed involved a considerable modification of the original plan. (1) The doors into the North Portico and the Porch of the Maidens have the same axis, which is, however, not that of the room itself, since the latter extends eight Attic feet east, but only five Attic feet west of this line. (2) The west wall is so close to the side of the North Door that the bench at the foot of the wall had to be cut back in order to permit the western leaf of the door to open (p. 103). (3) On the threshold of the North Door (Fig. 103) the anathyrosis at each end of the south face (p. 162) indicates that blocks about two Attic feet in length were expected to abut at these points. Indeed, 0.63 m. from the western end, the vertical scratched line which was to mark the position of the eastern face of an abutting block is well preserved. At the east end of the threshold faint traces of a similar line can with difficulty be detected. That these two anathyroses are original is shown by the fact that the relieving of pressure from the inner lower edge of the sill is terminated close to the anathyroses and does not extend to the ends of the sill (Fig. 103). Since the relieving surface thus stops short of each end, it is clear that the ends were to be concealed by symmetrically placed blocks rising above the pavement. This intention was not carried out exactly. The bench at the base of the west wall, instead of abutting, was, as has been said, set in a rabbet cut into the threshold (Fig. 103, at A), and its eastern face extended 0.21 m. beyond the setting line as marked, while it would have continued some 0.28 m. farther, had it not been cut away to make room for the leaf of the door (Fig. 36). The conditions at the other end of the threshold are, as we have seen, uncertain. If the bench was retained with a reduced width, a part of the eastern anathyrosis was exposed. If, however, a broad low step was substituted for the bench, the anathyrosis was concealed on this side also. The natural explanation of the original dressing is that the threshold was cut for a door leading into a room having the same axis as the door itself. In that case the actual construction is due to a change of plan. (4) As has been already pointed out (p. 154), the great beam which helped to support the ceiling and roof in the western part of the temple was not directly over the Greek partition wall, but was one Attic foot farther west, that is, on the axis of the later Roman wall. It thus follows that while the Greek wall divided this part of the building into two rooms respectively eighteen and thirteen Attic feet from east to west, the corresponding divisions of the ceiling, as fixed by the beam, measured nineteen and twelve Attic feet, — a discrepancy which it is hard to believe formed part of the original plan, but which becomes intelligible if the position of the walls had been altered, while the design for the ceiling was left practically unchanged (p. 169).¹

If however, as seems probable in view of the facts stated, the west room was planned to have the same axis as the two doors, what was to have been the position of the side walls? The evidence of the threshold of the North Door indicates that the floor was to have had the

¹ When the Roman restorers substituted their wall for both the Greek wall and the transverse beam, they placed it on the axis of the beam, thus avoiding a readjustment of the ceiling, while at the same time availing themselves of the cuttings which had been made for the brackets, and also concealing the holes.

width of the interval between the anathyroses, or ten Attic feet. The total width of the room will then depend upon the width assigned to the benches at the base of the east and west walls. Reasonable alternatives for this width are one and one-half or two Attic feet, thus giving the room a clear width of thirteen or fourteen Attic feet.¹ If the former alternative be chosen, the width of the benches as planned (0.492 m.) was practically the same as that actually given to the bench at the foot of the west wall (0.51 m.; Fig. 104). Each of the two side walls would of course have been one Attic foot and one-half west of its present position. Such an arrangement is, however, open to some rather serious objections. Since the room is only thirteen Attic feet wide, while the threshold of the North Door is fourteen Attic feet, the ends of the threshold must have been bonded into the side walls for a short distance. The western cross-wall would be one-half an Attic foot west of the axis of the great beam, which is almost as unlikely in the original plan as its present position one Attic foot to the east. If, as is highly probable, the walls of the Porch of the Maidens were to occupy the same relative position to the side walls of the west room (that is, if their outer faces were to be in line with the outer faces of the walls of the room), the stairway in the porch would be badly crowded, since its upper step would be reduced from two Attic feet in width to one-half a foot, which is obviously excessively narrow and only half the width of the other steps.

All these difficulties disappear, if we assume that the room was to have been fourteen Attic feet wide with a bench two Attic feet wide on each side. These widths agree with the width of the threshold and also with the width of the anathyroses at its ends. The outer west wall would be placed two Attic feet farther west, and the cross-wall one foot, thus bringing the latter into its natural place beneath the great beam. In the Porch of the Maidens moving the east wall one foot to the west would reduce the width of the upper step to one foot, which is the same as that of the other steps, while widening the porch by one foot would remove the present irregularity in the coffer (p. 116), which could then all be square. This position of the west wall involves narrowing the small doorway in the North Portico about 0.10 m., which would make the opening almost exactly the double square usual in the Erechtheum (PLATE VII). In this case the upper step at the bottom of the west wall would partially block the doorway, unless it were reduced to a slightly projecting base resembling that at the bottom of the side walls. In the interior the proposed room furnishes plenty of space for the puteal above the "sea" of Poseidon, whether this was in the southwest corner

¹ The width of sixteen Attic feet (twenty Attic feet including the walls) assigned to this room by Dörpfeld in his original plan (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXIX, 1904, pp. 102 ff.; cf. *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, pl. III) assumes that the west cross-wall is in its intended position, but that the west outer wall was to stand three Attic feet farther west. This would reduce the width of the small door in the North Portico from four Attic feet to but little more than two and one-half Attic feet, unless indeed the door was not included in the original plan (*Jb. kl. Alt.*, XLVII, 1921, p. 437). It is also hard to reconcile with the evidence of the threshold of the North Door, which is now available though not formerly known to Dörpfeld, and it leaves unexplained the irregular relation of the west cross-wall and the great beam, — a difficulty, however, which does not arise for Dörpfeld, since he holds that the western part of the temple had no other roof than a low stone one over the westernmost room (*Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, pp. 18, 23). For these reasons this width seems less probable than the thirteen or fourteen Attic feet suggested in the text.

or near the centre of the room. So far as the leaves of the North Door are concerned, it would be possible to open them somewhat more than 90° without touching the benches at the sides; but even if these were cut away, it would not be possible to fold the leaves flat against the north wall on account of the proximity of the side walls. It will be noticed that on this hypothesis the two divisions in the western part of the temple were intended to be respectively nineteen and fourteen Attic feet in width, and that when the west outer wall was moved two feet farther east, the west cross-wall was moved one foot, and the reduction thus divided equally between the two rooms, which were now eighteen and thirteen Attic feet. It was, however, easier to leave the eastern ceiling unchanged and reduce the western from fourteen to twelve feet by omitting one row of coffers (Fig. 111A), than it would have been to plan entirely new ceilings for narrower rooms.¹ It is thus clear why the change in the position of the walls led to no alteration in the position of the beam.

The actual remains show that, except for the ceiling, this plan was never more than a design, and was indeed definitely abandoned before the foundations were completed. The change seems to have been due to unforeseen difficulties in preparing the foundations of the west wall at the southwest corner. It is obvious that if this wall had been built two Attic feet farther west, the structure at this corner, which the blocks of both south and west walls were cut to avoid (pp. 128 ff.), could not have been thus masked, but would have projected beyond the line of the west wall into the interior of the temple.² Moreover, if this structure extended obliquely to the northwest, the space to be spanned by the great block would have become almost impossibly wide. The discovery of this obstacle beneath the terrace of the Cecropium may well have made necessary the modification of a plan prepared in ignorance of its exact position and extent.³

The space beneath the Prostomiaion is now occupied by a large cistern, partly cut in the native rock, partly above its level (PLATES II, X, XI, XII; Figs. 97, 105, 106).⁴ Ever since its discovery there has been a general disposition to see in it the successor to the Erechtheïs or salt "sea" produced by Poseidon,⁵ which the testimony of Pausanias shows to have been within the building, but which, owing to the configuration of the rock, it is not easy to place in either of the central chambers. Even when it became clear that the cistern in its existing form was mediaeval or Turkish, it seemed more probable that its makers had taken advantage of an older receptacle than that they had constructed a wholly new one. The removal of the late linings of masonry in 1909 has shown, however, that anciently neither the east nor the west wall was water-tight, and that consequently any predecessor of the

CISTERN

¹ For a somewhat different conjectural restoration of this ceiling, see Ch. IV, pp. 408 f.; Fig. 187.

² See also the remarks of Dörpfeld, *Jb. kl. Ak.*, XLVII, 1921, p. 436.

³ It may be noted that if the building had been planned to be two Attic feet longer, places may be found for at least four and perhaps for all seven of the superfluous ordinary wall blocks, which were lying on the ground in 409 B.C. Cf. Ch. IV, Inscription II, col. i, ll. 93-97, and Commentary, pp. 308. For the possible effect of the change in plan upon the treatment of the southwest corner, see p. 175, note 2.

⁴ At the southeast corner projecting portions of the poros foundations have also been cut away.

⁵ Pausanias, I, 26, 5; Apollodorus, III, 178. See Ch. V, pp. 486 f., 491 f.

cistern was probably distinctly smaller; and the same conclusion is indicated by the surviving slabs of the original pavement, which are too thin to have spanned a large opening. It may also be stated positively that the foundation of the west cross-wall is so constructed as to exclude the possibility of an opening, like that under the north wall, whereby subterranean access might be given to the well. It may, therefore, be regarded as certain that the visitor to the temple both saw and heard the "sea" through an opening in the pavement, doubtless surrounded by a puteal or *προστόμιον*.¹ But where was this puteal? A definite answer cannot be given, so far have the original conditions been destroyed, but there are still some traces which may warrant the hypothetical restoration shown in PLATES I and XV.

In the extreme southwest corner is a shaft about 0.90 m. square sunk in the rock about 1.75 m., that is, to about 0.14 m. below the bottom of the cistern (Fig. 106). Its southern edge is about 0.08 m. to 0.12 m. south of the inner face of the south wall. To the west it extends about 0.05 m. under the west wall. In its present form this shaft is doubtless contemporary with the cistern, for the dressing of the sides, though somewhat more careful than that elsewhere in the cistern, is of the same general character and closely resembles that along the south end. Moreover, the floor of the cistern slopes toward this corner, so that the shaft is the natural place for drawing water and also, since its bottom is lower than that of the cistern, for emptying the latter completely when it needed cleaning. There are, however, some indications which suggest that this shaft may occupy the position of the ancient "sea," or at least of that part which was below the puteal.² On the west side of the south door the pilaster on the jamb has not been reduced in width (p. 119) at the bottom, and this may well be due to the presence of an abutting block. The face of such a block would align exactly with the east face of the shaft and form the eastern side of the curb. In that case the north side of the curb would probably have been so placed that its south face was directly above the north side of the shaft (PLATES I, D, XV, D; Fig. 68). In the top of the south block of course 19 in the west wall (PLATE X) there is a cutting, running from east to west, for a clamp which may have held the top of this north curb to the west wall. It will be seen later that the slab which formed the bottom of the niche (p. 172) had an inclination toward the west, so as to throw outside of the building the rain which might enter through the open south intercolumniation. It would thus serve as a canopy to keep the salt water from contamination. It is also possible that the greater elaboration of the mouldings on the west wall at this point (p. 61) is connected with the presence of the "sea," which, as here restored, lies entirely within the space east of the south intercolumniation. If this shaft were the opening to the sacred "sea," it is evident that its position, near, but at one side of, the entrance from the Porch of the Maidens, was very similar to that of the altar and the

¹ On the meaning of this word, see Ch. IV, p. 312.

² The slight extension of the shaft beneath both south and west walls may be attributed to the enlargement connected with the construction of the cistern. There is no reason to suppose that any part of the "sea" was outside of the Erechtheum.

crypt with reference to the North Door. It must be admitted, however, that there is no evidence of any original depression of the rock at this point — although it is possible that such evidence has been destroyed in making the cistern, — and it is certainly difficult to believe that the Erechtheïs was from the beginning purely artificial, even if it be granted that it may have been enlarged by human agency.¹

(D) *The Niche.* — In the southwest corner of the temple the seven upper courses of the south wall and the adjacent portion of the west wall are little more than half their proper thickness (PLATES I, X, XII), so that a recess or niche is formed (Fig. 99), which has always been regarded as presenting one of the especially perplexing problems of the Erechtheum.

The eighth course is also peculiar, but different from those above. It, rather than courses 1 to 7, contains what is essential for the reconstruction of the niche, and it may, therefore, be considered first. As is seen most clearly in the sections of Figure 107, the two blocks of course 8 project beyond the ground of the niche, but at present not so far as the inner face of the wall below. The eastern block clearly never extended farther than now (Fig. 107, section A-B); but the upper half of the face of the western block is broken, showing that it once projected beyond the lower half, probably as far as the inner face of the wall below (Fig. 107, section C-D). The cutting which occupies the lower half of the face and extends into the anta is carefully worked, and the line of its top slopes down from east to west, being 0.287 m. high at the east and 0.247 m. at the west end. Such a cutting was evidently made to receive a slab of stone which, resting on course 9, would be held in place by the projecting part of course 8. A horizontal dowel, which could have been leaded by a hole drilled from above, fastened the slab to course 8 in the eastern part of the niche, and, by preventing the slab from slipping upward, served the same purpose as the projection in the western part. The slab probably rested for the whole of its western side on the upper course of the wall in the southern intercolumniation of the West Façade, where it served as a coping (PLATES XIII, XV). A dowel (Fig. 107, E) of the ordinary Greek type fastened the slab, at the west end of its south side, to course 9 of the wall, where the cutting is still visible in the upper surface of the wall block. This dowel could only have been inserted and leaded before course 8 was in place, which shows that the slab was first laid and then the western block (in the anta) of course 8 placed on top of it. It is, therefore, certain that this slab was in place in 409 B.C., when the Athenian commissioners drew up their report, so that it cannot be identified with any of the blocks then on the ground or with any of those set in place in later years.

The downward slope from east to west of the top of the cutting implies a like slope in

¹ Near the centre of the Prostomiaion is a natural hollow in the rock, which even now extends below the floor of the cistern (Fig. 106), and, judging from the height of the rock remaining beneath the walls on either side, must once have been of considerable depth. The bottom of this hollow is the lowest point reached by the natural rock inside the building — except for narrow fissures, which here can hardly be regarded as significant, — and this would seem a natural place for the original "sea." On this hypothesis the puteal would have been near the centre of the room. Against this identification must be set the fact that this hollow is by no means watertight; at least water now disappears from it more rapidly than from the shaft in the southwest corner.

the upper surface of the slab. Such a slope is most reasonably explained as a wash to shed the rain water, which would enter unimpeded through the open intercolumniation. It also warrants the belief that the slab projected for some distance from the niche, and was not a mere narrow shelf,¹ for there would be no occasion to be concerned about the small amount of rain falling on such a shelf when compared with the amount entering the building through the rest of the intercolumniation. In PLATE XV the slab has been

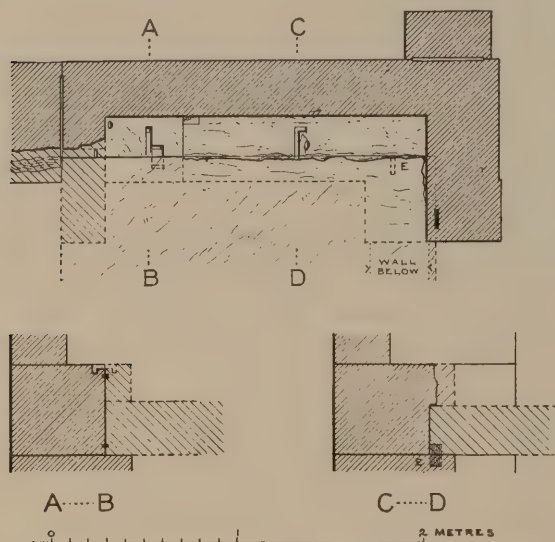


FIGURE 107. PLAN THROUGH COURSE 8 IN NICHE, FROM ABOVE. SECTIONS ON LINES A-B AND C-D OF PLAN

In both plan and sections restorations are shown by wide hatching.

drawn as extending to the first column of the West Façade, that being the nearest natural place of termination. As thus restored it measures about 2.05 m. from east to west and 2.35 m. from north to south, not including any projecting mouldings on the exposed faces. It thus becomes in effect a small platform, the exact purpose of which is not clear. It may have had some connection with the Cecropium, but it is quite possible that it was only intended to keep rain from the interior and especially from the "sea," if that was in the southwest corner. It also tended to mask the unsatisfactory effect produced by the sudden diminution in the width of the anta above the eighth course.

On the upper surface of course 8 are various cuttings for clamps (Fig. 107), which

have been disregarded in the preceding discussion. Their workmanship and form show that they are not part of the original Greek construction, so that they must be assigned to later repairs. They were perhaps intended to secure a new facing to course 8, for the platform may not have been relaid when the solid wall was constructed at the west end.

THE NICHE

Turning now to the consideration of the niche proper, i. e., the seven upper courses of the wall, an examination of the building shows that in the joint between the courses 5 and 6 and below, the dowels in the south anta of the West Façade are one Attic foot from the west face, a position which brings them less than one-quarter of a foot from the east face in the lower part of the niche (Fig. 108 at B). In the upper courses the dowels are nearly on the axis of the narrow anta between courses 4 and 5, and exactly on the axis in the courses above. As the anta below the niche is two Attic feet wide, dowels one foot from either edge would be on its axis. It is, therefore, evident that those below the fifth course were once on the axis, and that in the niche these blocks of the anta were reduced from their original width after the cuttings for the dowels had been made.

¹ As restored in J.-M., *Atlas*, pl. XXVI.

On the south wall the horizontal joints between courses 5 and 6, 6 and 7, and 7 and 8 in the niche are bad joints, the blocks not having the perfect contact which is regularly found in the Erechtheum. In each case the upper stones have a slight bevel to lessen the ragged effect of the joint. This unevenness is easily explained if the inner face of these blocks has been cut away beyond the line of the anathyrosis, so that the visible horizontal joint comes in the slightly roughened, but not appreciably depressed, central portion of the surface of contact (Fig. 108). Further proof that the blocks here have been reduced is afforded by the first vertical joint from the west in course 6, which is shown in horizontal section in Figure 108, at the right. Here it can be seen at a glance that the contact surfaces on the exterior and interior of the wall are not in the same straight line, but while that on the exterior is the regular contact band of the anathyrosis, on the interior this is lacking, and the

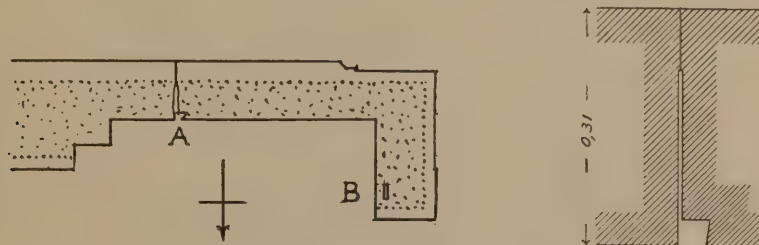


FIGURE 108. LEFT: TOP OF COURSE 6 IN NICHE, SHOWING EVIDENCE FOR CHANGE OF PLAN. RIGHT: HORIZONTAL SECTION THROUGH VERTICAL JOINT AT A, SHOWING METHOD OF INSERTING SMALL PIECE OF MARBLE TO CLOSE THE JOINT

inner face of the wall appears to intersect the depressed centre of the joint. This is actually the case, and the marks of the pointed chisel are still to be seen here and there in the polished surface of contact close to the inner face of the wall. The notch in the right-hand stone was cut to receive a small bit of marble that was slipped in from above to hide the gap between the two stones, produced when the inner face was cut away to a greater depth than the width of the contact band.

Course 4 in the niche is behind the roof blocks of the Porch of the Maidens, and was formed of the thin slabs already mentioned (pp. 48, 114). Above course 5 the anathyrosis runs completely around the horizontal and vertical surfaces, and shows that these stones were originally cut for a thin wall. This is confirmed by the traces, in course 4, of a boss on the east side of the anta.

Hence it seems certain that while the platform in the angle at the height of the eighth course was planned from the outset, the niche was only decided upon after the wall had reached the height of the epistyle of the Porch of the Maidens, or at any rate after the blocks were ready up to that height; for it is quite as probable that normal blocks were trimmed to the reduced thickness before being placed, as that the completed wall was cut down. Whether it was constructed chiefly in order to increase the area of the platform, or in order

to lighten the load which fell on the huge stone spanning the space at this corner above the Cecropium cannot be stated with certainty. There is much to be said in favor of the latter alternative. Relatively little space is gained by constructing the niche, since its floor forms a step above the platform, while the saving in weight may be computed as about 6000 kg.,



FIGURE 109. SOUTH WALL: COURSES 1-3 AT SOUTHWEST CORNER, FROM EAST, BEFORE THE RESTORATION IN 1908

which is perhaps one-sixth of the total weight falling on the huge lintel stone at the corner. The diminution of the anta as well as of the south wall lends support to this theory.

It should be noted that the construction of the niche weakened somewhat the support of the platform on its south side by putting all the strain on the projecting portion of course 8 without any help from the courses above it, as was originally intended. Only on the west side did the cutting extend far enough for the slab to be weighted by the upper part of the anta; but even so the platform was quite strong enough to bear any reasonable weight.

THE
METOPON

A series of recessed cuttings of varying depths ¹ in the face of the south wall, where it is of full thickness immediately east of the niche (PLATES X, XII, XXVII, 9), shows that on

¹ These cuttings are deepest in courses 1, 3, and 5, less deep in courses 4, 6, and 7. Course 1, pieced together from many fragments (Fig. 33), like course 3, just reaches the east edge of the pilaster. Course 2 is missing, but this block seems to have been the *μασχαλιαία* of the inscription, and to have had the pilaster worked on its face. See Ch. IV, Inscription II, col. 1, ll. 13, 98, and Commentary, p. 304.

this side the boundary was a pilaster (PLATE XV; Figs. 99, 109), built up course by course. The wall furnishes no evidence as to the extension of this pilaster toward the north, but the testimony of the report of the commissioners in 409 B.C.,¹ where the pilaster appears as the *μέτωπον*, shows that this was the same as that of the west anta.²

To the east of the pilaster, near the bottom of course 8, is the upper edge of a raised surface, extending about 0.60 m. to the end of the block. The next stone is badly weathered, but the same edge reappears on the following stone, and, descending into course 9, continues east as far as the Roman cross-wall, where it descends and finally disappears on the same course (PLATE XII). It resembles the edge of a protecting surface (*Werkzoll*) such as would appear if the wall had been given its final dressing above but not below. However, both above and below this edge, as well as in the niche, the surface of the blocks, so far as it is preserved, shows Roman tooling, distinctly unlike the Greek dressing farther east. It is quite possible, therefore, that this slight difference in plane arose when the wall was worked over after the fire and that it did not appear on the original Greek surface.³

The mouldings of the epicranitis continue from the exterior around the anta and finish against the ground of the niche, but in the interior the egg-and-dart and other ornaments were not sculptured (Fig. 109). There is, however, on these mouldings, a series of vertical incised lines which were probably used in laying out a painted decoration. Similar mouldings were undoubtedly carried around the capital of the pilaster from the adjacent wall, but the south side of the wall in the niche, which is preserved, was left plain (PLATE XII; Figs. 99, 111 B).

EPICRA-
NITIS

None of the Greek epistyle from the southwest corner has survived, but from indications on the top of the epicranitis it is to be inferred that on the south it had the width of the wall of the niche and on the west was slightly narrower than the north face of the anta.⁴ Of

¹ For the interpretation of this passage, see Ch. IV, Inscription II, Commentary, pp. 301 ff., and L. D. Caskey and B. H. Hill, 'The Metopon in the Erechtheum,' *A. J. A.*, XII, 1908, pp. 184-197.

² It is perhaps scarcely profitable to elaborate the hypothetical details of a plan which was never executed, but it may be well, nevertheless, to consider the possible treatment of the niche with its "metopon" and inclined shelf or floor, if the west wall had been given its intended position, two Attic feet farther west. Three hypotheses may be reasonably considered. (1) The dimensions of the niche and its surroundings remained unchanged, but it was to have been two Attic feet farther west. In this case the east side of the "metopon" would have been over the reveal of the west jamb of the south door, and the design for the ceiling over this corner — whatever that may have been — would have been the same in the original plan as in the actual building. (2) Since some of the blocks of the southwest anta were certainly cut on the supposition that it was to have its full thickness, it is possible to suppose that the anta was to have been two Attic feet wide, the niche five Attic feet, as at present, and the "metopon" either three-quarters of an Attic foot, as it was constructed, or, perhaps more probably in view of the heavier anta, one Attic foot. In this case the east edge of the niche would be over the west jamb of the door and the "metopon" itself over the corner of the doorway. (3) The east face of the "metopon" may be taken as fixed above the axis of the door, and the nine Attic feet between this point and the west face of the anta divided among the "metopon," niche, and anta in various ways, according as we suppose the former to have been three-quarters, or one, or even two Attic feet wide, and the latter one and one-quarter or two Attic feet. A fair arrangement of the three elements would seem to be 1:6:2.

³ It is also possible that the wall was slightly dressed back when the church was built, to receive a beam of the roof over the narthex (PLATE XXXII, section looking south); see Ch. V, p. 516.

⁴ The width of the epistylon over the south intercolumniation and the north part of the anta was apparently about 0.366 m. (the north face of the anta is 0.405 m.; cf. Figs. 44, 110), but at the south end the return along the south

the two Greek dowel cuttings in the top of the epicranitis (Fig. 110), the one on the south wall,¹ indicated by dotted lines and now concealed by a modern iron bar, held the western end of the architrave on that wall, which thus had a length of only seven Attic feet instead of the usual eight. The other dowel, in the capital of the anta,² secured the epistyle which spanned the south intercolumniation. This dowel seems to have been leaded from the east — a very difficult operation if the epistyle had the normal width, but easy if it was reduced to correspond with the narrow anta, since in that case the dowel was only about 0.06 m.

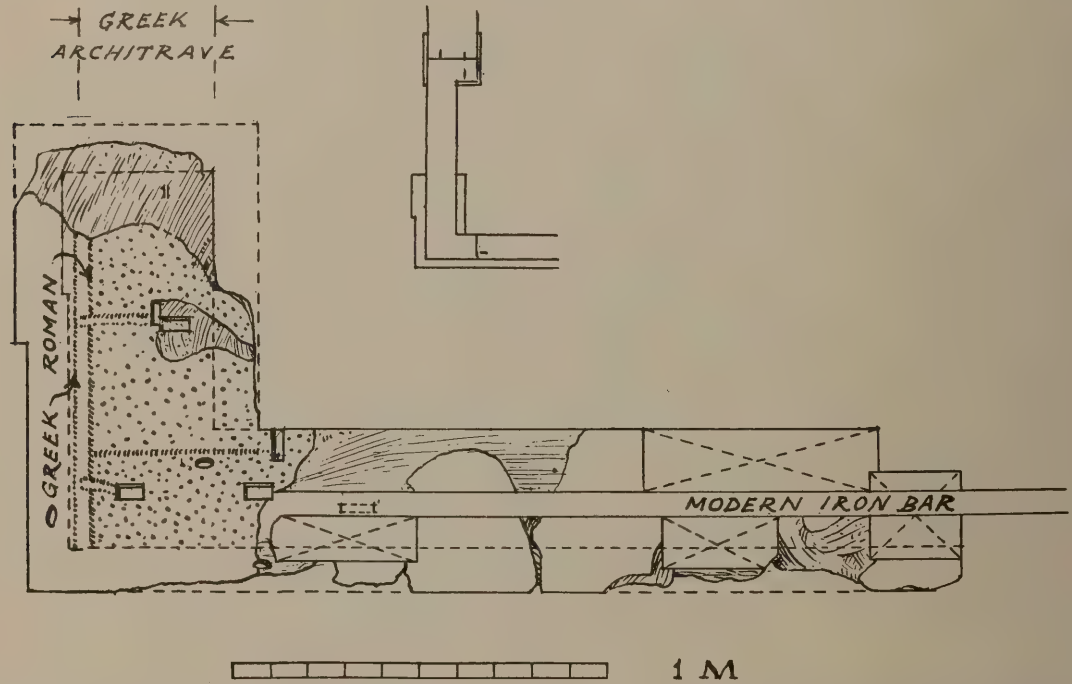


FIGURE 110. PLAN OF EPICRANITIS AT SOUTHWEST CORNER OF MAIN BUILDING. UPPER RIGHT CORNER: RESTORED PLAN OF GREEK ARCHITRAVE

from its east edge. Moreover, on the east side of the capital of the anta the pressure is not relieved, as it should be in order to protect the mouldings, if the epistyle overhung the capital. A special treatment of the epistyle in this corner is also implied by the building accounts, which show that in the western part of the interior one hundred and thirteen feet of epistyle were painted under a single contract.³ This distance can be obtained by leaving the painting in the south and west sides of the niche to a separate contract, which is hardly natural if there was no difference in the epistyle at this point. It will be re-

wall was about 0.67 m. from east to west, as is shown by the position of the dowel which held the west end of the adjoining block on the wall (Fig. 110).

¹ The two dowel cuttings (one with a pour channel) west of this Greek cutting are Roman and held the Roman architrave on the south wall. The south end of the Roman west architrave is marked by a weather line and pry hole north of these two dowels (pp. 71 ff.; Figs. 47, 48).

² The north half of this cutting appears to be Greek; the south half was recut during the Roman alterations.

³ See B. H. Hill, 'Structural Notes on the Erechtheum,' *A. J. A.*, XIV, 1910, pp. 291-297, and below, Ch. IV, Inscription XIII, col. 1, ll. 45 ff., Commentary, pp. 410 f.

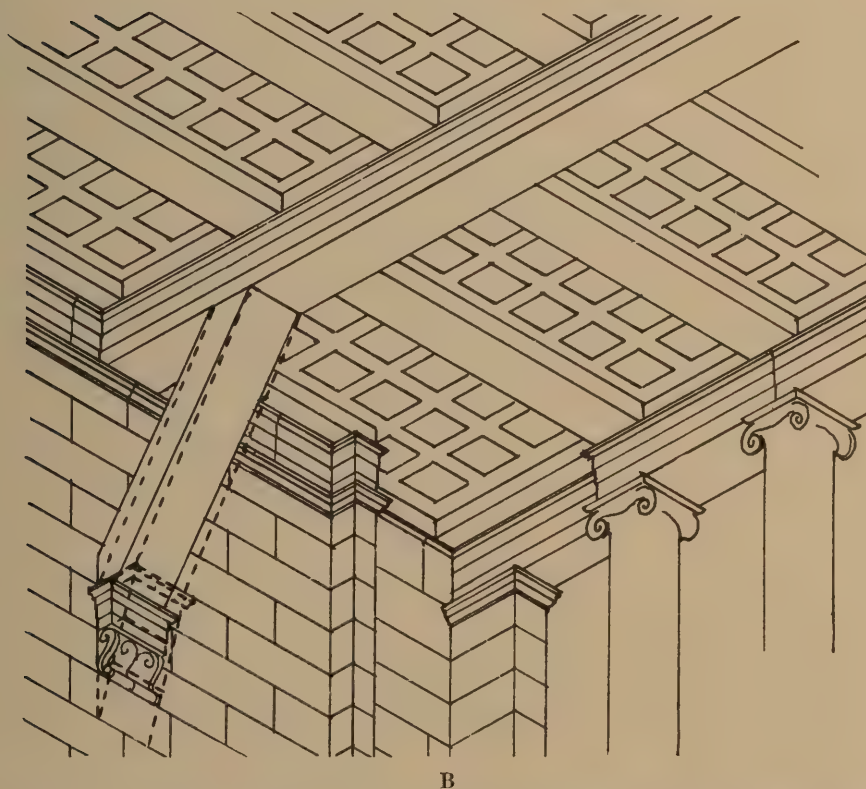
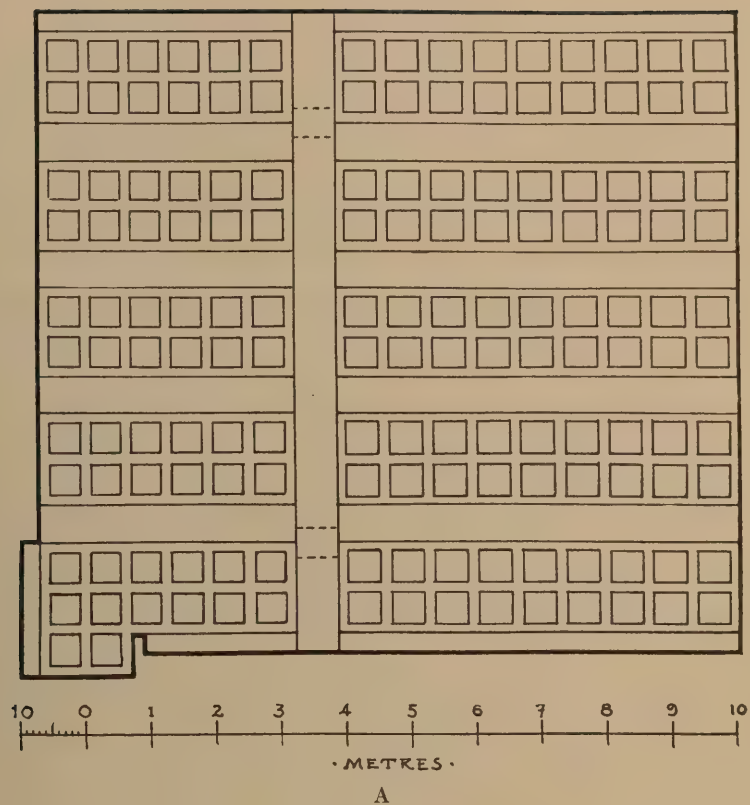


FIGURE 111. (A) PLAN OF CEILING OVER WEST ROOMS: RESTORED. (B) RECONSTRUCTION OF SOUTHWEST CORNER, SHOWING TRANSVERSE BEAM, METOPON, NICHE, AND COFFERED WOODEN CEILING: ISOMETRIC

membered that the west frieze and pediment had no backing at the south end, and that the cornice at this corner was seven and one-half Attic feet in length (p. 74), apparently in order that its east end might thus have a firm bed over the metopon.¹ All these facts suggest that the light construction was carried up through architrave and frieze. Such an arrangement not only further decreases the weight at this corner, but also gives a better effect to the upper part of the niche, which thus finishes against the ceiling. It is also consistent with a satisfactory solution of the problem of arranging the ceiling in this corner, as may be seen from the conjectural plan and isometric restoration (Fig. 111 A, B).

(E) *Temporary Repairs before the Roman Restoration.* — In the course of this description there have been frequent references to a fire which seriously injured the interior of the Erechtheum and led to somewhat extensive rebuilding, especially at the west end. The date of the fire is unknown, but the rebuilding appears to have been carried out near the end of the first century B.C., at about the same time as the erection of the temple of Rome and Augustus.² There are indications, however, that before this permanent restoration, the western part of the temple had received a temporary covering. The evidence is furnished by a number of small, neatly bored holes in the north and south walls and in the antae of the west wall.³

In course 9 of the north wall a series of forty-five holes begins above the Greek cross-wall and continues, sloping very slightly downwards, to the east, as far as the surface of the course is preserved (PLATE XI).⁴ In course 8, above the second hole from the west, are four holes in a line which inclines slightly toward the west of the vertical as it rises. Above, in course 7, are three more holes in the prolongation of this line. The uppermost of the three is also the first of another group of three extending in a descending line toward the west. No holes are to be found in the inserted Roman block which is next on the west in this course, but another hole in the same line is visible in the Greek block beyond the Roman one. There are no holes in the Roman lintel over the North Door, but the line is continued by five holes in course 9 on the south face of the north anta of the west wall, west of the intercolumnar wall (Figs. 40, 46); the original east side of the anta has been cut away (p. 69).

On the south wall a row of eighteen holes begins in course 8 in the space once filled by the metopon, continues, sloping downward toward the west, across the blocks once behind the shelf, and ends in course 9 on the north face of the south anta (PLATE XII: Fig. 43) at the same height as the holes on the north anta. It is obvious that when these holes were

¹ See also Ch. IV, Inscription X, col. 1, ll. 29 ff.; Commentary, pp. 356 ff.

² On the date see Ch. V, pp. 478 f.

³ The suggestion that these holes were connected with the laying of a temporary roof before the Roman restoration is due to L. B. Holland. Hitherto these holes, if noticed at all, have been left unexplained as, for example, by J. Woods, *Letters of an Architect*, II, p. 256. A similar series of holes is found in the south wall of the northeast hall of the Propylaea; it begins behind the anta, and extends in a rising line along the side of the wall to the level of the roof at the west corner.

⁴ The cuttings for beams above these holes are neither Greek nor Roman, and are probably connected with the transformation of the Erechtheum into a Turkish house; see Ch. V, p. 524.

bored both metopon and shelf had disappeared. Courses 8 and 7 between the metopon and the west cross-wall are so badly damaged (Fig. 99) that it is impossible to say whether the holes continued across them; but if the series was prolonged in the line of the existing holes, it attained in course 7, at the west face of the Greek west cross-wall, the same height as the uppermost holes in the north wall. East of the west cross-wall the south wall above the orthostates has been almost entirely rebuilt, and few of the blocks are in their original positions or have retained their original surfaces. It is not surprising, therefore, that no holes can now be found which correspond to the long series in course 9 of the north wall.

The date of these holes may be fixed within certain limits. They are later than some disaster — presumably the great fire, — which destroyed the metopon and shelf. They are earlier than the Roman repairs, for in the north wall the western series is interrupted wherever the Greek blocks have been replaced by Roman. Their purpose can hardly be other than to furnish points where nails could be securely fastened into the marble, either by setting them in lead, or by driving them into wooden plugs inserted in the holes.¹ We may reasonably conjecture that after the fire a temporary roof was constructed over the Prostomiaion, having its highest point over the Greek cross-wall at about the height of the middle of course 7, and sloping downward until it ended in eaves projecting beyond the face of the west wall in course 9; the upper courses of the intercolumnar west wall, like the shelf in the southwest corner, were presumably damaged by the fire and consequently cut away. To close the joints between the side walls and the wooden roof a sheet of lead, or perhaps hides, would be securely nailed on the outside to both walls and roof.

Over the central division of the temple the construction of the temporary roof was apparently not the same as over the Prostomiaion. The eastern series of holes in the north wall, on account of their gradual inclination, can hardly have been along the side of a roof, like the holes of the western series, for such a roof would have been too flat to shed rain rapidly. Nor can the series have been along the highest part of a roof sloping down toward the south, for in that case the line would have been horizontal, not inclined. If, however, these holes were bored to aid in closing the joint at the bottom of a roof sloping down from the south, the inclination is easily understood, since at this point a gently sloping gutter would be needed to carry off the rain. Moreover, if this roof had the same inclination as the roof over the Prostomiaion, it would reach the same height on the axis of the temple, that is, over the assumed position of the wall dividing the two central chambers (PLATE I), — a coincidence which furnishes an additional reason for believing in the presence of a wall at this point. It is probable that the western cross-wall was carried up to the height of course 7 in order that a roof projecting over the old intercolumnar wall might have a sufficient pitch to shed water easily. The dividing wall between the central chambers would naturally be given the same height as the cross-wall, and the eastern roof the same pitch as

¹ Traces of lead filling are found in similar holes in the inner face of the lintel over the west door; but these holes have no apparent connection with those in the side walls, and may well belong to Christian or Turkish alterations.

the western. In view of the lack of evidence as to the existence of similar holes in the south wall it is impossible to say whether the eastern roof covered both central chambers or was confined to the northern one, beneath which was probably the entrance to the crypt under the North Portico. Nor can it be determined with certainty how the water was conducted from this roof, though an opening in the side wall is perhaps the most probable hypothesis.

CHAPTER II

NOTES ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ERECHTHEUM

It is not the purpose of this chapter to describe in detail Greek architectural construction. It aims rather at presenting systematically the evidence afforded by the existing remains of the Erechtheum as to the materials, tools, and methods employed by its builders. The epigraphical evidence is discussed in the commentary on the inscriptions (Chapter IV), and the methods of later restorers in the history of the building (Chapter V).

I. VARIETIES OF STONE

The yellowish-brown, somewhat soft, fossiliferous *limestone* from the Piraeus (*ἀκτίτης λίθος*), or *poros* (*πῶρος*),¹ as it is commonly called, is employed in the foundations. The only exceptions seem to be beneath the podium of the Porch of the Maidens and the steps of the south wall, where the foundations of the peristyle of the Old Temple, composed of the hard limestone commonly called *Kará stone*, were retained (PLATES I, II), and at the south end of the west foundations (p. 14) and the sides of the low doorway into the crypt (p. 5), where marble was used, probably on account of its greater strength. Another variety of *poros*, from Aegina (*Αἰγινάϊος λίθος*), was used, according to the inscriptions, for the backers of the frieze on the north and south walls of the temple, where these backers were concealed by the ceiling.²

The visible parts of the building, except the friezes, were of *Pentelic marble*. The walls were generally of marble throughout, even when, as at the east end of the north wall, only one face was exposed; but in the south wall the three orthostates west of the *poros* foundation (PLATE XII) were backed on the outside by two courses of *poros*, and farther east some of the marble blocks above the foundations were also given a *poros* backing.

The friezes were of the hard, *bluish-black limestone* from Eleusis (*Ἐλευσινιακὸς λίθος*).³ In the recent restoration missing portions have been replaced by blue upper Pentelic marble. Some of the early descriptions of the frieze say that it was coated with fine stucco highly polished, but this statement is evidently erroneous, as no trace of such treatment now remains, and indeed the surface of the stone shows that no such coating was ever applied.⁴

¹ On *poros* cf. H. S. Washington, *A. J. A.*, XXVII, 1923, pp. 445, 446.

² See Ch. IV, Inscription VIII A, ll. 13, 37, and Commentary, pp. 350 ff.; Fig. 187.

³ The Eleusinian stone was also used elsewhere in the building, for the dimensions of two of the blocks listed in the report of the commissioners of 409 B.C. are not those of the frieze; see Ch. IV, Inscription V A, l. 26, and Commentary, p. 319. The position of these blocks is unknown.

⁴ Kinnard in Stuart and Revett², Vol. II, p. 72, note c, — "Frieze of bluish-gray stone covered with cement laid on in two coats, the outer one beautifully polished, and of the colour of the marble." This is given on the author-

II. DRESSING OF THE SURFACES OF STONES

TOOLS Marks remaining on the stones of the Erechtheum show that the following tools were used in preparing them for their place in the building: — flat, pointed, and toothed chisels, pointed and bush hammers, and drills.

A *flat chisel* was regularly employed in cutting the holes for dowels and clamps; it was of the same width as the slot, namely about 0.015 m. In dressing the surfaces of stones, how-

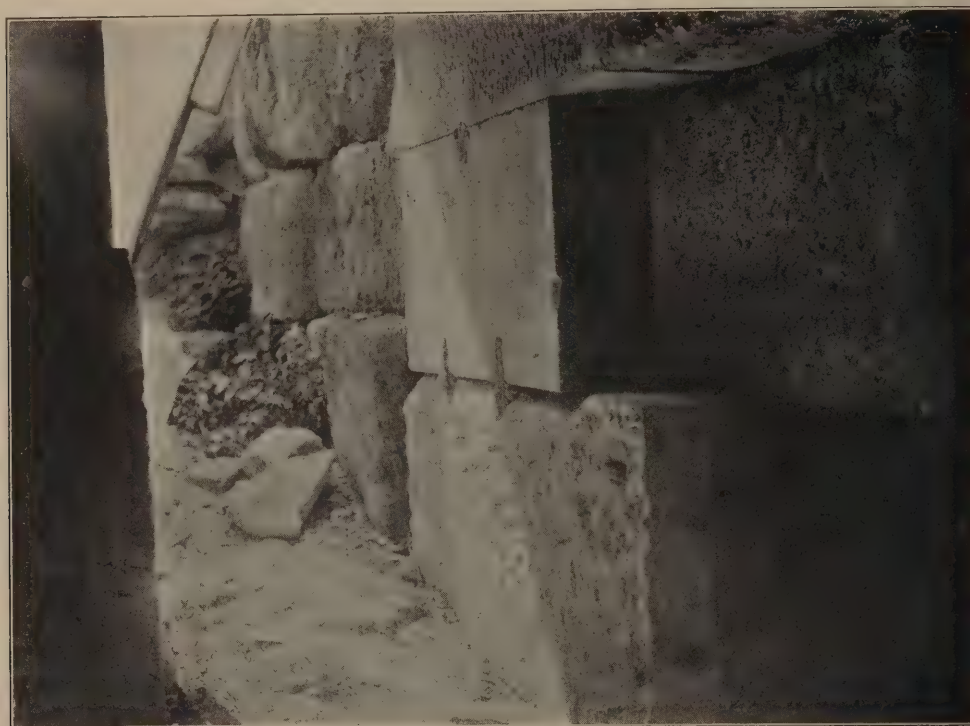


FIGURE 112. PASSAGE UNDER NORTH WALL FROM CRYPT: WEST SIDE FROM NORTH, SHOWING DRESSING OF SURFACES OF STONES

ever, this form of chisel was apparently seldom used, though one, 0.035 m. wide, has left traces on some beds, and another, 0.05 m. wide, was chosen for dressing the bed of the frieze on a Greek architrave block.

The *pointed chisel* was used to cut pry holes and shift holes, and marks of this tool ity of "an ingenious architectural friend, whose accuracy and acuteness of perception we can rely on." This "friend" was Joseph L. Wolfe, who has the same note on the frieze (App. A, XVII). Wilkins, *Prolus. Archit.*, p. 46, — "The external face of the zophorus, being coated with a very fine cement, had assimilated in colour with the marble of the building, so as to be deceptive, except upon minute inspection." That the condition of the frieze was responsible for this error seems indicated by J. Woods, *Letters of an Architect*, II, p. 255, — "The black marble having lost its polish and being stained by the weather, and perhaps by lichens, has changed its hue into a dull gray, and has been passed over without notice of the material. I believe Mr. Bedford was the first to notice it." This letter is dated in March, 1818. Exposure has produced on some of the blocks a pale brown patina which may have been mistaken for stucco.

are also found on the ordinary surfaces in the poros foundations (the contact bands were dressed with a toothed chisel), on the backs of many of the figures of the frieze, on the backs of Roman blocks,¹ and in the depressed centres of Roman anathyroses. It was also employed, with the *pointed hammer*, in cutting the depressed portion at the ends of Greek blocks (see below), and in dressing the somewhat rough marble blocks in the west wall near the Cecropium (p. 58).

The *toothed chisel* was used in dressing down the Kará stone in the euthynteria of the Old Temple to serve as a foundation under the Porch of the Maidens, and in preparing contact surfaces in the poros foundations and in the beds of Greek blocks generally. The backs of the figures of the frieze were often dressed with the toothed as well as with the pointed chisel. It is often possible to determine the width of the chisel and the number of the teeth; for example, chisels 0.05 m. wide with 12 and 16 teeth, 0.042 m. wide with 8 teeth, 0.02 m. wide with 6 teeth, and a very fine tool only 0.015 m. wide with 8 teeth. One stone bears marks of coarse and fine toothed chisels and a flat chisel. The anathyrosis in the drums of the columns of the North Portico shows traces of a toothed chisel, though the final surface is here due to rubbing, probably by turning of the upper drum on the lower through a small arc.

Marks of the *pointed hammer* alone are found on the backs of certain Greek blocks, as, for example, some of those used where the wall is two courses in thickness.

Traces of the *bush hammer* are found on Roman beds, on the bottom of at least one ordinary Greek wall block, and on a Greek stone on the west side of the small door into the crypt under the North Portico (Fig. 112). In this stone a series of horizontal grooves, 0.055 m. apart, was cut with a pointed chisel, and the surface then cross-dressed with a bush hammer to bring it to a rough finish. This operation may have been carried out at the quarry.²

The *drill* was used for boring holes, such as those in the rosettes on the jambs of the North Door and in the centres of the coffers of the North Portico, or the smaller holes for the pins which replaced dowels in the plinths and abaci of the Porch of the Maidens (p. 112), served to attach inserted beads and reels in the astragalus, and secured the left arm of the Maiden at the southeast corner of the porch. A very small drill was employed in boring a hole, only 0.0025 m. in diameter, for an earring in the left ear of the same Maiden; the right ear is missing, and, so far as can now be seen, there was no similar hole in the ear of any other figure. The grooves in the volutes of the capitals were made by drilling a series of holes close together and then cutting away the marble between. Traces of these holes can still be found in some of the volutes of the East Portico (p. 23). The same process was adopted in making some of the holes for dowels in the backs of the figures of the frieze. The

¹ Roman blocks are those dressed for the Roman restoration; Greek blocks are those belonging to the original Greek construction.

² Nilsson, *J. H. S.*, XXI, 1901, p. 328, considers that this stone was taken from some other building, as it has a clamp cutting in the bottom and a "mortise hole" in the top.

drill was also frequently employed in cutting the folds of the drapery of these figures, but there seem to be no traces of its use on the statues of the Maidens.

In addition to the coarser tools for ordinary operations, it is certain that exceedingly fine and well-tempered instruments must have been used in executing the delicate mouldings which play so important a part in the decoration of the Erechtheum. A good example of the perfect accuracy attained in this carving may be seen in Figure 113, which shows part of the sharply defined ridge, or sheath, at the bottom of an egg in the moulding on a beam of the North Portico. Some defect in the marble made it necessary to cut this bit separately, but the work was executed with such precision that the inserted piece was held firmly without any artificial attachment.¹ It would seem that a file must have been used in this operation.

DRESSING
OF
SURFACES

In preparing the stones for their place in the building, all contact surfaces were first made perfectly smooth; then, in order to get a close joint at the visible edges, on the ends of the stone the centre was depressed, generally with a pointed chisel, leaving a smooth band at the sides and top, and this latter band was in turn very slightly depressed with the toothed chisel.² On the top and bottom of the stone, however, since the weight of the wall required a larger surface in actual contact, only a very shallow depression (*ca.* 0.0005 m.) was cut with the toothed chisel, leaving a slightly raised smooth band about 0.08 m. to 0.10 m. wide toward the exposed faces. On the top of the stone this depression was cut after the blocks of the course were in place, as part of the *ἐπεργασία*, or dressing of the upper surface in preparation for the next course.³ The top and bottom of column drums were treated in the same way as wall blocks.

ANATHY-
ROSIS

The smooth contact band (*ἀναθήρωσις*) is three-sided on the ends of most wall blocks — if the very shallow depression at the top is not considered, — and is generally about 0.07 m. wide. The depressed centre on the ends varies between 0.01 m. and 0.003 m. in depth, with a probable average of about 0.005 m. In Roman work this centre is less well executed and not so deep, being little more than dressing with a bush hammer or a pointed chisel. On the column drums of the North Portico the anathyrosis has a width of 0.132 m., measured from the inside of the flute, and the cutting for the empolion is exactly in the centre of the very slight depression made by the toothed chisel. The details and variations in anathyrosis in different parts of the building are shown, where accurate determination was possible, on many of the plates and figures: for example, in the blocks of the wall on PLATE XXVIII and Figures 17 and 31; in tiles on PLATES XVII and XXIV;

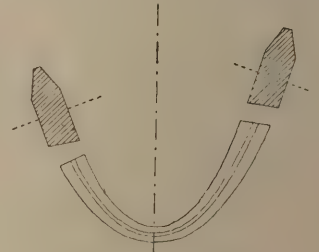


FIGURE 113. SHEATH OF AN EGG, CARVED AS A SEPARATE PIECE AND INSERTED:
 $\frac{1}{2}$ FULL SIZE

¹ In making the drawing the piece was removed, traced, and then slipped back into its original place; see p. 210.

² The very shallow depression in the upper band was to ensure perfect contact at the edges by removing all danger of the centre rising higher than the sides.

³ On the *ἐπεργασία* see Ch. IV, p. 344.

and in the entablature on the plates giving details of the East and West Façades, the North Portico, and the Porch of the Maidens.

Wherever there would be a tendency for a block to chip or crack at a visible joint by pressure from above or in the setting of the block itself, the danger is obviated by cutting back either the upper or the lower surface of the bed so as to relieve the pressure on the edge and throw it toward the centre of the block. This treatment is particularly important where the position of the blocks was fixed by an incised line, for in such cases the exposed vertical faces must have been completely finished at the bottom before the block was laid, and thus the risk of damage much increased. In Greek work this cutting, about 0.001 m. high, is carried back horizontally a varying distance; for example, for steps about 0.015 m. and at the bottom of the jambs of the windows in the east front about 0.04 m. (Fig. 27). In the Roman windows of the west end, at the bottom of the jambs, a slight bevel replaces the horizontal cutting (PLATE XIX).

RELIEF OF
PRESSURE

Pressure is relieved, for example, at the bottom of the stones of the frieze (PLATES XVI, XVIII, XXII, XXIII); on the outer edge of steps; at the bottom of the drapery of the Maidens; in both joints of the bases of the east columns and antae (PLATES XVI, XVIII), and on the tops of the capitals in order to protect the egg-and-dart moulding when the architrave was set; beneath the sills of the south and the north doors (Fig. 103); and at the bottoms of courses 18 (orthostates) and 19 in the south wall west of the east cross-wall. Numerous other examples may be found on PLATES XXIX and XXX. On the west face of the podium of the Porch of the Maidens, and to some extent elsewhere in the building, the edge is protected by leaving a slight projection (*Randbeschlag*) on the face of the stone, which was removed when the wall was given its final dressing.

In various parts of the Erechtheum lines are found scratched or incised on the blocks, either to guide the stonecutter, or to mark the position of the block above. Thus, on the main building the frieze was set to a scratch on the epistyle, and in the central intercolumniation of the West Façade, a scratch on the moulded base at right angles to the face of the wall indicated the position of the joint above in the Roman reconstruction (Fig. 41). Scratches respectively parallel to the east and north steps of the East Portico, and consequently at right angles to each other, mark the centre of the base of the north column of that Portico (PLATE XVIII, 2), and similar scratches the position of the lewis hole in its capital (Fig. 134). Incised circles appear on the tops of the bases of the second, third, fourth, and fifth columns from the south in the East Portico. The base of the southeast corner column is too badly weathered to show the scratch, if it ever existed. The circles are about 0.16 m. to 0.18 m. from the edge of the base, and about 0.12 m. within the edge of the drum above. Their purpose is uncertain, as they seem too far in to have helped in setting the drum, although they may possibly have been drawn to aid in cutting the base to an exact circle. More probably they indicate the extent of the tooling in the joint in order to secure a true bed toward the outside. Scratches to aid the cutting are also found on the Greek

SCRATCHED
LINES

column bases at the west end (Fig. 41); and on the under side of the shaft of a Roman column cross lines mark the centre (PLATE XIX, 3). In the south wall course 20 was set to a line on the top of the poros course below. In the North Portico the beams were set to lines on the epistyle, and in the Porch of the Maidens the plinths to lines on the podium. On the capital of the Maiden at the southeast corner the position of the pins which held the abacus, and on the head of the next Maiden toward the west the position of pins which aided in securing the capital were indicated by scratches, while on the southeast capital again radii were drawn to aid in spacing the egg-and-dart ornament. On the base of the southern column on the east side of the North Portico horizontal and vertical scratches fixed the centres of the eyes in the middle row of the guilloche; elsewhere in the guilloche the centres of the eyes were marked only by a dot.

MASONS'
MARKS

Masons' marks are not common on the Erechtheum and those that occur are almost without exception Roman. The only Greek marks noted were a small A and B on adjacent pieces (0.57 m. and 0.65 m. long) of egg-and-dart moulding inserted in the epistyle of the North Portico. Roman marks appear on cornice blocks from the sides of the main building (Fig. 114, A, B, C; the form of the letter on C is not perfectly certain), including two from the north side over the North Portico, as is indicated by their uncarved nosing (Fig. 114, D, E); on the epistyle block above the second intercolumniation from the south in the West Façade at the corner of the upper surface (Fig. 114, F); and on the frieze blocks of the same façade (PLATE XX, 10). A B appears on a cornice block of the North Portico re-used by the Romans (Fig. 60), and a Γ on a fragment of raking cornice also from the North Portico (Fig. 114, G) and re-used by the Romans. Both blocks are now (1926) near the northwest corner of the foundation of the peristyle of the Old Temple of Athena.

MITRING

Mouldings are generally carefully mitred at all angles, as is well shown by the bases of the pilasters on the inside of the west wall (PLATE XX, 11, 12), and also by the base of the east anta of the North Portico, where the mouldings are mitred on the east with the base mouldings of the north wall. At the junction of the east cornice of the North Portico with the wall of the main building, the epicranitis is so cut that the cornice fits into it. The epicranitis was here left uncarved, as the sima of the North Portico hid it from view (PLATE VII).

DRESSING
OF BEDS

In general the bed for each course is dressed to a uniform level, but there are some cases where exigencies of construction required a special cutting. Thus, in the foundations of the north wall course 23 was cut down on the outside to receive the marble pavement north of the Erechtheum, and course 22 on the inside for the middle step of the wall and its backer (Fig. 1). The poros foundation of the North Portico and the course of Kará stone under the south wall are slightly sunk to receive the marble steps which rest on them. Around the North Portico, also, the poros foundations are dressed in a straight line (Fig. 115), apparently either to form a neat euthynteria, or perhaps to receive a flagging which has now disappeared. On the south wall, behind the Porch of the Maidens, course 5 was clamped and

prepared in the ordinary way, and then cut down along the south side to receive the ceiling beams of the Porch, leaving, however, traces of one of the set of clamps cut away.¹ The two central cornice blocks of the East Portico show a somewhat irregular dressing down of the upper surface, probably because this was found to be the most convenient way to adjust the

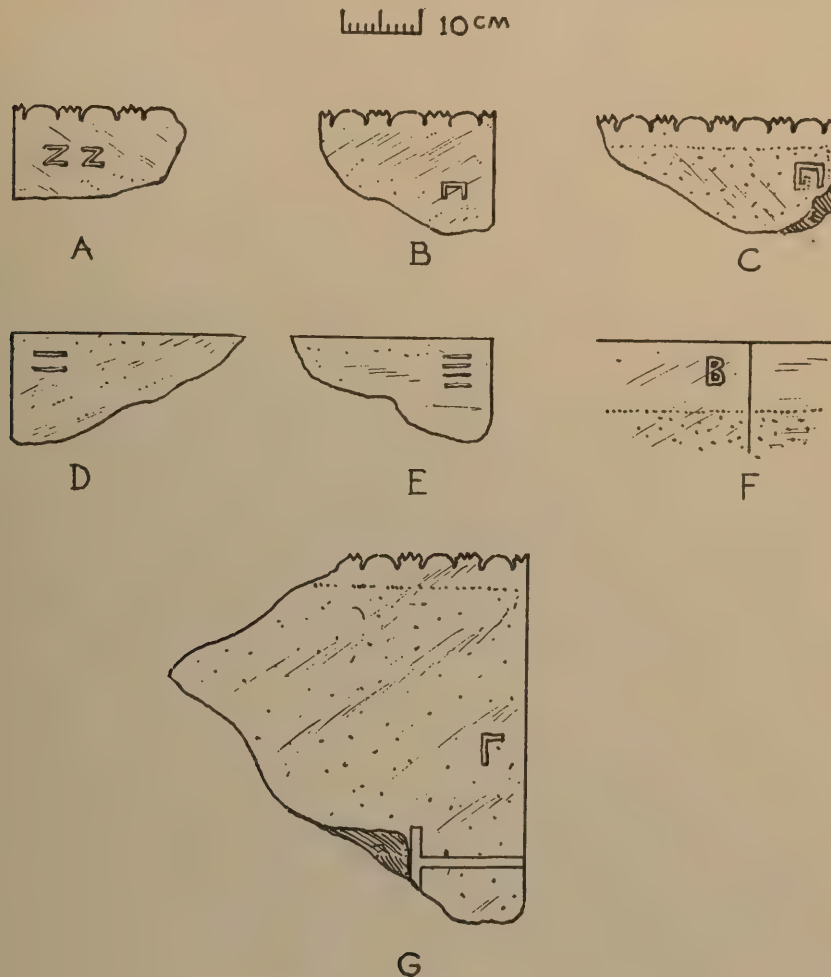


FIGURE 114. MASONS' MARKS

central block of the tympanum, which was the first stone laid, to its correct position and height (PLATE XXI, 2). Similarly in the western part of course 21 of the south wall a bed was cut in the poros blocks for the marble of course 20 (p. 12), and in the north wall block 4 in course 19 (Fig. 88) rests in a depressed bed prepared in course 20.

The weather lines which appear on various parts of the Erechtheum are sometimes useful in the reconstruction, as showing the limits of covering parts now lacking. Such lines are found, for example, on the horizontal cornice under both east and west pediments, and

WEATHER
LINES

¹ See Ch. I, p. 114, and PLATES XXVII, 9, XXVIII.

at the southeast angle a weather line aids in determining the width of the raking cornice where it rested on the horizontal cornice (PLATE XXI, 2). On the capital of the southwest anta two weather lines show the different positions of the west face of the epistyle in the original Greek construction and in the Roman restoration (Fig. 110). So also a weather line on the roof of the Porch of the Maidens shows the projection of a thin course in the south

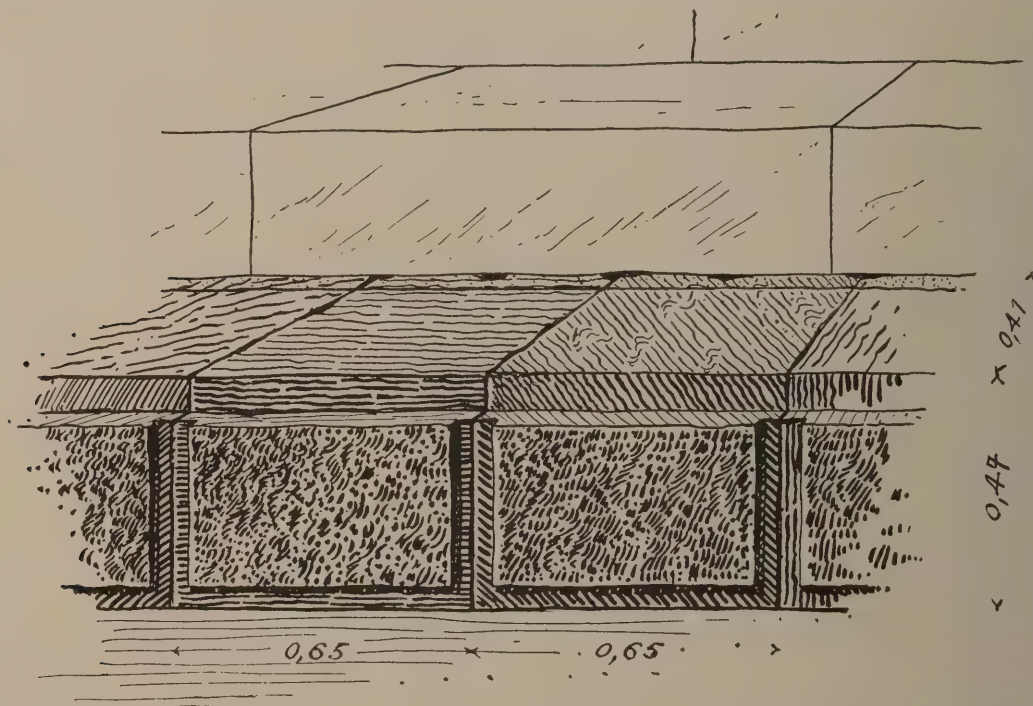


FIGURE 115. TYPICAL PORTION OF FOUNDATION ON WEST SIDE OF NORTH PORTICO

wall which rested on the roof (PLATE XXVII, 2) and of which only a fragment of the south edge has survived; and on the roof of the North Portico a line on the face of the block forming the west side of the opening gives with approximate accuracy the width of the missing block on the north side.¹

III. HOISTING, SETTING, AND SECURING STONES

The blocks of the Erechtheum contain numerous cuttings intended to aid in hoisting them into place, adjusting them properly, and finally securing them firmly in the desired position.

HOISTING STONES

Of the cuttings connected with the methods of hoisting, the most important are the *lewis holes*, which in Greek work are always undercut on one side, while in Roman they may be undercut either on one side, or, as in modern usage, on two, the latter being more

¹ For the weather line on the cornice of the North Portico, showing the early loss of the sima on the east and west sides, see Ch. I, p. 97; PLATE VIII, 4.

common.¹ In the Greek construction lewis holes are not found in the ordinary stones of the wall, but occur regularly in the capitals of columns and antae (Fig. 128), and sometimes in architrave and cornice blocks. In the Porch of the Maidens there is a lewis hole in the shaft of the west anta, as well as in the capital (PLATE XXVII, 7). In the capitals of the East Portico the cutting is placed with its long axis on one axis of the capital, but at the same time not directly over the centre, in order that the stone, when lowered into place, may first touch its bed on one point, and thus be more easily adjusted (PLATE XVI; Fig. 134). A similar arrangement was adopted in the stone to the east of the centre in the pediment of the North Portico, where the lewis is placed somewhat nearer the front of the stone than the point where a line drawn through the centre of gravity of the stone perpendicular to the base intersects the top. This stone was replaced by the Roman repairers and the present lewis hole is two-sided, but it may well be an enlargement of a Greek cutting (PLATE VIII, 4).²

In the Roman reconstruction of the West Façade the lewis was frequently used. Double undercut lewises are found in the ordinary blocks of the intercolumnar wall, in the drum of a column between the shaft and the capital, in the capitals, the architrave, and the horizontal cornice, where some seem to have been made in re-used Greek blocks. One-sided Roman cuttings appear also in the jambs, lintels, and sills of the west windows, in the angle block of the raking cornice (PLATE XX, 1), and in at least one Roman cornice block from the side of the main building. In the North Door the block with the console carved upon it and the upper stone of the lintel have each a hole for a two-sided lewis, the hole in the latter being 0.11 m. long on top, 0.035 m. wide, and 0.10 m. deep (PLATE XXV, 4, 5).

Cuttings in the ends of stones for *hoisting tongs* have been observed only in the coffers of the North Portico. On the block in London these cuttings are in the sides, as one end was exposed by the opening in the roof. They may be distinguished from shift holes in that they are deeper and placed lower on the face of the stone.

Besides the shift holes, which need not be, and frequently are not, in the centre of the stone, the edges of stones at the bottom are sometimes rounded in the centre, apparently for a hoisting rope or chain. Thus the east stone of the ceiling of the Porch of the Maidens shows both this rounding and a shift hole.

In addition to these cuttings for hoisting apparatus many of the marble blocks of the Erechtheum show remains of projecting *bosses*, which were perhaps intended to furnish a hold for lifting tongs to catch upon, or leverage for a crowbar. They seem in general too small and too irregular to serve as points of attachment for ropes.³

¹ Cf. Clarke, *Assos, 1882-1883*, I, pp. 126 ff., fig. 25; Fowler and Wheeler, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, pp. 100-101, figs. 53, 54.

² Two Greek lewis holes in the North Portico have the following dimensions: — In the capital of the southwest anta, length at top 0.165 m., at bottom 0.195 m., depth 0.12 m., width 0.02 m.; in the capital of the second column from the west, length at top 0.12 m., at bottom 0.14 m., depth 0.10 m., width 0.018 m.

³ Cf. Fowler and Wheeler, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, p. 100.

In the construction of the walls, work on each course seems to have begun at the antae, that is, the angle blocks were not the last stones laid, though in at least one case, course 7 of the south wall, the last stone laid was next to the southwest angle block (PLATE XII). It was therefore necessary to drop the last stone into its place by the help of *tongs*, or some similar appliance, for which special cuttings (Fig. 116) were made in the top of the stone.¹ In some cases the tong holes are no longer visible, but it is possible to determine the last stone laid by the absence of dowels at either end. Such stones (marked L S L) are still in their original places in courses 6 and 7 of the south wall (PLATE XII). In one case these holes are found on the top of a stone having also in the bottom a dowel cutting, which was evidently made in forgetfulness of the fact that the stone was to be the last of its course. In the plates of the interior of the temple, the last stone laid in each course has been marked L S L, when its position could be determined.

SETTING STONES

The stones of the Erechtheum also furnish many examples of cuttings intended to aid in setting accurately the individual blocks. These cuttings are of two kinds. The first is found on the upper surface of a course, and was used in prying the stones of the course above into place. The other is in the stone to be placed, for such shifting as may be necessary in the final adjustment.

The *pry holes*² are usually about 0.06 m. long by 0.02 m. wide by 0.015 m. deep, and are cut at right angles to the direction of movement of the block to be adjusted, the cutting tool being the pointed chisel. In connection with the dowel hole, which is generally found near them (Figs. 11, 31), they show the direction in which the course above was laid, and also the approximate position of its vertical joints. On the inside of the south wall in the top of the second orthostate west of the south door, and respectively about 1.38 m. and 1.47 m. from its west end (PLATE XII) are two Greek cuttings, 0.008 m. deep and now from 0.06 m. to 0.08 m. long. They resemble pry holes, but can hardly have served as such, for they are too far from a vertical joint in the course above, and too near (originally 0.05 m. at most) the face of the orthostate. Their purpose is still unexplained. Another curious problem, for which no satisfactory solution has been suggested, is furnished by the block east of the centre in the pediment of the North Portico (PLATE VIII, 4), where there are two dowel

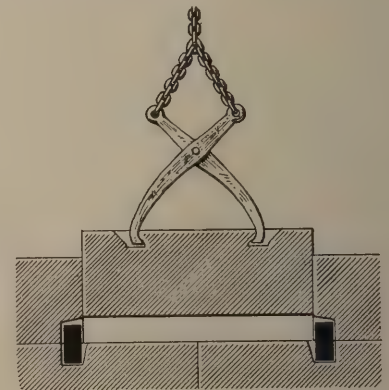


FIGURE 116. SECTION AND PLAN OF LAST BLOCK LAID IN COURSE, SHOWING USE OF TONGS FOR DROPPING BLOCK INTO PLACE AND ALSO DOWELS IN BLOCKS ALREADY LAID

¹ Similar cuttings for hoisting the last stone of a course are found in the Parthenon and in the Propylaea.

² Both pry-holes and shift-holes were recognized early in the nineteenth century by Haller von Hallerstein, as is proved by a careful drawing showing their use (MSS, Strasbourg, Box III, Vol. 8, p. 74). The explanation of pry-holes was first published by Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, VI, 1881, p. 385; see also J. T. Clarke, *Assos, 1882-1883*, I, p. 65, and fig. 7.

cuttings and six pry holes, all apparently connected with the setting of the raking cornice; it must be remembered, however, that this part of the building was repaired in Roman times.

Shift holes, which are intended for the insertion of the shifting bar, are of two kinds: — (1) cuttings in the bottom of the stone at the same end as the dowel; and (2) cuttings in the opposite end of the stone close to the top, with a cutting also in the adjoining block on the other side of the joint to give room to work the bar (Fig. 117). There may, therefore, be three shift holes in a stone, — two for itself and one for its neighbor. These cuttings

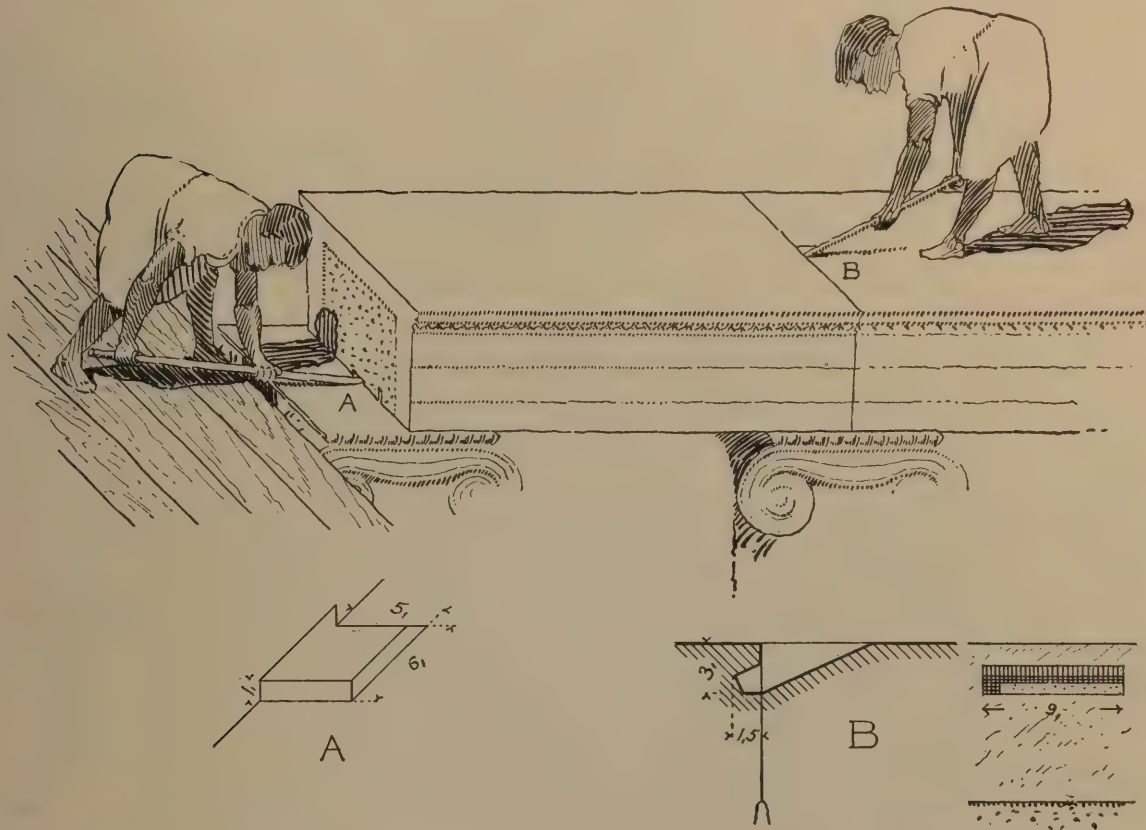


FIGURE 117. ARCHITRAVE OF EAST PORTICO, SHOWING USE OF SHIFT HOLES: ISOMETRIC. BELOW: DETAILS OF LOWER (A) AND UPPER (B) SHIFT HOLES

are not to be confused with tong holes, for they are found only at one end of a stone and, in the case of the second group, are too near the top to support the weight of the stone. In rare cases shift holes are found at the bottom of both ends of a block, while there is a dowel cutting at only one end. The simplest explanation seems to be that the hole at the other end from the dowel was cut by mistake.¹ The shift holes seem to have been used

¹ Shift holes were identified by Clarke at Assos in the bottoms of the blocks of the epistyle and in the coffered beams of the ceiling of the temple. On the other hand he considered the cuttings near the tops of the stones as intended for tongs and their release, a view which seems untenable for the reasons mentioned in the text; see *Assos, 1882-1883*, I, pp. 86, 92, 125, and 63; figs. 13, 6.

only for final adjustment, the one at A, Figure 117, for both lateral and forward movement, the one at B for lateral movement only. From what has been said it is clear that the cuttings at the top of a stone can be used to determine the direction in which a course was laid, when the dowels are hidden or lacking.

Shift holes are found in almost all ordinary wall blocks. They have also been noted in the following places: — At the East Portico, in the moulded base of the wall. In the West Façade, on the inside of the wall in the course below the orthostates; under the jambs of the Roman windows; in the architrave blocks used in the Roman reconstruction, which are thus shown to have been laid (in Greek times if the cuttings are Greek) from north to south. In the North Portico, in the south ends and on the bottoms of the beams (Fig. 32); in the horizontal cornice blocks under the pediment, where there are shift holes in the bottoms of the west ends; in a fragment of the raking cornice, probably from the west side of the pediment, at both ends; in the coffers of the ceiling. In the Porch of the Maidens, in the bottoms of the steps; in the blocks of the roof, which are so large and heavy that, in shifting the second block from the west, the bar at the northeast end somewhat crushed the stone below (PLATE XXVII, 10). In the east block the shift hole is cut a little above the bottom, in order to avoid the rabbet in the wall and give the crowbar free play.

SECURING STONES

A third class of cuttings in the stones of the Erechtheum is connected with the methods employed for securing them in place, stones in different courses being held together by *dowels*, those in the same course by *clamps*.

The ordinary Greek *dowel* of the Erechtheum is a plate of wrought iron measuring on the average 0.108 m. $\times$ 0.047 m. $\times$ 0.008 m. (Fig. 118 A), set in a cutting about 0.12 m. $\times$ 0.06 m. $\times$ 0.015 m. The upper half of the cutting is a slot in the end of the upper stone, the lower a slot in the stone of the bed (Figs. 116, 118 B). The dowel was somewhat smaller than its cutting, and in order that the dowel might fit snugly molten lead was run about it. Since, however, each dowel could be leaded as the stone was laid, there was no need of pour channels. As the dowels were intended to prevent lateral motion the slots were regularly parallel to the face of the course. Normally each wall block was secured by two dowels (PLATE XXVIII); only one case has been noted where a single dowel on the axis of the wall was used.¹

In certain parts of the building the cuttings for dowels are much smaller than the normal size. Thus in the "niche" at the southwest corner, the holes for the dowels which held the sheathing behind the roof of the Porch of the Maidens are 0.032 m. long, 0.012 m. wide, and 0.02 m. deep; and the cuttings for securing the lengths of inserted moulding are, in the epistyle of the East Portico, 0.04 m. long, 0.01 m. wide, and 0.02 m. deep; on the outside of the epistyle of the North Portico, 0.05 m. long, 0.01 m. wide, and 0.04 m. deep;² and on the inside of the epistyle of the Porch of the Maidens 0.035 m. long, 0.012 m.

¹ The position of this block in the reconstructed walls is not known. When examined, it was on the ground.

² A dowel from the inside of the epistyle is 0.045 m. long, 0.004 m. wide and 0.033 m. high.

wide, and 0.045 m. deep. In all these cases the depth is, of course, only one-half that of the complete cutting when both upper and lower stones were in place.

The exigencies of construction sometimes prevented the ordinary methods of leading and made necessary a *pour channel*. On the south anta of the West Façade, in the first and third courses, ordinary dowels were leaded by sloping pour channels from the north face



FIGURE 118. ORDINARY GREEK DOWEL. (A) ISOMETRIC DRAWING. (B) DOWEL IN PLACE

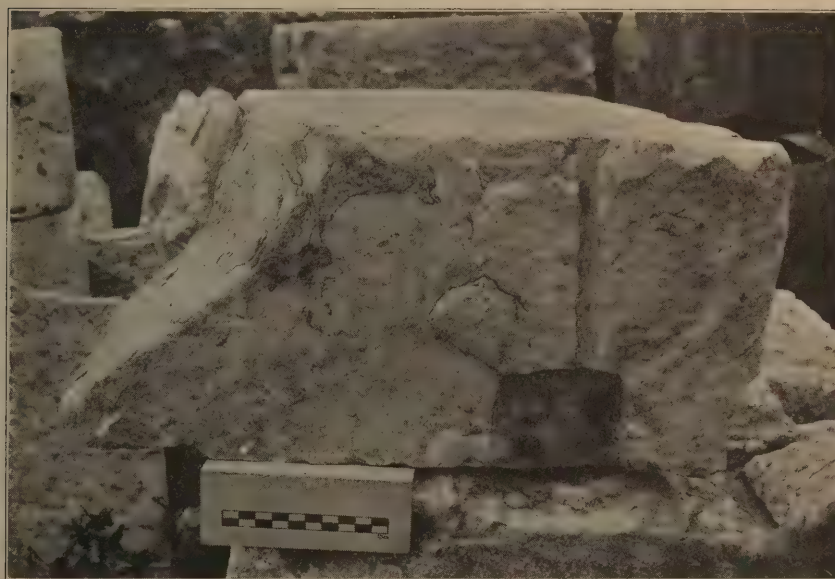


FIGURE 119. BLOCK WITH CUTTING FOR DOWEL AND VERTICAL POUR CHANNEL:
FROM CROWNING MOULDING OF PODIUM, PORCH OF THE MAIDENS

(PLATE XX, 3 at A, 16). In the Porch of the Maidens the upper moulding of the podium was secured in two instances by ordinary dowels leaded through vertical pour channels from the top of the stone (PLATE XXVII, 6; Fig. 119). This is a natural method of procedure in the case of the last stones laid or of angle stones. In the same course, at the west end of the south podium, is found what may perhaps be called a "horizontal dowel," leaded also from above (PLATE XXVII, 5). The function of such a dowel is to keep the tops of the

two adjacent stones in line with each other, and the precaution was necessary here to prevent the weight of the southwest Maiden from causing an irregularity in the upper course of the podium. For securing the figures of the frieze to the Eleusinian stone notched dowels of a peculiar shape (Fig. 120) were used.

At points where there was a possibility of movement in two directions, as for example at the corners of the buildings, a **T-dowel** was employed (Figs. 121, 128).¹ Such dowels are found at the angles of the stylobate and steps of the East Portico, and in the steps of the North Portico and of the Porch of the Maidens (PLATES XVI, XXII, XXVIII). At the northeast corner of the East Portico a dowel in the stylobate was set a little back from the south edge of the middle step, in order to avoid a joint in the poros foundation. It was leaded through a slot at the end of the block before the stone to the south was laid (Fig. 122).² At the south end of the east wall the block ranging with the stylobate was secured to the poros block below, in course 15. by a large **T-dowel** (PLATE II). No such dowel can be seen at the corresponding point in the north end of this course, but about 0.25 m. nearer the corner is an ordinary dowel, running north and south. In both antae of the east end **T-dowels** have been found wherever an examination was possible (Figs. 17, 21, 22). Those in the stylobate and the base moulding were larger than those used in the orthostates and the courses above.³ Traces in the top of the frieze (PLATE XXI, 2; Fig. 12) show that the cornice block at the southeast corner was secured both on the north and west by **T-dowels** in cuttings 0.11 m. and 0.10 m. long in the arms, 0.015 m. wide, and 0.06 m. deep. In the pediment of the North Portico cuttings at the east end show that **T-dowels**, leaded from the rear apparently, secured the tympanum, its backing, and the raking cornice to the horizontal cornice, and a similar dowel held a block of the raking cornice to the tympanum stone east of the centre (PLATE VIII, 4). At the southwest angle of the portico the **T-dowel** which secured the epistyle to the epicranitis was removed in 1904 and found to be 0.063 m. and 0.081 m. long in the arms, 0.01 m. wide, and 0.09 m. deep (Fig. 121). The jambs of the North Door are also held at the bottom by **T-dowels**, set in cuttings 0.155 m. and 0.175 m. long in the arms, 0.025 m. wide, and 0.11 m. deep below the joint and 0.09 m. above (PLATE XXV, 6, 7). In the Porch of the Maidens the western roof stone is held at both north and south ends by **T-dowels** (PLATE XXVII, 9, 10). On the east side of the south door the long

¹ See Fowler and Wheeler, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, p. 105, fig. 61, and G. P. Stevens, *A. J. A.*, X, 1906, p. 51, where this type of dowel is correctly described for the first time. Inwood (*ed. min.*, p. 6, and pl. XIV) observed this unusual type of dowel at the southeast corner of the main building, but erroneously described it as a cross (+).

² This dowel is now hidden. Another **T-dowel** in the same block is visible in the fracture at the southeast corner (PLATE II). It is now packed in cement.

³ An easily seen example is the cutting for the dowel joining the stylobate to the moulded base at the southeast corner of the East Portico, which is 0.15 m. and 0.21 m. long in the arms, and 0.025 m. wide (width of the metal 0.02 m.); the depth is unknown, as the metal is still in place. In PLATE XVI the cutting is represented as extending 0.08 m. both above and below the joint, on the evidence of similar cuttings elsewhere in the building. The cutting in the top of the moulding is 0.16 m. and 0.16 m. long in the arms, 0.02 m. wide, and 0.066 m. deep; the latter being one-half the height of the dowel.

block in course 14 was secured both above and below by **T**-dowels; and in course 12, at the east end of the block which abuts on the lintel, an unused cutting for a **T**-dowel is visible on the inside of the wall (PLATE XII). In the block from the pavement of the Prostomiaion (Fig. 104) two ordinary dowels at right angles serve the same purpose as a **T**-dowel.

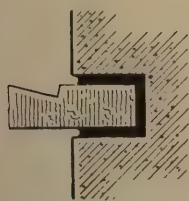
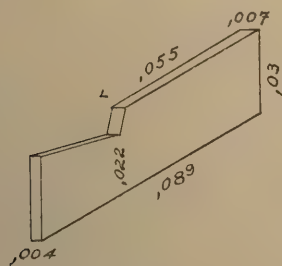


FIGURE 120. DOWEL FOR SECURING FIGURES OF FRIEZE, FROM EAST PORTICO

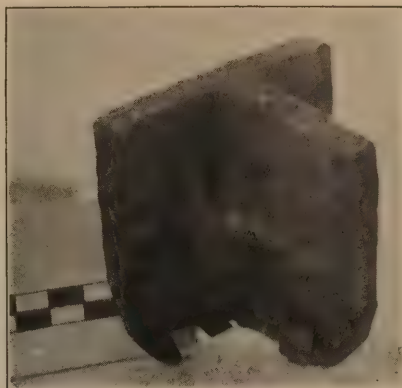


FIGURE 121. A **T**-DOWEL

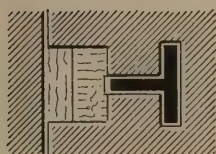
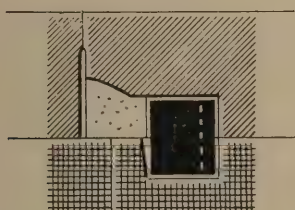
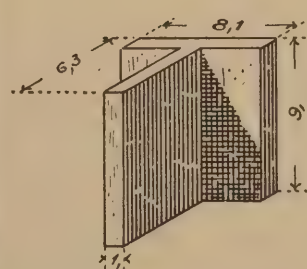


FIGURE 122. PLAN AND SECTION OF **T**-DOWEL IN STYLOBATE AT NORTH CORNER OF EAST PORTICO, NOW COVERED

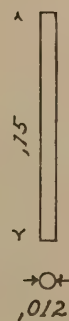


FIGURE 123. PIN-DOWEL FROM CAPITAL, PORCH OF THE MAIDENS

In the Porch of the Maidens wrought iron *pins* were used in some cases where the construction excluded the ordinary forms of dowel.¹ Thus round pins (Fig. 123) secure the plinths on which the Maidens stand to the podium (PLATE XXVI, left; XXVIII), one group of capitals (p. 112) to their abaci (PLATES XXVI, XXVIII), and the thin slabs at the north-

¹ The use of bronze and iron pins for attaching inserted pieces and repairs is discussed below, p. 214.

west corner to the roof (p. 114). Small square pins bind a foot of the northwest Maiden to its plinth (PLATE XXVII, 8). All these pins are set in cement.¹

Rectangular cuttings for the usual wooden *empolia* are found, as was to be expected, in the drums of the columns of the Erechtheum. They also appear in the stylobate under the northeast corner column of the East Portico (PLATES II, XVIII, 2), in the bases of the half-columns at the west (PLATE XIX; Fig. 41), in the top of the plinths beneath the feet of the Maidens, and in the capital of the northeast Maiden, now placed on the statue west of the southeast corner (PLATE XXVI, 5), though not in the other four capitals which are preserved (PLATES XXVI, 3, XXVII, 8, XXVIII).² The wooden *empolia* from the columns of the North Portico (Figs. 124, 125) are of cedar with sides carefully smoothed.³ The *polos* which fitted in the hole was cut from the centre of a small tree or branch, since the pith is in the centre of the *polos*. When the capital of the southern column of the East Façade was readjusted in 1907, the upper part of the empolion was found well-preserved in the capital (Fig. 126), though the lower part and the pin had decayed away. The marks in the interior show plainly the method employed in cutting the central hole. Four holes were bored with an augur similar to those used to-day, and the hole was then shaped by a gouge, pushed straight down and leaving traces on both the bottom and sides. It would seem that the carpenter did not have an augur sufficiently large to make the hole by a single boring.

In the Roman repairs on the Erechtheum a different form of dowel was used, consisting of a square pin of iron set a little distance from the edge of the block and leaded by a pour channel, usually cut in the surface of the bed.⁴ Indeed the presence of these dowel cuttings is a good criterion of the parts affected by the repairs, indicating both what was entirely new, and what was re-used, since in the latter case both forms of dowel hole are found. The repairers, however, used the old type of dowel in the top of the frieze at the west end (PLATE XX, 10), perhaps to correspond with Greek cuttings in the cornice blocks, although it should be added that the cornice of the repairers often shows the use of dowels of the later type.

The Greek *clamps* used in the Erechtheum are all of wrought iron. Those that secure adjoining blocks of the same course are of the double-T type (H) common in Athens in the fifth century B.C. (Figs. 127, 128). In the walls there are usually two at each end of a block, but in one case, where there was a single dowel below (p. 192), a single clamp on the axis of the block was used above.

The ordinary cutting is about 0.10 m. wide at the crossbar, 0.015 m. thick, 0.045 m. deep, and 0.31 m. long over all, or 0.155 m. in each stone; the clamp itself is of course

¹ For an analysis of this cement, see Note A at the end of this chapter.

² *Empolia* in these four capitals, which have a thin abacus (p. 112), would have weakened the abacus too much, and might also have interfered with the dowelling of the architrave, as the depth of a dowel cutting from above plus the depth of an empolion cutting from below would be greater than the thickness of the abacus.

³ For the results of an examination of the fragments of the wood, see Note B at the end of this chapter.

⁴ The free end of the channel indicates closely the position of a vertical joint in the course above.



FIGURE 124. EMPOLION IN COLUMN OF NORTH PORTICO

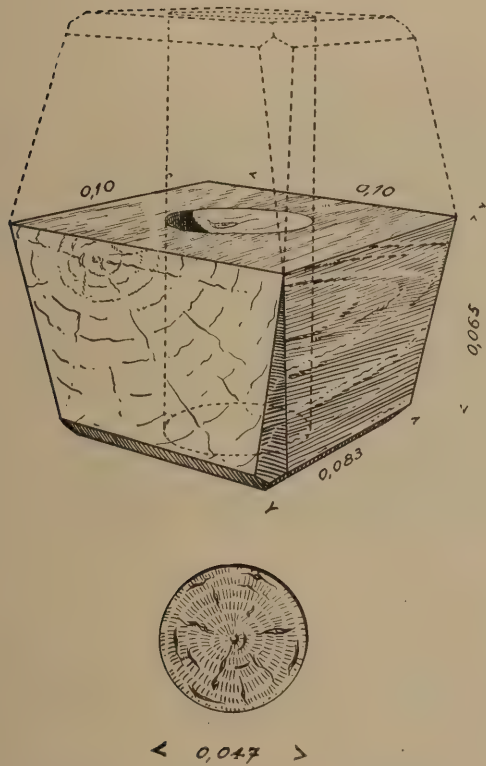


FIGURE 125. EMPOLION FROM SOUTHWEST COLUMN OF NORTH PORTICO

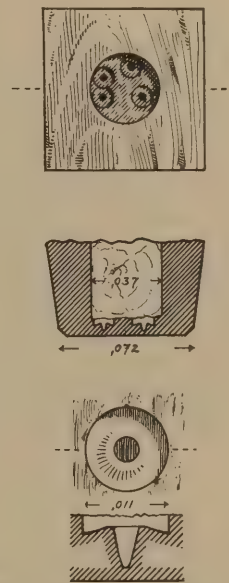


FIGURE 126. ABOVE: PLAN AND SECTION OF UPPER PART OF EMPOLION FROM BED OF SOUTH CAPITAL OF EAST PORTICO. BELOW: PLAN AND SECTION OF AUGUR HOLE IN THIS EMPOLION

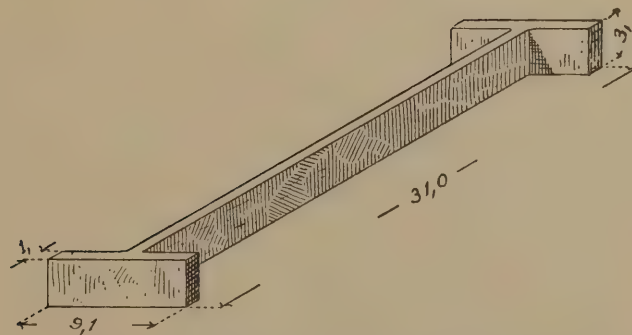


FIGURE 127. ORDINARY GREEK CLAMP: ISOMETRIC

somewhat smaller. There are, however, some instances of very much larger clamps. Thus in the Porch of the Maidens the cuttings for those joining the stones in the podium and in the roof are from 0.36 m. to 0.40 m. long; the architrave in the North Portico over the small door contains one cutting 0.21 m. long, 0.16 m. wide at the crossbar, and 0.172 m. deep, and another 0.23 m. long, 0.14 m. wide at the crossbar, and 0.072 m. deep; and in the marble pavement at the foot of the north wall (PLATE I) the westernmost preserved slab is held at its southwest corner to the poros foundation of the north wall ¹ by a clamp running east and west, the visible arm of which, in the poros block, is 0.29 m. long; its extension into the marble block is covered. On the other hand much smaller clamps are used to hold the strips



FIGURE 128. NORTH PORTICO: TOP OF PIER AT SOUTHWEST CORNER, SHOWING A T-DOWEL AND CUTTINGS FOR CLAMPS AND A LEWIS

of inserted moulding; those in the East Portico being 0.11 m. long, 0.05 m. wide at the crossbar, 0.01 m. thick, and 0.015 m. deep (PLATE XVII); in the North Portico 0.13 m. long, 0.07 m. wide, 0.013 m. thick, and 0.035 m. deep (Fig. 138); and in the Porch of the Maidens 0.115 m. long, 0.065 m. wide, 0.007 m. thick, and 0.02 m. deep (PLATE XXVI, 1, 2, 4).² The traces of clamps, which are at times visible on the bottoms of stones from the course above (Fig. 60), are often helpful in replacing these blocks correctly.

In addition to the normal type special varieties of clamps are also found. As already noted in the preceding chapter, two forms are used to secure the jambs of the North Door to the wall (Fig. 64), and in the doorway leading from the Porch of the Maidens straight clamps, as shown by the cuttings, held the threshold and probably the block below to the orthostate on the east. In the North Portico, between the beams and interbeams and also between the beams and coffers, straight bars of iron were dropped into slots to

¹ The missing slab of the pavement, west of the preserved block, did not extend as far south as its neighbor, so that the poros foundation of the wall here projects about 0.14 m. north of the southwest corner of the marble slab.

² The clamps used in the remains of earlier constructions in the Pandroseum (p. 125) have somewhat different dimensions from those found in the Erechtheum, being 0.25 m. long, 0.075 m. wide at the crossbar, and 0.05 m. deep.

perform half the function of clamps by preventing lateral movement (PLATE VIII, 4; Fig. 56). Another special form, having at one end only half of the crossbar, is visible on the

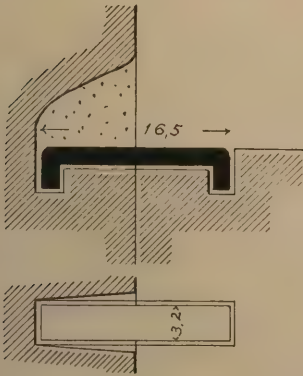


FIGURE 129. ROMAN HOOK-CLAMP USED TO SECURE ENGAGED COLUMNS OF WEST FAÇADE TO BLOCKS OF INTER-COLUMNAR WALL

inside of the south wall at the east end, where it connects the fourth block from the southeast angle, in course 13, with the centre of the orthostate (PLATE XII; Fig. 31). The same form was probably used throughout this course and in other similar places. In the Greek construction clamps do not seem to be used to strengthen a defective stone, as they sometimes are in the Propylaea, though apparently never in the Parthenon; but on the Roman architrave of the West Façade, over the second intercolumniation from the south, a defective corner was attached both by pins and  clamps (Fig. 48).

In the Roman repairs the wrought iron hook clamp () is regularly used, and the appearance of this type is good evidence of later work. This clamp was even used to secure the stone beneath the sill of the western windows to the engaged columns, although it was necessary to cut a notch in the column to receive it (Fig. 129). A special form, hooked at only one end (PLATE XX, 13), was used at the top of the jambs of these windows.

Molten lead was run about both Greek and Roman clamps, as well as dowels, and in certain cases packed, that there might be no play in the joint.

IV. FINISHING OPERATIONS

In accordance with the common Greek practice the visible surfaces of the ordinary blocks used in the Erechtheum were not given their final dressing until the wall of which they formed a part, or a definite section thereof, was otherwise completed. This is clear from the report of the commissioners of 409 B.C., where the south wall is said to be unsmoothed (*ἀκατάξεστος*) except within the Porch of the Maidens.¹ Apart from this statement, however, the building itself furnishes ample evidence of the condition of the stones when laid, since in many cases the finishing operations were not carried out. Such unfinished surfaces are usually found in those parts which were concealed from view, and their evidential value in the reconstruction has been frequently indicated; as, for example, the testimony borne by the condition of the south end of the west wall to the presence of an abutting structure, probably the Cecropium (p. 130). In the interior of the building east of the eastern cross-wall (PLATE XII; Fig. 30) most of the marble blocks in the south wall below course 13 have projecting bosses, and several have a drafted edge, such as was often cut on stones to show the plane of the finished surface. In the same portion of the north wall

¹ See Ch. IV, Inscription II, col. i, ll. 56-59, and Commentary, p. 309.

(PLATE XI) are also stones with bosses, while three orthostates and four blocks in the wall show a carefully drafted edge. In both walls these stones were, of course, below the level of the floor in the East Cella (p. 150).

UNFIN-
ISHED
SURFACES

Unfinished surfaces, however, are by no means confined to the concealed parts of the Erechtheum. Bosses, or their traces, have been left in the North Portico on the upper part of the left jamb of the large door (PLATES XXV, XXXV, 3) and on the base of the wall close to the east anta (PLATE VII; Fig. 67); on the south anta of the West Façade in course 5 of the west face (PLATE IV), courses 2, 3, and 9 of the north face (PLATE XII), and course 4 of the east face (PLATE X); and in the interior in courses 9 and 10 of the south wall (PLATE XII) and courses 10 and 14 of the north (PLATE XI). It is probable that some of these bosses were originally hidden, but have been exposed by the injuries to the temple.

Other evidence that the last touches were never given is furnished by the presence of small bevelled, or V, joints, designed to protect the edge from splintering¹ and to be removed in the final dressing. These joints are visible in the interior in both north and south walls, and their testimony as to the unfinished condition of these walls is confirmed by the presence at various points of drafted bands to show the position of the dressed surface.² Such a band appears in the north wall east of the jamb of the great door (PLATE XI), and perhaps in the south wall near the centre of the stone east of the lintel of the door from the Porch of the Maidens (PLATE XII). Other indications of this kind have been noted in the discussion of the interior cross walls (p. 152).

In the niche, courses 6 and 7 show marks of the toothed chisel and have been left in much the condition of the central part of a bed after the *ἐπεργασία*. A bit of original surface has also been left at the south end of the middle and lowest steps on the west of the North Portico, at the point where the drain from the Pandroseum had its exit (PLATES IV, VIII, 2; Fig. 73); and on the north side of the building the upper surface of the marble pavement below the lowest step has remained unfinished except for a band next the step.

Apart from these cases where the work was not completed, there are others where neglect to allow for the final dressing made it necessary to leave part of the original surface in order to secure a close joint with an abutting stone. Two such cases in the North Portico have already been noted (pp. 86, 70), — at the junction of the east architrave with the adjacent wall (Fig. 54), and of the raking cornice with the architrave of the West Façade (PLATE XX, 7).³

In the Roman west wall the stone now placed north of the capital of the second column from the north shows the profile of a capital which here abutted in the original position of the stone and prevented working down the surface to the general level.

¹ Fowler and Wheeler, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, p. 103.

² The drafted band on the steps and podium at the east end of the north wall is not of this character and was probably intended to remain as decoration. Cf. p. 16, note 4.

³ For similar neglect at the junction of the cross-walls with the inner orthostates see pp. 148, 152.

The mouldings of the Erechtheum seem to have been treated in a manner similar to the blocks of the wall. The profiles were cut on the ground and the ornamental carving finished after the stones were in place, except, of course, in those cases where the position of the stone precluded further cutting after it was laid. The slight variations which may be seen in the epicranitis of the North Portico are probably to be attributed to the employment of different workmen, and, therefore, do not indicate when or where the final carving was done. The occasional presence of reinforcements in "darts" and "tongues," where these ornaments are divided by a joint, suggests that these delicate mouldings were strengthened even before the details were carved, to avoid the danger that they would break when the next stone was laid. The reinforcements were of course to be cut away in the final operations, but a reinforced tongue has been left in the bed-moulding of the south block of the cornice at the joint near the southeast corner of the North Portico.

CARVING OF
MOULDINGS

The ornamental carving was not everywhere brought to completion, for the following cases of unfinished mouldings have been noted.

UNCARVED
MOULDINGS

In the *East Portico* the lower torus of the south anta is not completely reeded, except on the under side, which, of course, had to be carved before the stone was laid (Fig. 18). On the piece from the bottom of a jamb of the south window, the small astragalus has been left uncut for 0.018 m. On each of the angle capitals one inside volute was uncarved; the other was worked on a separate piece and has been destroyed (Figs. 133, 134, 136).

In the *West Façade*, on both antae, in the southern intercolumniation, and on the southern column, the upper torus of the base moulding has not been reeded. Below the capital of the south anta the anthemion on the north face is not even indicated, and a portion of a palmette on the west face is uncut.¹ At the southwest corner, both of the anta and of the building, the usual little floral ornament on both the egg-and-dart and leaf-and-tongue has been omitted (PLATE XX, 3).

In the *North Portico*, on the west side of the base of the east anta, the lower torus is finished only on the under surface, and the guilloche on the upper torus is cut at the angle with the wall for a mitre, apparently on the supposition that the moulding was to be continued along the base of the wall within the portico (p. 109). A boss on the wall near by shows that something — probably the altar of the Thyechoüs — concealed these defects or prevented their removal. At the junction of the east side of the portico with the north wall, the egg-and-dart ornament at the top of the cornice is uncut for 0.045 m., and the mouldings of the epicranitis hidden by the cornice are only profiled, the ornamental carving being omitted (PLATE VII). On the pier at the southwest corner a palmette and its adjacent tendrils in the epicranitis are merely blocked out on the south side, while on the east they are not even indicated (Fig. 130); on this side also the carving on the bed-moulding is left unfinished. In the interior of the portico the bottom leaf on the west jamb of the great door

¹ There was never any carved ornament on the east face of the anta, although the mouldings may have been painted (p. 175).

is uncut; on the architrave the bead-and-reel is uncarved for 0.10 m. at the southeast corner, and both egg-and-dart and bead-and-reel for 0.05 m. at the west end of the south wall, and also in the northeast corner on the north block.

In the *Porch of the Maidens* the coping of the podium is profiled but uncarved in the interior of the porch (Fig. 70), and also on the south side of the opening. On the west side of the exterior the northern block is profiled throughout its entire length and the abutting block from the wall of the Cecropium (Fig. 83) is cut to fit this profile (Fig. 82 at B). The



FIGURE 130. NORTH PORTICO: CAPITAL OF PIER AT SOUTHWEST CORNER, SOUTH AND EAST FACES, SHOWING UNFINISHED ANTHEMION

fully carved mouldings of the southern block cease at the junction with the wall, where the surface is cut back obliquely and given a dressing very similar to an anathyrosis; there is a corresponding oblique cutting in the abutting block (Fig. 82 at A). At the exterior southwest corner of the porch the mouldings of the tori of the podium were apparently carved only on the under side.¹ The base moulding in the interior, as far as it is preserved, is uncarved, except for a fragment at the north corner of the southern block on the west side

¹ On the upper torus two flutes are carved; on the lower torus one reed and the channel on each side of it. On the south side of the corner both mouldings are broken away; on the west side the mouldings are badly damaged, but the unfinished condition of the carving can be detected. Since on the inside of the western block the small bit of moulding which has remained undamaged is fluted (Fig. 70), it is possible that it was originally intended to place the present inner face on the outside, unless, indeed, the plan of carving the inner mouldings was abandoned after this block was set.

(Fig. 70). On the east side of the east anta the torus is fluted only underneath, although it is completely carved on the adjacent wall. At the northwest and northeast corners of the entablature the dentils have not been completely finished. At the northwest corner the space north of the last dentil has been cut back only to about one-half the usual depth (Fig. 81); at the northeast corner no space at all has been cut, thus leaving a dentil of nearly double the normal width. The discs on the architrave are left plain, although they were to have been carved into rosettes.¹ On the cornice at the northwest corner both the bed-moulding and the crowning moulding are left uncarved for a short distance above the last dentil (Fig. 81). At the northeast corner both the astragalus and the leaf-and-tongue are uncarved for about half the width of the broad dentil; the crowning moulding is missing.

The floral ornament (*ἀνθέμιον*), which plays so important a part in the decoration of the Erechtheum, while preserving a general uniformity in the alternation of a palmette and a conventionalized flower, yet displays considerable variety in the details, especially in the form given to the flower, and in the character and number of the tendrils which serve to connect the principal members or to fill the spaces between them. The nine forms which may thus be distinguished are most conveniently grouped according to their position on the building. As all are shown fully in the illustrations a detailed description seems superfluous.

VARIETIES
OF ANTHE-
MION

1. The epicranitis on the north, east, south, and west walls of the main building (PLATES XVIII, XX, 3, XXXVII, 1), and on the bit of wall between the projecting faces on the west side of the pier at the southwest corner of the North Portico (PLATE XXIII). This form was also used on both the south and the west faces of the Roman capital of the northwest anta of the main building (PLATE XX, 2, 8).
2. The east face of both east antae and the west face of the southwest anta (PLATES XVIII, XX, 3, XXXVI, 3).
- 2, *a*. The band below the capitals of the east columns is the same in pattern, but smaller (PLATES XVI, XXXVI, 2; Fig. 10).
3. The north face of the east anta of the North Portico, and the north and south faces of the pier at the southwest corner (PLATE XXIII; Figs. 130, 131, 132).
4. The epicranitis on the wall in the North Portico, with slight variations in the different blocks (PLATES XXIII, XXXVII, 2); the band on the projecting faces on the west side of the pier at the southwest corner and on its east face within the portico (PLATE XXIII); and the east and west faces of the east anta of the North Portico (PLATE XXIII; Fig. 131).
- 4, *a*. The band below the capitals of the columns of the North Portico is the same in pattern but not so high as that of the epicranitis (PLATES XXII, XXIII, XXXVI, 4, 6).

¹ Cf. Ch. IV, Inscription II, col. I, l. 90, and Commentary, p. 314.

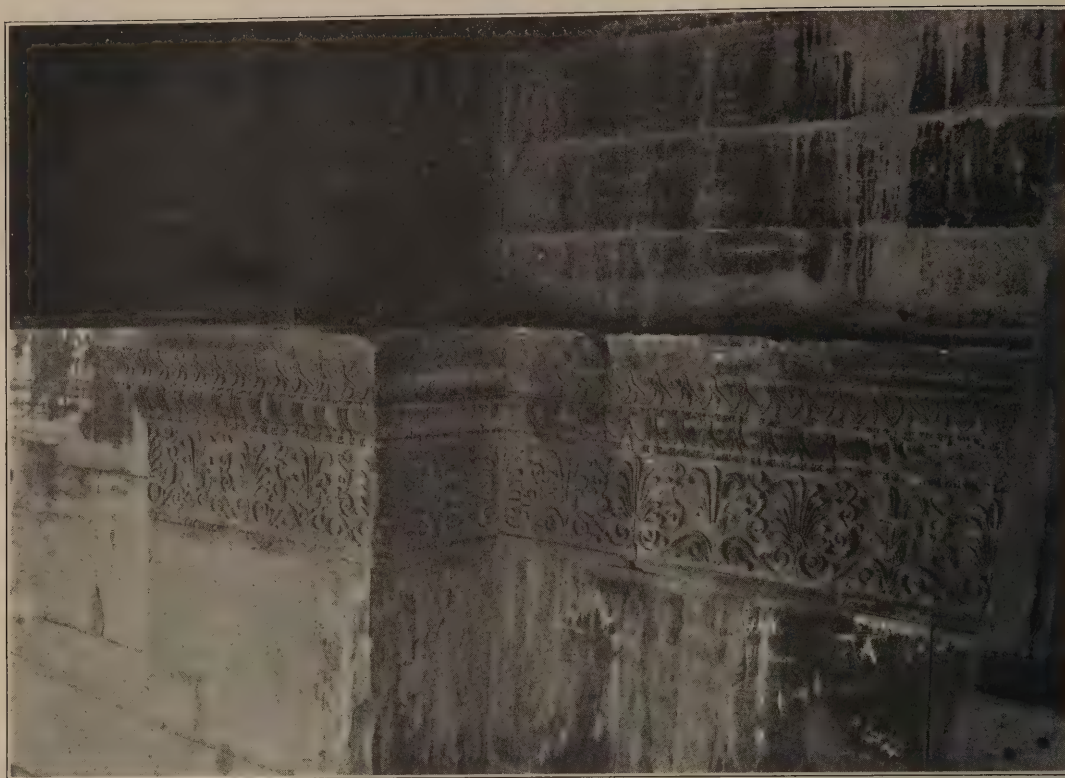


FIGURE 131. NORTH PORTICO: CAPITAL OF EAST ANTA AND ADJOINING EPICRANITIS, FROM NORTHWEST

5. The south face of the south anta and the north face of the north anta of the East Portico (PLATES XVIII, XXIX, 2, XXXVI, 5).
6. The capitals of the antae of the Porch of the Maidens (PLATES XXVI, XXXVI, 1).
7. The band (Roman) below the capital on the second column from the north on the West Façade (PLATE XIX).
8. The band (Roman) on the third column from the north on the West Façade (PLATE XX, 5, 6).¹
9. The palmette decoration on the cyma of the lintel of the North Door (PLATE XXV), which, although Roman, is very probably a poor copy of the Greek original (p. 102).

It will be observed that the simplest form is employed on the epicranitis; somewhat greater richness is given to the anthemion on the antae and the columns of the main building, chiefly by means of an astragalus below; while the North Portico, where vertical tendrils are added, displays in this, as in other respects, the most elaborate decoration. The variations, however, are not wholly due to the prominence of the position on the building. Considerations of space also influenced the carver. A palmette is placed at every corner with

¹ The uncarved band on the first column from the north is modern; the band on the fourth is damaged beyond recognition.

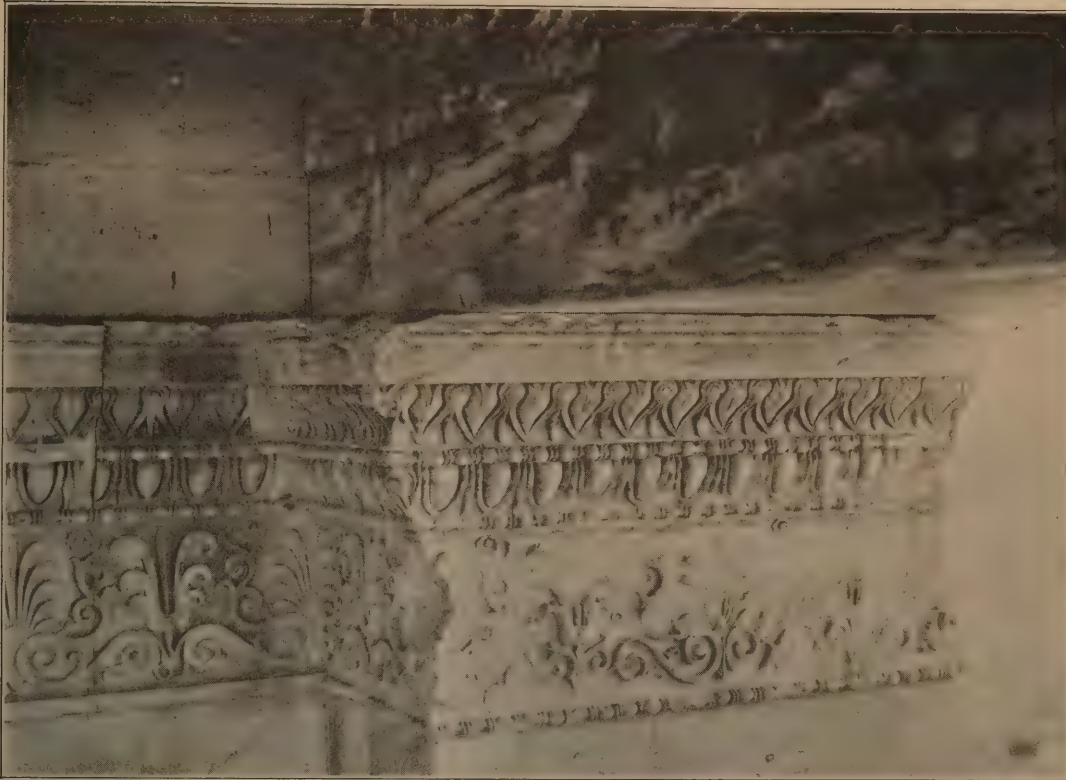


FIGURE 132. NORTH PORTICO: CAPITAL OF WEST ANTA, NORTH AND EAST FACES, FROM NORTHEAST

its axis on the angle (PLATE XXXVI, 3, 5), and in the epicranitis of the main building the ornament is so spaced that the vertical joint between the blocks coincides with the axis of a palmette. On the wall of the North Portico the joints fall alternately on the axis of a palmette and of a flower (PLATE XXXVII, 2), except the one next to the west pier, which cuts through a tendril (PLATE VII; Fig. 132); this block, however, is 1.415 m. long, while the others are about 1.32 m.

So also the difference in width of the faces of the *antae* has influenced the form given to the decoration. Thus in the anta and pier of the North Portico, the north face has a palmette at each corner and one on the axis; the side faces have palmettes only at the corners (Fig. 131). As, however, the distance from axis to axis of the palmettes is greater on the principal face than on the sides (PLATE XXIII), there are two tendrils, one large and one small, between each palmette and the flower next it, while on the sides, as on the wall of the portico, there is only one large tendril, and on the bit of wall on the west side of the west pier there are no tendrils.

An examination of the anthemion on the wall of the North Portico, which has never been displaced, shows that it varies slightly in details on the different blocks, though consistent within each block. This may imply that the blocks were cut by different workmen. At

the same time the exact correspondence of the ornamentation on adjacent blocks at the vertical joints, even where the joint cut the pattern irregularly, as was the case next to the west pier, shows that the work was not finished on the ground but after the blocks were in place.

A further distinction between the anthemion upon the walls and that on the antae and columns is in the plane of the relief. On the antae and columns the anthemion projects beyond the face below, from which it is separated by an astragalus, or, as on the columns of the North Portico, by a projecting flat band. On the other hand, on the wall the astragalus is omitted and the background of the relief sunk, so that the greatest projection of the anthemion is in the plane of the surface of the wall.

The care in concealing joints, which appears in the epicranitis, is found also in other parts of the building. Thus in the coffers of the North Portico and of the Porch of the Maidens, a bead-and-reel ornament is found next to the joint, which makes the joint much less conspicuous from below (PLATES XXIII, XXVI). The general treatment of the egg-and-dart and leaf-and-tongue mouldings at the angles is shown in PLATE XXII, A and D: these motives are slightly varied throughout the building and skilfully adapted to unusual positions (PLATES XXIII, B, C, XXXVI, 1, 3, 5, XXXVII, 8; Figs. 130, 131, 132).

FLUTING OF
COLUMNS

The inscriptions show that in the Erechtheum, as in other Greek buildings, the flutes in the columns were cut after the drums were in place.¹ This practice was, in all probability, also followed by the repairers, for the Roman columns at the west end are unfluted at the points where they are covered by the sills of the windows (p. 67). In general the flutes are deeper at the base than at the top. In the east and west columns the fillet between the flutes has the same width throughout (PLATES XVI, XIX), but in the North Portico it is slightly broader at the bottom (PLATE XXII).

In 1908, during the reconstruction of the Porch of the Maidens, the plinth of the rear Maiden on the west side was exposed, and was found to show the outline of the sandal of the left foot of the statue, plainly traced by the marks of the chisel with which the sandal had been finished. As the plinth is a separate stone, it is clear that this cutting must have been done after the statue was in place. Probably the sandal was found to need some alteration, for the possibility that these figures were treated like columns is precluded by the absence of any other traces of such finishing operations and also by the accuracy with which the cutting to relieve pressure follows the outline of the drapery, showing that this was complete before the figures were set up. At least there is positive proof that the drapery was finished for a certain distance from the bottom before the Maidens were put in place, and it may be considered certain that the Maidens were completely finished at the same time.

INSERTED
PIECES

In carving the mouldings and in the other finishing operations it naturally became necessary to remedy visible defects in the stone or mistakes by the workmen. The method

¹ See Ch. IV, Inscriptions XIV, col. i, ll. 1-14; XV, ll. 1-4; XVII, col. i, ll. 34-87, col. ii, ll. 46-69, and Commentary, pp. 411 ff.

of correction commonly adopted was to cut away the damaged part and insert a new piece. These inserted pieces vary from strips of considerable length¹ to such minute details as part of the sheath of an egg or a single reel. Indeed, repairs are especially frequent in the astragalus, where, on account of the extreme delicacy of the reels, the presence of even a small vein of mica might seriously handicap the carving. Naturally most of the insertions are found in the mouldings, but there are also a few cases where ordinary blocks have been repaired in the same way.

The following list contains the instances of inserted or added pieces which were noted during the study of the building.

EAST PORTICO:—*The lowest step.*—A small piece of marble (visible dimensions 0.065 m. by 0.04 m.) at the northwest corner of the southeast block. The injury was repaired before the middle step was laid, for the inserted piece extends beneath this step.

The capitals of the corner columns.—Part of the volutes at the exterior and interior angles, and the ornament at the top of the interior angle. On the southern column (Fig. 133)² the pieces on the exterior were attached to the south face, which is now badly damaged, so that there is no trace of the method by which the volutes were fastened, and the exact extent of the applied portion is uncertain. There is a strong probability, however, that the extent here was similar to that of the north volutes of the northeast column. In the inner angle the volute was secured in a socket and also fastened by a metal pin set in cement. On the northern capital (in the British Museum) the entire north face, except the egg-and-dart moulding at the top and the guilloche at the bottom, was applied (Fig. 135). The central portion is still in place though irregularly broken on each side. On either side of this central portion are remains of small holes with traces of iron pins, two above and two below. Those above are each 0.085 m. and those below 0.12 m. from the ends of the smooth surface (Fig. 134). The interior angle (Fig. 136) resembles that of the southern column. A fragment of

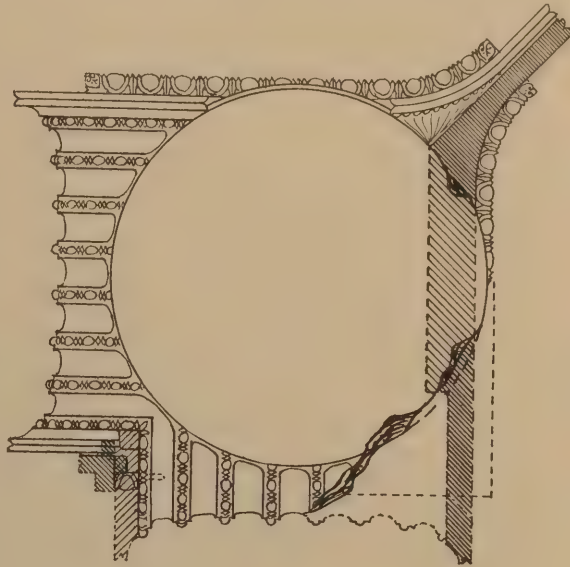


FIGURE 133. EAST PORTICO: CAPITAL OF SOUTH COLUMN: PLAN FROM BELOW AND ELEVATION OF WEST FACE, SHOWING INSERTED PIECES AND UNCARVED VOLUTE

¹ Of course it is not to be assumed that the larger pieces were always inserted to remedy defects. In the architraves, for example, economy of material and also of labor may well have been the chief reason for the use of attached mouldings, for a narrower block could be used in such cases with less waste of material.

² In Figure 133 the hatching represents the applied pieces, consisting of the egg-and-dart ornament at the inner angle and of portions of the volutes.

an applied volute has been preserved, but owing to the poor condition of both capitals it is uncertain to which it belonged.

The southern capital. — Part of the sheath of an egg inserted over one of the palmettes on the south side; a strip 0.18 m. long of the lower bead-and-reel at the necking, inserted and held by cement.

The architrave. — The moulding on the inner face of three blocks, — viz., in the centre, on the north of the centre, and across the south end (PLATES XVI, XVII, XVIII). The cuttings for the dowels and clamps by which the added strips were secured still exist (Fig. 11). On the

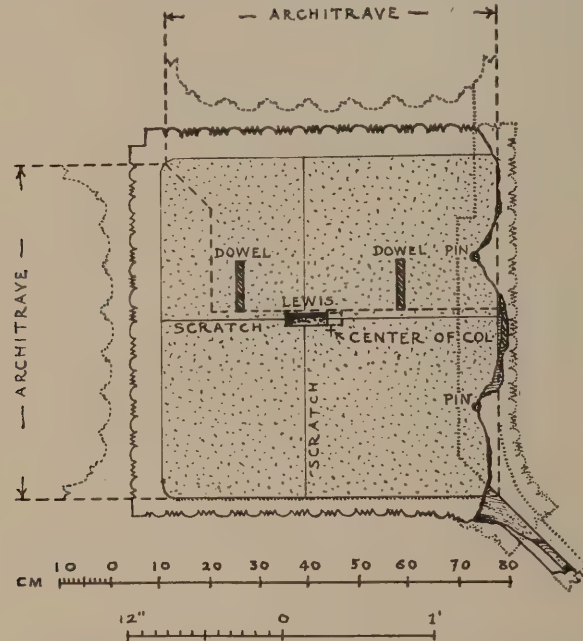


FIGURE 134. EAST PORTICO: PLAN OF TOP OF CAPITAL OF NORTH COLUMN (BRITISH MUSEUM)

central stone two attached pieces were together equal to the length of the architrave and were laid from south to north (PLATE XVII; Fig. 11).

The long architrave block across the south end. — Above the west end of the anta, a bit of the upper moulding over the leaf-and-tongue, secured by dovetailing, and a pair of reels below; farther east, over the span, three reels; under the cornice, three more reels.

The capital of the south anta. — On the south side, the bottom and east side of the sheath of the first egg west of the anta proper; beneath this egg, one reel; beneath the fourth egg from the west end of the block, another reel.

The capital of the north anta (in the British Museum). — The astragalus at the northeast corner, including one reel on the east and six on the north side (PLATE XXXVI, 3, 5).

South window. — In the larger fragment of the lintel, a bit of moulding at the corner (Fig. 25).

WEST FAÇADE: — *South anta.* — An irregular piece, 0.165 m. long and 0.009–0.014 m. high, in the top of the tenth course (PLATE IV).

SOUTH WALL: — A bit in the fillet above the torus in the first long block from the east end of the base moulding, about 0.21 m. east of the second joint in the orthostate.

At the southwest corner, in course 3, a small piece in both top and bottom of the block (PLATES VI, VII); the one at the bottom, about 0.20 m. from the corner, has fallen out, but the other, about 0.75 m. from the corner, is still in place.

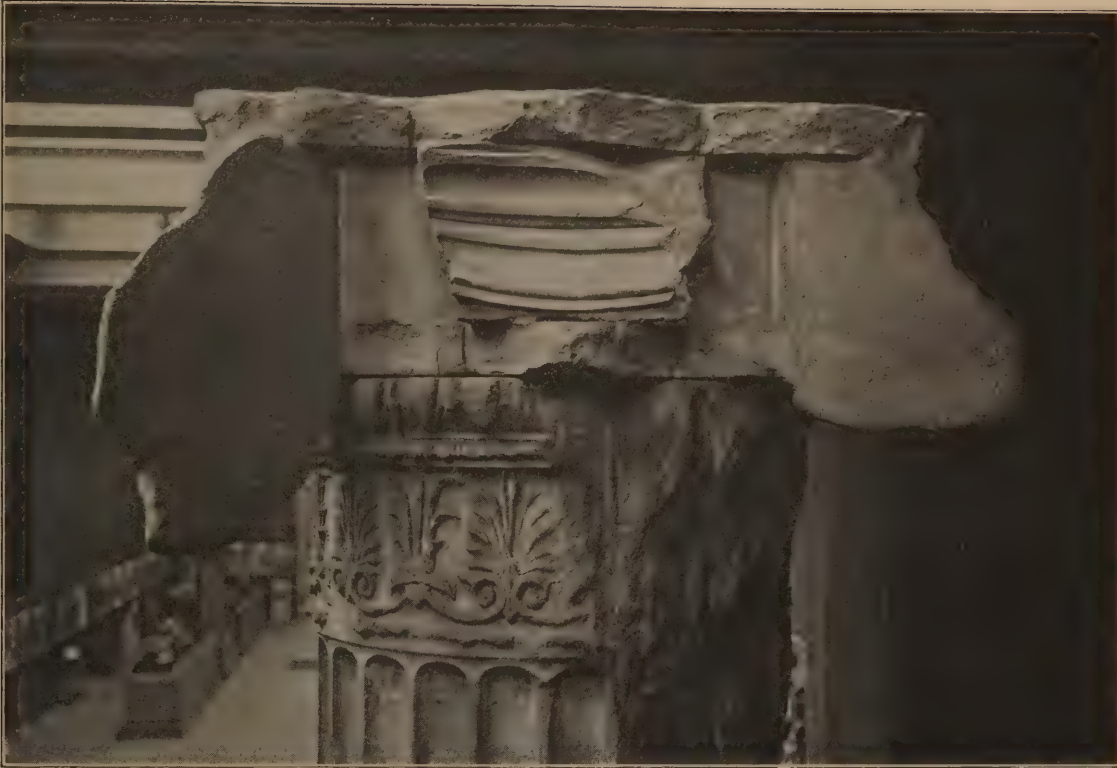


FIGURE 135. EAST PORTICO: NORTH FACE OF CAPITAL OF NORTH COLUMN (BRITISH MUSEUM)



FIGURE 136. EAST PORTICO: SOUTH AND WEST FACES OF CAPITAL OF NORTH COLUMN (BRITISH MUSEUM)

NORTH WALL: — In the moulding of the base, on the third block from the east, about 0.90 m. from the east joint, a part of the second fillet from the bottom on the upper torus.

In course 3, near the frieze of the North Portico, a piece 0.06 m. high, 0.102 m. deep, and 0.177 m. long (PLATE V; Fig. 54).

INTERIOR: — A piece in the bottom of the third orthostate east of the North Door (PLATE XI).

In course 6 of the niche in the southwest corner, a small bit of marble to fill the gap between two stones, caused by cutting back the face beyond the width of the anathyrosis (PLATE XII; Fig. 108).

EPICRANITIS: — Bits of the bead-and-reel here and there on several of the blocks now replaced and also on those in the British Museum (Fig. 142 B, c).¹

On one of the blocks in the British Museum, the central portion of a scroll below a palmette, and also a dart (Fig. 142 A).

NORTH PORTICO: — *Stylobate.* — An irregular piece, 0.33 m. long and 0.035–0.15 m. wide, in the south edge of the west block on the north side (PLATE II).

Pavement. — A piece, 0.13 m. long and 0.022 m. wide, near the doorway into the Pandroseum.

Column bases. — In the southwest column, a bit of the guilloche, and in the fillet below the upper torus, a piece about 0.115–0.10 m. long, 0.045 m. thick, and 0.02 m. high; on the second column from the east, two bits of the guilloche. They were probably secured by cement as there are no holes for plugs.

Capitals. — In the cushions on the east side of the second from the east, a pair of reels in the first, second, and fourth rows from the north; in the second from the west, a strip of astragalus, 0.245 m. long, in the abacus on the south part of the east side, and on the north side of the capital, a part of a dart in the echinus (Fig. 137).

In the capital of the eastern anta, on the north face, a rosette of a tendril.

Epistyle. — *North side:* — *Outside.* — The entire upper set of mouldings on the western block (PLATE V); and the small upper moulding on the eastern block. *Inside.* — All of the upper moulding on both the eastern and western (Fig. 138), but none on the central block; a short piece of the sheath of an egg near the west end of the central block.

East side: — *Outside.* — All but the southern section of the upper moulding on the northern block, in five separate pieces, with a return of two units at the northern end (PLATE III); a small piece, 0.067 m. long, near the centre of the southern block, apparently to repair some damage. *Inside.* — On the northern block, the upper moulding, not including the astragalus, in four pieces; on the southern block, the entire upper moulding in three pieces (PLATE IX).

South side: — The mouldings on the western block above the astragalus (PLATE VII). On the block beneath the opening in the roof, a reel in a square hole.

West side: — *Outside.* — Southern block, four reels. *Inside.* — Southern block, a little north of the centre, lower portion of tongue, secured by a bronze plug rectangular in section, which is still in place; a reel, three units of the ornament north of the bronze plug.

Beams and Interbeams. — None of these mouldings was worked on a separate strip, though some single bits of carving were inserted. *East beam.* — On the east side, 0.81 m. from the south end, part of the sheath surrounding an egg (Fig. 113), and 0.51 m. north of the centre, one reel set in a drill hole; on the west side, 0.57 m. from the north end, a strip of the upper astragalus 0.40 m. long. *The next beam to the west.* — On the west side, under the second coffer from the north, a reel set in a square hole. *West beam.* — On the east side a rectangular cutting at the bottom near the north end.

¹ See *Br. Mus., Sculpture*, I, p. 236, No. 409.



FIGURE 137. NORTH PORTICO: UPPER DRUM OF SECOND COLUMN FROM WEST, SHOWING CUTTING FOR AN INSERTED DART

Coffers of the Ceiling. — Third row from east, second block from the north, west side, a strip of astragalus 0.40 m. long, held by inclined bronze pins; southern block, east side, a similar strip 0.145 m. long, also held by inclined bronze pins. In the coffers there are in all ten inserted strips of astragalus, varying in length from 0.04 m. to 0.43 m., and also two single reels set in drill holes.

Pediment. — In the stone east of the centre, a piece 0.121 m. deep, 0.30 m. wide, and 0.255 m. high (PLATE V).

Raking cornice. — In the fragment lying west of the Erechtheum, a strip of the astragalus 0.20 m. long.

NORTH DOOR: — *East jamb.* — Three reels in the centre astragalus, two respectively 0.92 m. and 1.025 m. above the sill, the third 0.062 m. below the lintel, all set on as single pieces. For the Roman repairs, see below.

PORCH OF THE MAIDENS: — *Podium.* — A piece, 0.58 m. long, about 0.125 m. high, and 0.15 m. thick, in the lower moulding of the coping behind the second Maiden from the east. Outside, in the egg-and-dart of the upper course, at the first joint from the west on the south side, half a dart, held by making the cavity wider at the back (Fig. 141).

Maidens. — The left arm (now lost) of the Maiden at the southeast corner, secured at the shoulder by a square marble tenon fastened by a metal pin, and at the hand by four pin dowels, 0.008 m. in diameter, set in cement (PLATES XXVIII, XXXIV, 1; Fig. 145 B). In the front of the capital of the same Maiden, a strip of the astragalus. On the west side of the capital of the Maiden at the southwest corner, two strips of astragalus (PLATE XXXIX, 2; Fig. 147).

Epicranitis. — The upper mouldings on the two central blocks (p. 113).

Architrave. — *Outside.* — The third disc from the west on the south face. *Inside.* — On the wall, the upper moulding, including the astragalus, on the eastern and central blocks (Fig. 139); parts of three sheaths below the eggs.



FIGURE 138. NORTH PORTICO: WEST BLOCK OF ARCHITRAVE ON NORTH SIDE
The egg-and-dart moulding was carved on separate strips



FIGURE 139. INSERTED MOULDING FROM ARCHITRAVE ON WALL, INSIDE PORCH OF THE MAIDENS

Coffers of the Ceiling. — Three strips of the astragalus, from 0.12 m. to 0.18 m. long, one near the central coffer of the east row, another near the next coffer to the south, and the third north of the north coffer in the second row from the east; three double reels and one single reel near the north end of the fourth row from the east; one single reel on the west side of the second coffer from the south in the east row.

The Roman repairs also show examples of inserted pieces. In the lintel of the North Door there are two repairs in the egg-and-dart moulding, one extending from the west half of the second egg from the east to the axis of the dart between the fourth and fifth eggs, the other including the tenth and eleventh eggs with the dart and sheath of the ninth and twelfth. Contrary to the Greek custom, the vertical joint does not coincide with the edge or with the axis of a dart, but is allowed to fall at any point, even passing through the centre of an egg. The Roman astragalus is much coarser than the Greek, and probably on this account there are no instances of inserted beads or reels. On the capital of one of the columns of the West Façade a volute was broken and the piece refastened by means of a metal plug. At the same end, the upper south inside corner of the Roman architrave over the second intercolumniation from the south was irregularly broken off, but was repaired by replacing the broken piece and securing it with wrought iron pins and small  clamps (PLATE X; Fig. 48).

The methods employed by the Greeks in attaching the inserted pieces show great variety and skilful adaptation to the particular needs in each case. The larger pieces of moulding are regularly fastened to the architraves by dowels and  clamps (Fig. 140, 2, 4). In these cases the vertical joint follows carefully the profile of the dart either through its whole length (Fig. 140, 1, from the inside of the west block on the north side of the North Portico),¹ or only in the upper part (Fig. 140, 3, from the inside of the north block on the east side of the North Portico). Smaller pieces were apparently dovetailed only where it was possible to slip them in from above, as for example in the top of an architrave, the base of a column, and perhaps the top of a wall block, though in the latter case precise data are lacking.² No instances were observed where lead was run in to secure a piece. Sure traces of the use of cement were found only in the attachment of a strip of the astragalus on the necking of the southern column of the East Portico, and in a few cases in the Porch of the Maidens. In general the pieces were so carefully carved that cement was unnecessary, as in the piece of sheath from the North Portico (Fig. 113) already mentioned. A dart was secured only by a slight countersinking in the ceiling of the North Portico and in one of the blocks of the epicranitis from the main building, now in London (Fig. 142 A). In these latter blocks there are also several places where a reel was simply applied (Fig. 142 B). In such cases cement may have held the inserted pieces in place. At other points

METHODS
OF
ATTACHING
INSERTED
PIECES

¹ On the south block on the east side of the North Portico the astragalus is included in the attached piece.

² In the podium of the Porch of the Maidens, where part of a dart has been inserted at a joint and secured by making the cavity wider at the back (Fig. 141), the new piece must have been slipped in before the next stone was laid.

there is either a square (Fig. 142 c) or circular hole back of the reel. It seems probable from the size of the hole that a bronze pin was often used rather than a tenon of marble; thus for securing two reels the hole is 0.012 m. deep and 0.007 m. in diameter, and for a single reel 0.011 m. deep and 0.004 m. in diameter. The use of such pins is certain in the coffers of the North Portico, where strips of the astragalus were held by slanting bronze pins, and in those of the Porch of the Maidens. Another pin remains on the inside of the western architrave of the North Portico, where it secured half of a dart. In general the depth of the hole approximately equals the projection of the ornament in front of the hole.

V, A. REFINEMENTS IN CONSTRUCTION

The preceding pages have furnished abundant proof of the care with which the builders of the Erechtheum planned their work and of the minute attention which they bestowed upon the execution of details, even though untoward circumstances evidently prevented them from giving all parts their final form. In addition to the carefully calculated variations in the ornamentation, the general construction exhibits numerous refinements which have been duly noted in the preceding chapter, but may here conveniently be collected and summarized with references to the pages where they are described.

The curvature of all the main lines, which plays so important a part in the Parthenon, is absent from the Erechtheum (p. 18), the only curves in construction noted being the hyperbolas in the entases of the columns of the North Portico (p. 82) and of the Roman West Façade (p. 66).¹

Although curved lines are lacking there are many cases of scarcely perceptible inclination given to vertical surfaces. Thus the stylobate and steps of the main building have a batter of 0.003 m. per course (p. 18). The columns of the East Portico are inclined toward the wall 0.02 m. in their height of 6.586 m. (p. 20), and the corner columns have the same inclination toward the centre (p. 19). The east wall was vertical (p. 34), and so was the east face of the southeast anta, but the south face of this anta inclines inward at the rate of 0.00055 m. per course (p. 46). The south wall has a batter of 0.0115 m. in ten courses, and the north wall, outside of the North Portico, of 0.0105 m. in the same distance (pp. 46, 48). The faces of the west wall and of the interior cross-walls were, like the east wall, vertical (p. 34). The west faces of the west antae incline inwards; the east face of the north anta was vertical; the east face of the south anta is vertical in the lower courses and parallel to the west face above course 9; the south face of the north anta and the north face of the south anta incline towards the north (p. 62). In the North Portico, the anta, pier, and wall have alike a batter of 0.02 m. in ten courses (pp. 48, 86). The corner columns incline inward on the diagonals of the portico to the extent of 0.018 m. in their height of 7.635 m. (p. 80); the

¹ The delicate parabolic curve given to the soffit of the cornices (pp. 24, 93, 115) is an example of fine design rather than a true refinement in construction. It is not a curve where a straight line might be expected.

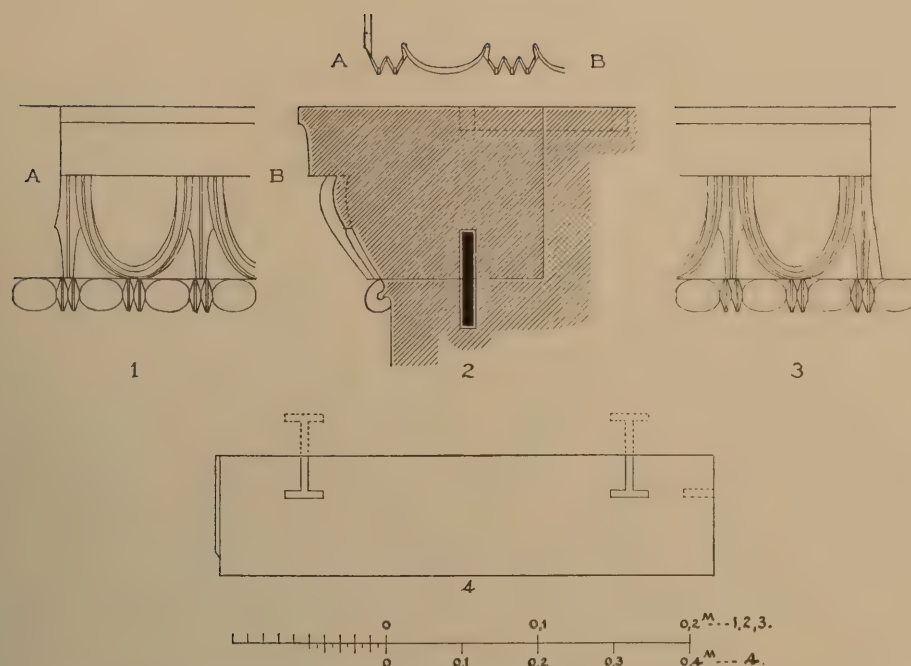


FIGURE 140. INSERTED MOULDINGS FROM NORTH PORTICO, SHOWING METHOD OF FASTENING AND TREATMENT OF JOINTS IN EGG-AND-DART ORNAMENT. 1, VERTICAL JOINT FOLLOWS PROFILE OF DART. 2, SECTION, SHOWING METHOD OF DOWELING AND CLAMPING IN 1. 3, VERTICAL JOINT FOLLOWS PROFILE OF DART ONLY IN UPPER PART. 4, TOP OF INSERTED MOULDING

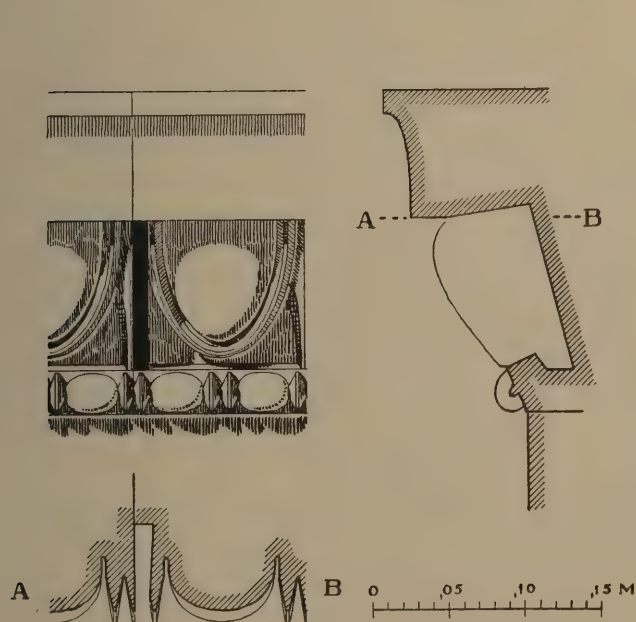


FIGURE 141. METHOD OF INSERTING HALF A DART: CROWNING MOULDING OF PODIUM, PORCH OF THE MAIDENS

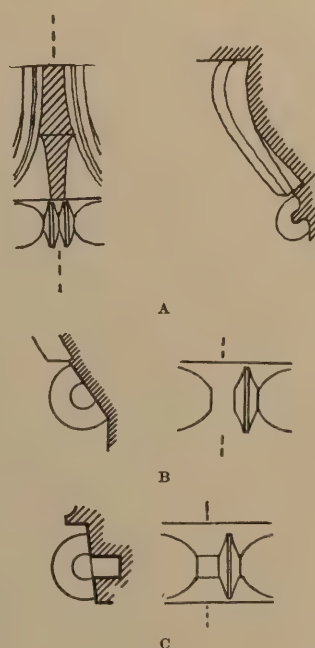


FIGURE 142. (A) INSERTED DART SECURED BY A SLIGHT SINKING OF ITS LOWER PART (BRITISH MUSEUM). (B) INSERTED REEL WITHOUT TENON (BRITISH MUSEUM). (C) INSERTED REEL SECURED BY A TENON (BRITISH MUSEUM)

two front columns incline 0.018 m. to the south, and 0.0075 m. toward the centre (p. 80); the south column on the east side inclines 0.018 m. to the west and 0.005 m. to the south (p. 80). The frieze has a batter of 0.005 m. (p. 91), and the face of the cornice at the north end of the east side an inclination of 0.0025 m. (p. 93). In the Porch of the Maidens, the axis of the architrave is placed 0.008 m. behind the axis of the podium (PLATE XXVI), thus securing the same effect as is attained by the delicate inclination of the walls and columns.

The sides of the doors and windows, also, were very slightly inclined, so that the openings are narrower at the top than at the bottom. At the east end the door and windows had an inclination of 0.003 m. per course (pp. 35, 36, 37, 40). The windows at the west, which are Roman, have been reconstructed (1905) with an inclination of 0.008 m. per metre; according to Stuart and Revett the inclination was 0.017 m. (p. 69). In the North Portico the jambs of the great door are inclined 0.0435 m. in a height of 4.882 m. (PLATE XXV); the sides of the small door taper at the rate of 0.005 m. per metre (PLATE VII). In the Porch of the Maidens the present inclination of the sides of the doorway is 0.009 m. per metre (p. 119).

V, B. IRREGULARITIES AND EXTRAVAGANT CONSTRUCTION

In spite of the admirable skill and delicacy shown in the Erechtheum, there are also instances of irregular or even careless construction, and of an extravagant expenditure of material. They may be most conveniently treated in the order in which they occur on the building.

At the east end the steps leading from the upper to the lower level are not all of the same height. The higher order of the North Portico of course demands a higher stylobate than the lower order of the East Portico (PLATE XIV, above). The four lowest steps were naturally given the height of the three steps and the moulding at the base of the north wall, which is the same as that of the stylobate of the North Portico; while the eight other steps were each 0.078 m. lower, being each one-half the height of the corresponding course of the wall, which is also that of the steps of the East Portico. This irregularity, while objectionable owing to the danger of falling on account of the unequal height of the steps, may be explained by the desirability, from a constructive point of view, of aligning the horizontal jointing of the flight of steps with the jointing of the adjacent wall and base.¹

At the northeast corner of the main building a vertical joint in the poros foundation fell so close to one in the stylobate, that the T-dowel, which secured the latter, could not occupy its normal position, but was set back from the face of the stone and led in a quite unusual way (p. 194; Fig. 122). In the lowest step north of the anta two  clamps, which extended beyond the step above, were countersunk and concealed by inserted rectangular bits of marble (p. 18; PLATE XVII, 4; Fig. 17).

¹ There was no barrier at the north end of the East Portico to prevent a fall from the podium, which is about ten feet high, but the risk of such an accident was probably considered small then, as it is now, when the top of the retaining wall between the Erechtheum and the modern steps (PLATE I) is equally unprotected.

On the columns of the East Portico there is a lack of uniformity in the arrangement of the anthemion (PLATES III, XVI). The southern column has a palmette on the eastern axis, while the four central columns have a flower. On the northern column, as now set up in the British Museum, the eastern axis falls between a palmette and flower and the northern through a palmette (PLATE XXXVI, 2). This seems to approximate very closely to the original position of the band, for on a drawing of the eastern elevation of this capital, made for Choiseul-Gouffier before its removal,¹ there is a contemporary note, stating that the axis does not pass exactly through the centre of the palmette but "entre le fleuron et le culot." It is quite possible that the disposition of the ornament on the northern column was determined by the wish to bring its north face into harmony with the columns of the North Portico, where there is a palmette on both the northern and the eastern axis.

In the bottom of the southeast orthostate the cutting for the cross-bar of the T-dowel which secured the block to the base moulding seems to have been first made in the normal position, near the middle of the north side, and later carried about 0.16 m. farther east to correspond with the cutting in the course below (PLATES XII, XVI), although why this latter cutting should have been given an unusual position, is quite uncertain.

In stone F from the east wall (Fig. 21) there is a dowel hole in the north end, 0.22 m. from the east face, which seems to have been cut by mistake and never used; at least it shows no traces of oxidization.

The lintels of the windows of the east wall were so cut on top that water would have run back into the horizontal joint of the wall, — an irregularity, however, which would have caused little damage at this point, since the windows were fairly well protected by the portico (PLATES XV, XVIII, 1, XXIX, 3).²

At the north end of the West Façade, in the lower moulding of the string course on the outside, is a slot cut lengthwise, apparently by a saw, and still preserved for about 0.75 m. It seems due to a mistake in measurement by the workman who started to cut the moulding.

The greater elaboration given to the reeding on the moulding in line with the bases of the pilasters in the southern intercolumniation on the inside of the same façade has already been noticed (p. 61). This special enrichment may be due to the presence of the "sea" in this corner of the Prostomiaion, but it may merely belong to an earlier scheme of decoration, which was abandoned because the effect was not satisfactory (PLATES X, XXX, 1, 2, 3).

On the north face of the southwest anta there is a dowel cutting in course 10, running north and south, with no corresponding cutting in the stone below (PLATE XII; Fig. 43).

On the inside of the upper step of the north wall, near the eastern cross-wall, a mass of lead has been run in, so as to furnish a firm bed for the broken east end of a marble block, which for some reason it was thought best not to discard (PLATE XI; Fig. 93).

¹ This elevation is on page 136 of the volume of drawings attributed to L.-F. Cassas, now in the Louvre; see App. B, VI, p. 609, note 5.

² The same mistake was made in the roof of the Porch of the Maidens; see p. 219.

In the top of a stone replaced in the north wall in 1838, and now covered, the dowel cuttings for the block above were first made on the wrong side of the central line, and later continued to their proper place. As the holes for the dowels in the top of a course were naturally cut before the blocks of the course above were put in place, it is probable that these holes were originally cut with the expectation that the course above would be laid in the direction opposite to that actually followed.

In the bottom of the second block east of the North Door on the inside of course 16 in the north wall (PLATE XI), about 0.25 m. from the south face, is a cutting 0.105 m. long (about 0.04 m. visible), 0.04 m. high, and 0.03–0.035 m. wide. There is apparently no corresponding cutting beneath it in the top of course 17, and its purpose is unknown.

The orthostates of the north and of the lower south walls were not dressed to receive the stones of the cross-walls. A similar neglect in preparing a surface to receive an abutting stone is found on the exterior of the north wall at the point of contact with the eastern architrave of the North Portico (Fig. 54).

In the North Portico the southeast block of the stylobate has two cuttings for dowels in the west side, which do not correspond to any similar cuttings in the block below (PLATE IX). This place is now hidden by cement. The block was actually held by two dowels in its north end. So also the great block spanning the southern side of the crypt had symmetrical cuttings for dowels in its north side; but the eastern cutting proved to be too far west and was never used, a new hole being cut farther east (PLATE VII). Likewise at the west end of the south wall, in course 20, beneath the east side of the south door, the southern dowel cutting was found to fall too near a joint in the poros course below, and a new cutting farther north was used (PLATE IX; Fig. 6).

By a curious oversight the cornice under the north pediment has no inclination (PLATE XXII), but is exactly horizontal from front to rear.

The continuation of the delicate mouldings at the base of the podium of the Porch of the Maidens across the opening in the eastern side, and the excessively high step at this point (PLATE VII), seem like serious faults, but are intelligible, since it is all but certain that this was not a general entrance (p. 111).

The arrangement of the steps in the interior of this porch is also bad (PLATE IX; Fig. 68). A person who kept against the wall in his descent to the door into the main building would find a step of double height on reaching the point A in Figure 68. Here again the limited access to this part of the building would greatly reduce the practical disadvantages of this defect.

In course 16, east of the door into the main building, there is a cutting which finds no explanation in the present position of the steps (PLATE VII). It is apparently due to a mistake either in laying out the steps, or, perhaps more probably, in indicating the final surface to be given to the wall.¹

¹ This cutting seems to have been interpreted by Penrose (*Ath. Arch.*, p. 90) as marking an earlier flight of steps.

In the northwest architrave block, on the wall, are two cuttings for the dowel securing the western stone of the roof (PLATE XXVII, 9). The western cutting corresponds to the cutting in the roof. Evidently the cuttings were made before the upper stone was in place, and the unused cutting was due to a mistake in measurement. The great stones of the roof of the porch show the same fault already noted in the lintels of the east windows; they are so cut on top that water could have worked into the joint in the wall on and near the axis of the porch (PLATE XXVII, 2); but there are no traces of weather marks, such as might be expected if leakage had actually occurred.

In addition to these cases of faulty construction, there are a number of places where sound construction was obtained only by somewhat striking disregard of economy in the use of material. A good example is found in the east anta of the North Portico. Above the orthostate this anta is cut on the blocks of the north wall of the main building, and to avoid a vertical joint on the face of the anta these blocks have in alternate courses (6, 8, etc.) twice the usual length (PLATES VII, XI). The orthostate of the anta is a separate block (Fig. 66A). A similar extravagant use of material is often due, as for example in the antae of the East Portico (Fig. 19), to the desire to avoid a mitred joint where mouldings are used.¹

The following additional examples will serve to show the extent to which these costly, and sometimes wasteful, methods of construction prevailed, though the list is not intended to be exhaustive. The base of the northwest anta and 0.75 m. of the moulded coping on the lower west wall are worked on a block of the north wall (PLATE XX, 12). At the southwest corner the anta is cut on the blocks of the south wall, which are of unusual length, especially in courses 1, 3, 5, 7, and 9 (PLATES VI, VII, XII; Fig. 99). Although this construction is undoubtedly expensive, it can hardly be called extravagant, since the thin wall in the niche called for special strength at this point. The same method was followed at the southwest corner of the North Portico, where the blocks of the wall running south beside the small door into the Pandroseum and, above the door, the blocks of the south wall of the portico are cut on the same stones as the corresponding courses of the great pier (PLATES IV, VII, XI; Figs. 36, 37). Above the door the blocks of the wall extend east from the pier alternately 1.11 m. and 1.74 m.

The Porch of the Maidens furnishes many examples. The capital of the east anta is worked on the face of the wall (PLATES XXVII, 4, XXXVI, 4). The moulded course below the orthostate at the northeast corner is L-shaped (PLATES III, VII);² and at the southeast corner even the architrave is a single large L-shaped block (PLATE XXVII, 9).

¹ See Ch. I, p. 31, where attention is called to the peculiar form given to the orthostate of the north anta, which, while ranging with the orthostates on the east, is cut on the north to fit the normal jointing of the wall (PLATES III, V; Fig. 17).

² Within the building the northwest corner of this block, which formed the top step of the inner staircase, is cut into a series of vertical jogs, probably in order that the block in course 14 of the wall, into the upper half of which the moulded course is set (Fig. 31), might be cut away at this corner as little as possible. The corner falls under the great transverse beam, that is, at a point where special strength was apparently deemed necessary.

On the north side of the building, at the junction with the North Portico, the steps and moulded course at the base of the wall are worked on the same blocks as the steps and the base of the anta of the portico.

A similar construction was employed in the steps at the northeast corner leading up from the lower level to the east front, and in the little podium which here sustains the steps of the East Portico. In the steps the lowest, fourth (corresponding to the moulding along the base of the north wall), sixth, eighth, and two of the remaining four ¹ were L-stones, the step projecting from the adjacent block (PLATE V; Fig. 1). In the case of the podium, the lowest and third courses are also normal L-stones; the other courses up to the level of the top of the orthostate, as well as the two courses ranging with the upper half of courses 17 and 16 in the north wall, enter the wall, making a vertical joint in the reëntrant angle. The other two courses of the podium and also the lowest and upper steps of the East Portico at this corner are cut on the same stones as the adjoining blocks in courses 17, 16, 15, and 14 of the north wall (Figs. 1 at A, 143), a procedure involving a much greater expenditure of labor.²

The thin strip with moulded edge at the base of the east wall (PLATE XVI, right; Figs. 17, 18, 143) is worked on the course ranging with the upper step, in spite of the fact that the front vertical joint of this course is considerably removed from the bottom of the wall. Here, however, the waste involved in cutting the stone down 0.04 m. was not very great, while if the thin strip had been cut on the moulded course below the orthostates, it would have been in serious danger of breakage.

VI. COLOR

That color,³ according to the common Greek practice, played an important part in the decoration of the Erechtheum is clear from the testimony of the inscriptions,⁴ as well as from the traces which may still be detected on the remains. A careful examination, however, showed that in no case was the paint so well preserved that its original color could be determined with certainty. As the colors on the Propylaea are better preserved, and as

¹ Two of these stones, which are lying on the ground near the steps, have remains of an elbow.

² Figure 143 shows the peculiar shape given to the block which forms both the east end of course 14 in the north wall (A) and also the upper step of the East Portico at this point (B). By means of the projecting elbow (c), around which the course containing the lower torus and scotia at the base of the anta was fitted, the vertical joint on the north was concealed, and these mouldings appeared on this side to be carved on the block in the north wall (A), in the same way as the upper torus was carved on the orthostate above. The reëntrant angle at D served to strengthen the northern end of this moulded course beneath the orthostate by lessening the amount of stone which had to be cut away in order to fit the course around the elbow at c. For a similar strengthening at the northeast corner of the Porch of the Maidens, see p. 219, note 2.

³ The traces of color in the decoration of the Erechtheum early attracted the attention of travellers, and their testimony is collected in Note C, at the end of this chapter. Only the evidence which can be gathered from the remains in their present condition is here considered.

⁴ See Ch. IV, Inscriptions XI, col. III, ll. 42-46; XIII, col. I, ll. 21-24, 42-50; XVII, col. II, ll. 12-22, and Commentary, pp. 368, 410. The language of the inscriptions proves, as might have been expected, that the encaustic process was employed in painting the architectural members. The fragments of colored stucco found by Bötticher in the niche (Note C, v) can hardly have formed part of the Greek decoration, and it is very doubtful if they were even Roman.

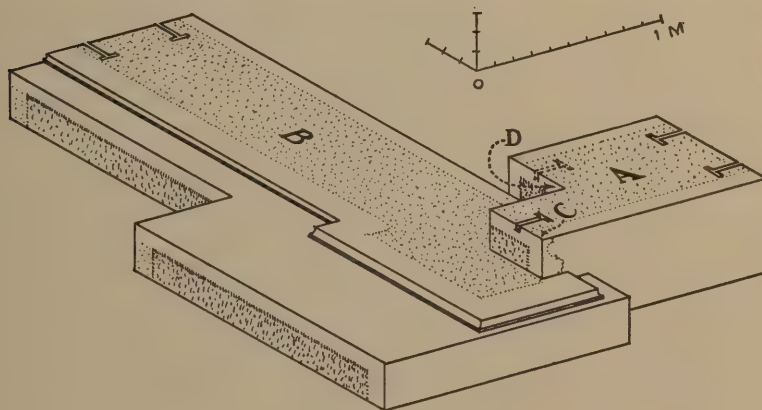


FIGURE 143. EAST PORTICO: BLOCK BENEATH BASE OF NORTH ANTA. ABOVE: BLOCK AS EXPOSED, DECEMBER 4, 1908. BELOW: ISOMETRIC DRAWING

different colors there have weathered differently, an attempt was made to determine the colors originally used on the Erechtheum by comparing the relative preservation of different parts of the painted surfaces with those of the Propylaea. It was found, however, that the results were so conflicting that no certain color scheme could be deduced by this method. It may be added that no sure trace of color was detected on any of the carved mouldings,¹ although some of the flat surfaces and uncarved mouldings have preserved remains of painted decoration, the patterns of which can occasionally be completely recovered. Thus the maeander which framed the coffers in the ceiling of the North Portico can be restored in all its details (Fig. 58 A), and in the coffers themselves the painted eggs and the motive at the corners (Fig. 58 B) can be plainly traced. The extant Roman coffers of the east ceiling, however, contain no trace of their painted decoration, and Inwood's plate is avowedly a restoration.² There are also indistinct traces of a painted leaf-and-tongue pattern on the bed moulding of the raking cornice of the North Portico. On the epicranitis in the niche there is a series of faint and not very regular vertical scratches, which may well be connected with a painted decoration. In the Porch of the Maidens, there are remains of a painted egg-and-dart decoration in the coffers, and of painted bands between the coffers and around the carved astragalus which frames the coffers (PLATES XXVI, XXVII, 3).

The colored beads in the guilloche of the capitals of the North Portico, and the use of metal decorations in these same capitals and in the coffers of the ceiling have been already discussed in Chapter I, pp. 84, 85, 89.

VII. FOOT: VARIATIONS

In the Erechtheum, as in other Greek buildings on the Acropolis, the unit of measurement is the foot of 0.328 m.;³ but in the application of this unit slight variations are allowed.

Thus the standard block of the wall is four feet (1.312 m.) long, but the stones themselves vary between 1.29 m. and 1.31 m., the usual length being close to 1.30 m. Perhaps the blocks were first cut to the standard length and then reduced in the final dressing of the ends. The great stones which form the roof of the Porch of the Maidens also vary in width from 1.447 m. to 1.657 m. (4 At. ft. 6.5 dact. to 5 At. ft. 0.8 dact.), and the three central blocks of the eastern architrave are 2.115 m., 2.104 m., and 2.116 m. long (6.5 At. ft. = 2.132 m.).

Such variations suggest that the builders were not over particular about minute accuracy of measurement in details, and this conclusion is strengthened by some of the variations observable in the height of blocks in the walls. In course 15 of the south wall, for example, the block at the centre of the building is 0.484 m. high, that beside the door into the Porch of the Maidens only 0.478 m., a difference of 0.006 m. in five and one half blocks;

¹ In *Br. Mus., Sculpture*, I, p. 236, No. 409, traces of color are said to be visible on a slab of the epicranitis, but these traces are now by no means clear.

² Inwood, text to PLATE XX (*ed. maj.*, p. 126; *ed. min.*, p. 14).

³ Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XV, 1890, pp. 167 ff. The present study of the Erechtheum has only confirmed his results. The Palm is 0.082 m., and the Dactyl 0.0205 m.

on the other hand in course 16, near the centre of the west cella the height is 0.50 m., while at the door it is 0.504 m., a variation of 0.004 m. in four blocks. It will be observed, however, that these two irregularities in effect counteract each other, so that the top of course 15 is practically level. In the east wall stone E (Fig. 20) in course 11 is 0.483 m. high at the door, and 0.4845 m. at its north end, while the north face of the north anta is 0.487 m. In the west wall the orthostates are 0.755 m. high at the north end, 0.749 m. north of the west door, and 0.745 m. south of the door. In the North Portico the orthostate of the pier at the southwest corner (0.934 m.) is lower than the orthostate in the north wall east of the small door into the Pandroseum (0.976 m.), but to compensate for this inequality each of the three courses above the orthostate in the pier is higher than the corresponding course in the wall, so that a horizontal surface is secured for the lintel of the door (PLATE VII).

VIII. ANCIENT REPAIRS AND RESTORATIONS

In the preceding chapter it has been shown that the Erechtheum, before its transformation into a church, had undergone extensive repairs and some alterations. Without repeating in detail the evidence there given, a summary of the results may be found convenient.

At the east end the columns and the entablature show no signs of repair, and the interbeams underwent only a slight alteration in the removal of the upper moulding on the inner face (p. 29). The ceiling of the portico was reconstructed, since all the fragments of the coffers, as well as the single identified fragment of a beam, are Roman (pp. 28, 29). In the east wall the underside of the lintels of the windows and the reveals of the jambs were trimmed (p. 45), the inner face of the architrave was cut away to about one-half the thickness of the blocks (p. 45), and the interbeams were replaced (p. 29).

The epicranitis and epistyle of the side walls were also generally reduced to about half their original thickness, and the inner face replaced by new blocks (p. 52), though it would seem that in a few cases only a new set of mouldings was inserted. Much of the cornice of the main building which has survived is due to the repairers (pp. 54, 75), and so are the simas, a good part of the tiling, and all the identified antefixes (p. 79).

The most extensive repairs were those at the west end, where everything between the antae and above the bases of the engaged columns was renewed with but slight use of old material (pp. 66, 70 ff.), while the north anta was cut down to half its former width (p. 69), and a new capital added (p. 62).

The presence of cuttings for  clamps shows that some repairs were made on the eastern interior cross-wall (p. 148), while the western wall was entirely removed, and a new and higher wall erected slightly farther west (p. 156), probably leaving a single chamber in the centre of the building instead of the two Greek rooms (p. 159). There is also evidence of some slight alteration in course 8 of the niche (p. 172), and it is possible that the jambs of the doorway leading into the Porch of the Maidens were cut down on their north sides during these repairs, rather than at the time of the transformation into a church (p. 119).

In the North Portico the lintel and the remaining console of the great door belong to the Roman repairs (pp. 99 ff.), as well as the central beam (p. 87), the interbeam on the wall to the west of this beam (p. 87), the two southern coffers in the first row and two farther north in the second row to the west, and the whole row of coffers to the east (p. 89 and PLATE VIII, 4). The two western blocks in the course on the north wall above the beams and interbeams at the west corner of the building are apparently Roman; the others are Greek, cut back and relined (p. 51). The cornice of the Portico was evidently repaired and under the pediment contains some later blocks (p. 92); the tympanum and the raking cornice seem to have been merely taken down and replaced without any new material (p. 94); and, so far as can be judged from the presence in the cornice of cuttings for dowels with pour channels, only the sima on the east side of the Portico needed renewal (p. 97). The antefixes, so far as identified, are Roman.

In considering the probable cause of this restoration, the tiles, sima, and perhaps cornice may well be omitted, since their exposed position sufficiently accounts for the need of renewal, and similar restorations are found elsewhere.¹ The other repairs, however, show that the building had suffered serious injuries, which necessitated extensive restorations throughout the entire upper part of the interior, but affected the exterior chiefly in the neighborhood of openings, such as doors and windows. That this damage was due to a fire originating within the building seems certain from the condition of the surface of the walls, which is fairly well preserved on the outside but inside shows almost everywhere the effects of intense heat. It is clear that the burning of the wooden ceilings would injure the inner faces of epicranitis and architrave, as well as the beams and interbeams on the eastern wall, while flames bursting through the various openings would amply explain the need of cutting away the linings of the east windows and of rebuilding the West Façade. It may be added that the destruction of the great transverse beam accounts for the new and stronger form given to the west cross-wall. The repairs in the North Portico indicate that the damage there was largely confined to the lintel of the great door and the parts directly above this opening, including the central beam of the ceiling. It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that all these restorations were due to the same cause and were carried out at the same time, and this hypothesis is confirmed by the uniformity shown in the form of clamps and dowels, the dressing of the surfaces, and the carving of the mouldings.

That the repairs are Roman, rather than Hellenistic, is evident from the character of the workmanship and its close resemblance to that displayed in the temple of Rome and Augustus,² which was erected in the latter part of the first century B.C. That the fire was earlier is proved by the presence of a fragment of cornice from the Erechtheum in the foundation of the new temple (p. 75).

¹ Cf. *Olympia*, II, pp. 8, 22.

² Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1903, p. 467, suggests that the architect of the temple was responsible for the repairs on the Erechtheum. For a fuller consideration of the dates of the fire and of the restoration see Ch. V, pp. 478 f.

NOTE A

ON THE CEMENT USED IN THE PORCH OF THE MAIDENS

(p. 196)

Samples of the cement used to secure the iron pins in the Porch of the Maidens were submitted to Professor Kenneth L. Mark of Simmons College, Boston, who has kindly furnished the following report on his analysis.

"Sample I, marked 'from inserted moulding in the cap. of the S. W. Caryatid,' was greyish-white, rather soft powder.

"Sample II, marked 'from north plug hole in cap. of S. W. Caryatid' was pinkish material composed of small lumps easily crushable between the fingers.

"Sample III, marked 'from south plug hole in the cap. of the N. W. Caryatid' was very fine pinkish powder.

"Sample III was too small in amount to use for quantitative analysis. The qualitative analysis, however, showed it to be a carbonate of calcium with a small amount of iron.¹

"The analysis of Samples I and II showed them to be of the following composition:

	I	II
Calcium Oxide	56.1	55.1
Iron Oxide		2.1
Silica	0.6	0.7
Carbon Dioxide	43.8	43.5
Water	0.4	0.5
	100.9	101.9

"The amount of carbon dioxide is in slight excess of the amount required to unite with the metallic oxides if they were fully carbonated. The analysis for carbon dioxide, however, is not so reliable, on account of the very small amount of the samples, as are the results for the other constituents. The lack of silicate is most remarkable and it is difficult to see how this mortar could have been strong at any time. Even if it were used as quicklime and then changed to carbonate by weathering, as is possible, it could have had no great strength. This is also the opinion of the experts at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, whom I consulted.

"Pulverized marble would give the same analytical results as those reported. I cannot see, however, why that should ever be used as a cement, as it would have no adhesive properties worth mentioning.

"The only record of analyses of Greek mortars, which I have found, is that of William Wallace published in *The Chemical News*, XI, 1865, pp. 185-186."

The article by Dr. Wallace begins as follows: "Having, by the kindness of William Clarke, Esq., C. E., who has recently returned from the East, been supplied with specimens of mortars and plasters from well-known ancient buildings in Egypt, Greece, Italy, and the Island of Cyprus, I have submitted a number of them to analysis, with the object of determining several points of interest."

The portion of the article relating to Greece is as follows:

"*Ancient Greek Mortars*. — The first specimen is taken from a part of the Pnyx. . . . It has been long exposed to the action of the weather, is very hard, and of a greyish white colour. The other specimen is plaster from the interior of an ancient temple at Pentelicus, near Athens.² It has

¹ This iron may perhaps be due to the iron pin which was secured by this cement. — Ed.

² This "temple" is perhaps the cave at Vari. No such sanctuary on Mt. Pentelicus seems known. — Ed.

not been exposed to the weather, the temple being in a cave; it is of a pale cream colour, and moderately hard. The analytical results are the following:—

	PNYX	TEMPLE AT PENTELICUS
Lime.....	45.70	49.65
Magnesia.....	1.00	1.09
Sulphuric acid.....		1.04
Carbonic acid.....	37.00	38.33
Sesquioxide of iron.....	0.92	0.82
Alumina.....	2.64	0.98
Silicic acid and sand.....	12.06	3.90
Water.....	0.36	3.07
	99.68	98.88

“In the mortar from the Pnyx the carbonic acid is exactly the amount required by the lime and magnesia, supposing both to be completely carbonated; in that from the temple the carbonating is nearly, but not quite complete.”

NOTE B

ON THE WOOD USED IN THE EMPOLIA OF THE EAST PORTICO

(p. 196)

Some splinters from the empolion in the bottom of the capital of the southeast corner column of the East Portico were sent to Professor Irving W. Bailey of Harvard University, who has kindly

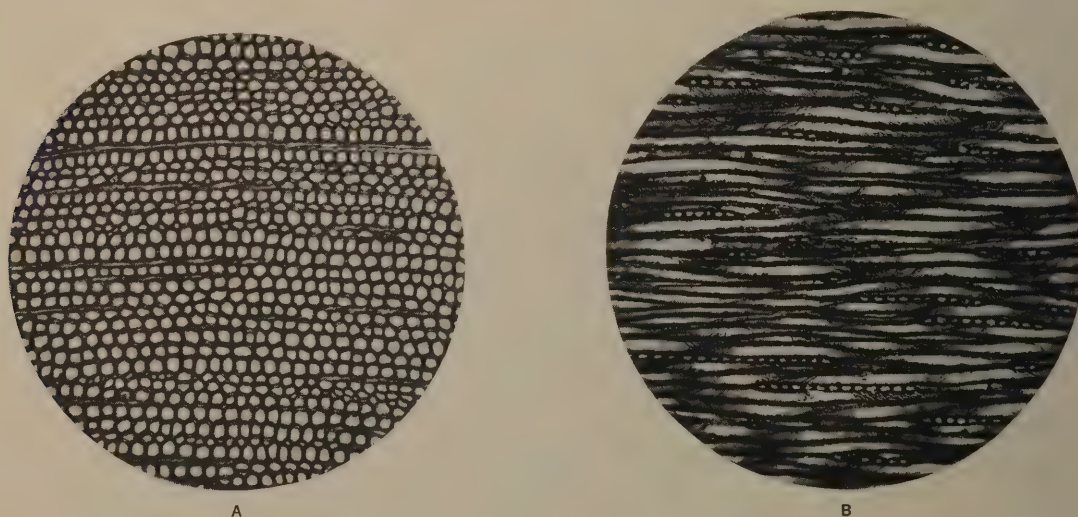


FIGURE 144. CROSS (A) AND TANGENTIAL-LONGITUDINAL (B) SECTIONS OF WOOD OF *Cupressus sempervirens*, L.: FROM EMPOLION IN BED OF SOUTH CAPITAL OF EAST PORTICO: MAGNIFIED SIXTY DIAMETERS

submitted the following report of his examination as well as reproductions of two highly magnified sections.

“The small fragments of wood ($7 \times 1\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ millimetres), submitted to me for identification, are very soft and brittle owing to incipient stages of decomposition. In order to determine accurately the affinities of the material it has been necessary to infiltrate two of the fragments with nitro-cellulose. By this treatment I was able to cut thin sections of the wood and examine them microscopically (Fig. 144).

“Diagnosis of material. — The general structure of the specimens is that characteristic of Coniferous or “evergreen” trees. The absence of resin passages, marginal tracheids, and heavily pitted ray parenchyma, and the presence of diffuse wood parenchyma indicate conclusively that the material was obtained from some member of the Cupressineae of which our cypresses, cedars, arborvitae, and juniper are well-known representatives. The detailed structure of the specimens is identical with that of the common European cypress, *Cupressus sempervivens* L.

“This tree, which is native in Greece, grows in the Mediterranean region, Asia Minor, and Persia. It may attain a height of 100 feet, and a diameter of 7 feet. The wood is reddish, fragrant, hard, fine and close grained, and extremely durable.” It is supposed to have been used for many purposes by the primitive peoples of the Mediterranean.”

NOTE C

ON THE TRACES OF COLOR OBSERVED BY EARLY TRAVELLERS

(p. 220)

The existence of painted patterns in the coffers of the North Portico and of the Porch of the Maidens has been pointed out in the description of those parts of the building (pp. 89, 116) as also the fact that at present it is impossible to determine with certainty the colors employed in these patterns or on the sculptured decorations (p. 222). Earlier observers were — or believed themselves to be — more fortunate, and have reported the traces of color which they detected both on the plane surfaces and on the mouldings. Their testimony, which is here collected, must be received with caution, for in most cases it does not appear how far they were able, or even tried, to eliminate the variations in tint due to weathering and accidental discoloration.¹ Only those passages are here cited which contain definite statements, based on personal investigation, as to the colors used and their distribution. Before the Greek Revolution such details are rarely given. Dodwell² (on the authority of Lusieri) and Kinnard³ mention traces of painting and *gilding* in the coffers of the North Portico, and a manuscript note by T. L. Donaldson⁴ states that in the capitals “the sinking around the volute was painted red.” Other writers of this time merely note the presence of the painted maeander and other patterns, without attempting to define the colors used,⁵ and such general statements are, of

¹ Such discoloration due to smoke is reported by Blaquiere in 1824 (*Second Visit to Greece*, I, p. 95), but appears in Haller von Hallerstein’s notes as a “verniss noir,” which he suspected to be of later application (MSS., Strasbourg, Box III, Vol. 8, p. 233).

² Dodwell, *Tour*, I, p. 352: “Its ancient ceiling . . . is . . . ornamented with square compartments, where the ancient gilding is still visible.”

³ Kinnard, Stuart and Revett,³ II, pp. 72–73, note c, says the coffers are “ornamented within with painted and gilded mouldings.”

⁴ British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, a sheet (XLII, d, Portf. A) containing a colored drawing of the glass beads in the guilloche (see above, p. 85) and notes, in part by T. L. Donaldson, who was in Athens in 1820. The presence of color in the capitals is also mentioned by E. Metzger, *Kunstblatt*, 1833, No. 24, p. 95: “Es finden sich dort (i.e., in the North Portico) Farben in den Spiralen der ionischen Säulen.”

⁵ So for example, Fauvel in Legrand, *Gal. ant.*, I, p. 76: “Certains ornemens qu’il eût été trop difficile de sculpter dans les caissons renforcés du plafond, y étaient peints”; Donaldson’s note (see preceding note): “The soffetes of the Caissons were decorated with painting and the moldings were also tinted in the form of eggs and darts.” “I think the faces of the beams were also painted.” Wolfe, *Note-book*, p. 39, “No ornament or painting discernible” on beams; “I could distinguish no remains of painting in them (the coffers), which some have [*sc. distinguished*]. . . Greek border painted on margin.” Metzger, *Kunstblatt*, 1833, No. 24, p. 95: “Am Erechtheum . . . finden sich, unter den Cassetten der Minerva-Polias-Halle (i.e., North Portico), umlaufende vielfach verschlungene Grecques, die nicht breiter als 22 mm. sind. Es finden sich dort Farben in den Spiralen der ionischen Säulen so wie die Nägelspuren zur Befestigung einer umlaufenden Verzierung, die wahrscheinlich aus getriebenem und übergüldelem Blech bestand. . . Im Pan-

course, common later. The first attempt to describe accurately the character of the polychrome decorations seems to have been made by H. Hermann in 1836. Somewhat later C. H. Bracebridge communicated the results of his observations while in Athens to a committee of the Institute of British Architects, which was investigating the traces of color on the Elgin marbles, and in 1847 J.-M. Tétaz once more subjected the remains of the Erechtheum to a minute examination. Finally in 1862 C. Bötticher discovered in the niche at the southwest corner remains of painted stucco, which he believed to be part of the Greek decoration. Later writers seem in general to have relied upon these studies.

I. H. Hermann, *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (Vienna), I, 1836, No. 11, p. 86:¹

"*Der Poliastempel*. — Am Poliastempel scheint, den Spuren nach zu schliessen, weniger gemalt, dafür aber mehr vergoldet gewesen zu sein; wahrscheinlich weil hier so viele Ornamente in erhabener Arbeit ausgeführt sind. Diese, im ganzen sehr zierlich und schön komponirten und ausgeführten erhabenen Arbeiten zeigen dennoch streckenweise eine verschiedene Behandlung von mehr oder minder geschickter Hand, so dass hieraus die Verschiedenheit der Künstler, die daran gearbeitet haben mögen, sich ersehen lässt, welcher Miss-stand jedoch nur bei genauer Vergleichung erkennbar, und nur aus diesem Grunde erklärlich bleibt. Die Deckenkassetten haben kleine, runde Oeffnungen, welche gewiss zur Befestigung von bronzenen und vergoldeten Rosetten dienten, worauf auch der unmittelbar um diese Oeffnung herum rauh gelassene Grund hindeutet. Dieser, so weit ihn nicht die Rosetten versteckten, mag wohl roth gewesen sein. Die Kassettenbalken dagegen scheinen einen blauen Grund gehabt zu haben, und an der wagrechten Fläche derselben laufen in der Mitte stets 2 erhaben gearbeitete Perlenstäbe, welche roth und grün gemalt waren; neben diesen läuft rechts und links an derselben Fläche ein blas gemaltes, $2\frac{1}{2}$ Zoll breites, doppeltes *à la grecque* in rother Farbe herum. Von den übrigen gemalt gewesenen Theilen lässt sich die Farbe nicht leicht mehr erkennen."

Ibid., p. 82: On the colors used on the temples at Athens: "Das vorkommende Roth ist entweder ganz dunkel, ins Bräunliche gehend, oder mehr hell zinnober-(ziegel-)roth, wenn es in der Nähe von Blau steht, oder mehr karmin-(purpur-)roth, wenn es von grüner Farbe umgeben ist. Das Blau ist meistens dunkelazurblau; das Grün bald hell bald dunkel meer-(apfel-)grün. Ausser diesen drei Farben und den Vergoldungen oder Bronzierungen, von welchen letztern hie und da noch einige etwas ungewisse Spuren zu finden sind, möchten wohl keine andern Farben in Anwendung gekommen sein, wenn man den durchscheinenden weissen Grund nicht auch als Farbe rechnen will. Bei den Figuren tritt öfters noch ockergelb und violet hinzu."

II. Report of the Committee appointed to examine the Elgin Marbles, in order to ascertain whether any evidences remain as to the employment of color in the decoration of the architecture or sculpture. Read by W. R. Hamilton, Monday, 24th July, 1837.² *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, Vol. I, Part 2.

Pp. 102-103. "The attention of the Committee was first directed to fragments Nos. 127 to 130 inclusive, in black, being Nos. 252 to 255 red,³ portions of the Ionic antae capital and continuous mouldings of the Hexastyle Portico of the Erechtheum. The object was to ascertain whether the in-

droseum (i.e., Porch of the Maidens) sind in den Cassetten aufgemalte Sterne, Grecques, Eier und Herzlaub zu sehen." Pittakis, *L'ancienne Athènes*, p. 404: "Dans l'intérieur de ce portique (the Porch of the Maidens) on voit des traces de peinture, la couleur rouge et bleue s'y distinguent facilement." Rangabé, *Ant. hellén.* I, p. 62, in speaking of the coffers in the Porch of the Maidens: "Dans le fond de chacun on voit encore une grande étoile en couleurs."

¹ Hermann was in Athens in the summer of 1835. After some general remarks he discusses in detail the traces of color on the Theseum, Propylaea, Parthenon, Erechtheum, and some single pieces.

² This Committee was appointed by the Institute of British Architects, December 5, 1836. It met at the British Museum, December 13, 1836, and June 1, 1837. Bracebridge's letter (see below) was presented at the second session, as well as Donaldson's memorandum on the colored glass beads in the guilloche of the capitals of the North Portico (p. 85).

³ *Br. Mus., Sculpture*, I, p. 236, No. 409.

equalities of the surface of certain portions of the plain faces arose from a coating of some substance originally placed upon the surface of the marble, for the purpose of receiving the color or paint, or whether it resulted from the action of the weather.

"It appeared upon examination by a powerful glass, that the raised portions, which remained in some parts, and which had a deeper ochrish tone than the rest of the marble, was the original surface highly polished, and that the general surface of the marble had been pretty equally worn away to the depth of about one-twentieth part of an inch by corrosion.

"The ochrish tint also seemed the result of the weather, as upon examining portions of this and other blocks of marble which were broken, the fractured surface presented in some parts a like colour, produced evidently by the action of the weather, or other accidental circumstances, such as contact with the earth, etc."

Pp. 104–105. Letter of C. H. Bracebridge, dated Atherstone Hall, April 17, 1837.¹ "Mr. Bracebridge is happy to forward a memorandum of patterns and colors from the Erechtheum; they are drawn from the northern portico of that conjoint temple of Minerva Polias, Pandrosus, and Erechtheus, so well known in the Acropolis. This side of the temple, being so well sheltered from the sea-breeze, has preserved its sculptured ornaments as fresh and sharp as if lately finished; and the columns of this portico being fluted with capitals elaborately worked and well-sheltered, have retained remains of color. At the top of the flutings especially, a thin coat of slate-colored paint is visible, at other points yellow and red color may be traced; but the remaining pieces are so small, and the colors *so much* faded as to leave the subject in dispute; this being alone certain, that there was color once carefully applied (at all events to the intaglio parts of the relief or concave parts of the capitals, etc.), and that this color was of various shades; the protuberant part of the work retains no color. The probability that blue, red, and yellow were used is very strong. Some portions of paint might be chipped off and subjected to analysis, which would determine what there is, in truth, but little or no doubt of."

Pp. 107–108. (From the report of the Committee): "Upon a consideration of all the facts contained in the preceding minutes, it appears to the Committee, that . . . some of the architectural fragments present indisputable traces of tone indicative of regular architectural ornaments, and that the outlines of such ornaments are distinctly traceable, being marked with a sharp instrument upon the surface of the marble. The Committee cannot positively state, from the appearance of the marble, that such tones have been produced by color, as they think that none of the color itself remains, but that the indication of tone results from mere variation of surface. Judging, however, from the information contained in Mr. Bracebridge's communication, there appears no reason to doubt that color has been applied."

A colored plate attached to this report contains from the Erechtheum a reproduction of the arrangement of the glass beads in the guilloche of the capitals of the North Portico (Ch. I, p. 85), and also a portion of the palmette and flower pattern from the same portico, not very accurately drawn. It shows the ground red, the palmette, flower, and tendril yellow, the calyx of the flower and the small leaves at the base and sides of the tendril (not the flower at the tip) light green, and the horizontal scroll and little spike at the base of the flower dark green on yellow. In the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects is the original drawing for this pattern, "Presented by C. I. Richardson, 1837." It bears the following note: "Ornament in the temple of Erechtheus. $\frac{1}{4}$ the actual size. The Cup bright green. Flower straw-color. Scroll brown. Upright scroll (i.e., tendril), shaded orange." It will be seen that the description, which agrees with the colored drawing, differs in some details from the published plate.

¹ The original letter is in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects. The text has only slight verbal differences from the printed version, which is here reproduced, except that Bracebridge's spelling of Erechtheum has been followed instead of the "Erectheum" adopted by the Committee. Bracebridge was in Athens in 1835–1836.

III. A. R. Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, I, Athens, 1842. Pp. 64–65.

The author is discussing the passage in the building accounts relating to the encaustic painting on the *κυμάτιον* (Ch. IV, pp. 410 f.), which Rangabé interpreted as referring to the architrave.

“Nous avons examiné avec attention les architraves du temple d'Erechthée qui sont par terre, dans l'espoir d'y découvrir des traces de cette peinture encaustique. On distingue sur quelques unes une certaine couleur brune, mais les contours du dessin qu'il devait y avoir ont été entièrement effacés. Les architraves qui sont encore en place peuvent être difficilement examinées; il y en a 4 d'intactes sur les colonnes du portique à l'Est, mais leur partie qui regarde le temple est endommagée, et on ne peut y distinguer aucun vestige de peinture. Au contraire à la partie extérieure, sur la moulure supérieure on peut voir très distinctement la peinture en couleur jaune, qui peut avoir été rouge, d'un riche méandre. Il est surtout bien conservé sur le second bloc au N. E. et il est très probable que toutes les trois moulures eussent été peintes d'une manière pareille.”¹

IV. J.-M. Tétaz, *Revue Archéologique*, VIII, 1851, pp. 92–94.

“*Décoration.* En outre des grands motifs de peinture murale indiqués par Pausanias, la décoration architecturale de l'édifice était, comme celle du Parthénon, complétée par la peinture, par l'incrustation d'ornements en bronze doré et même d'émaux, et par des guirlandes attachées aux jours de fête au moyen de crampons de fer existant encore sur les coussinets des chapiteaux des colonnes du portique septentrional. Bien que fort peu de traces de la partie picturale de cette décoration accessoire aient résisté au temps et à la pluie, à cause du peu de saillie de l'architecture ionique, le fait n'en est pas moins manifeste.”² . . .

“Ces passages, conservés dans l'inscription, indiquent bien clairement la décoration qui rehaussait l'effet de la sculpture des moulures des architraves: les fonds, et sans doute les filets étaient peints; les ornements dorés. Une ornementation analogue avec quelque variété de tons peut s'en déduire pour toutes les autres lignes d'oves ou de raies de cœur des corniches, des antes et des chapiteaux. Ceux-ci d'ailleurs peuvent se restaurer d'une manière presque complète au moyen des traces qui subsistent encore aux chapiteaux des colonnes du portique septentrional. Les filets des volutes étaient rouges; le fond dans l'intérieur des volutes et au-dessus du tore orné d'entrelas, bleu; sur ce fond bleu couraient en spirale deux ornements de bronze doré, indiqués encore par leurs attaches, qui devaient s'épanouir en palmettes sur les deux surfaces de raccordement intérieures. Le tore au-dessus des ovales était incrusté d'émaux de diverses couleurs formant les œils des entrelas, à l'imitation d'une couronne de pierreries; le fond des ovales était bleu sans doute, comme au chapiteau ionique des Propylées, les ovales rouges ou plutôt dorées pour se relier à la richesse du reste. L'œil de la volute était de bronze doré incrusté dans le marbre. La couronne de palmettes qui termine le fût de la colonne ne conserve plus de traces de couleur; mais il y a quelques années celle des antes laissait encore reconnaître le ton rouge du fond et le ton jaune clair des ornements avec quelques détails verts et bruns. Les chéneaux, dont le galbe était lisse, étaient ornés d'ornements peints: un fragment, qui par ses dimensions et la nature de ses ornements paraît avoir appartenu au portique oriental, en conserve encore le dessin complet tracé à la pointe.”³ . . .

“Les caissons des deux portiques septentrionaux et méridionaux ont, par leur position, conservé des traces assez importantes de leur décoration. Les trois quarts de rond de leurs renforcements ont conservé le dessin à la pointe des ovales qui les ornaient; leur fond est bleu, les lobes des ovales ont souvent une couleur noirâtre qui a dû être rouge. Au portique septentrional, le champ lisse qui sépare

¹ By “moulures,” Rangabé denotes the three fasciae of the Ionic architrave. No one else seems to have seen these traces of a painted meander, and it is practically certain that Rangabé was deceived by the uneven discoloration of the marble due to water trickling through the bead-and-reel ornament above.

² The comments of Tétaz on the passages in the inscriptions dealing with the painting of the cymatium of the epistyle are omitted.

³ Here follows a brief argument by Tétaz to prove that the marble figures of the frieze and probably the ground of the tympana were painted.

et entoure les caissons est orné d'un double méandre rouge sur fond bleu. A l'autre portique, ce même champ l'est de trois filets rouge sur fond bleu.¹ La grande porte du nord présente une particularité qui continue à prouver que la dorure avait une grande part à la coloration de cet édifice. Les boutons des rosaces du chambranle, sculptées en marbre sur le linteau, étaient de bronze sur les montants. Des cylindres de bois de cèdre étaient encastrés dans le marbre pour les recevoir; plusieurs sont encore en place avec les trous qu'y ont laissés les queues des boutons de métal; tous ces boutons étaient donc dorés, tant ceux de marbre que ceux de bronze, ce qui probablement entraînait encore la dorure d'autres détails."

V. C. Bötticher, *Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis zu Athen im Frühjahr, 1862*, p. 205; also *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, XIII, 1863, col. 590.

"§ 7, Ueberrest des antiken Wandputzes und seiner Malerei. . . . In der Pandrososcella, hoch über dem Thüreingange nach der Korenhalle, rechts im Winkel welchen die Südwand mit der Westwand bildet, befindet sich auf beiden Wänden eine Fläche von mehreren Quadratfuss welche stark mit Mörtel aus christlicher Zeit überdeckt ist. Bei Untersuchung des Plinthenverbandes über dem Thüreingange, fiel mir nicht nur eine *doppelte* Lage von Mörtel auf welche hier steht und von unten gar nicht wahrzunehmen ist, ich erkannte auch bald dass die untere Lage von dem antiken Putze gebildet werde, der durch die spätere Uebertünchung geschützt, *noch völlig unberührt und in voller Frische seiner Farbe hier besteht*; die vorsichtige Ablösung der obern Mörtelschicht brachte sie an das Licht. Die Putzrinde ist ungemein dünn, kaum über *eine Linie* stark, der feine Putz von der festesten Textur; die Farbe ist demselben nicht *imprägnirt* wie die Astricofärbung der pompejanischen Wände mit ihrer Silicathaut, sondern *mit dem Pinsel sehr pastos aufgetragen*, also sicher Harz und Wachs ihr Bindemittel. So weit die Fläche von mir freigelegt ist zeigt sie Felder im Tone von indischem Roth und glänzendem Meergrün durch Streifen von goldgelber Okkerfarbe eingeschlossen; der bei weitem grössere Theil aber liegt noch unter dem modernen Mörtel geborgen."

Bötticher removed a few square inches for deposit in the Berlin Museum, and strongly commended the rest to the care of his friend, Rousopoulos. Unfortunately all this stucco has now completely disappeared, apparently without further record or examination. Since this part of the temple was certainly damaged by the great fire, this bit of painting can hardly have formed part of the original Greek decoration, though it may possibly have belonged to the Roman restoration.

VI. John Pennethorne, *The Geometry and Optics of Ancient Architecture*, pp. 202-203.²

"There are no remains of colours externally on the Entablatures of the Erechtheium, but on the ceilings, both of the North and of the South Porticoes, there are traces of the engraved Ornaments, and also of the colours. In the ceiling of the North Portico the Ornaments are partly engraved and partly sculptured, with evident traces of colour, and in the Maeander, outlined between the lines of the beading, the blue is very distinct; the stars in each inner square appear to have been formed of metal gilt, and the Maeander also was probably relieved with gold on a blue ground. In the ceiling of the South Portico there are distinct traces between the lines of beading of simple lines having been drawn, probably relieved in gold, and there are also marks of blue on the engraved elliptical Ornaments." The "elliptical Ornaments" are the egg-and-dart mouldings.

¹ In his *Mémoire explicatif*, p. 55, submitted to the Académie des Beaux-Arts with his drawings (MS., Bibl. Éc. B.-A.), Tétaz phrases this description differently: "Au portique méridional le même espace l'était de deux filets bleu sur un fond qui a laissé une trace noirâtre et qui très probablement était rouge." The difference is more apparent than real, for it would seem that the surfaces between the coffers were decorated with parallel stripes of red and blue, but that the width was so uncertain that either color could be regarded as the ground. The manuscript contains somewhat less about the use of color than the later text, but no other difference than the one cited in regard to its application.

² During two visits to Athens, between 1832 and 1834, Pennethorne studied the remains of color on the Athenian buildings, but his results were not published until 1878.

CHAPTER III

THE SCULPTURES OF THE ERECHTHEUM

THE sculptures of the Erechtheum comprised, in addition to such ornaments as palmettes, rosettes, guilloches, and the like, six female supporting figures, or caryatids, and a frieze. No evidence exists as to the size or form of the acroteria or the presence of sculptures in the pediments. The caryatids stood on the outer wall of the small southwestern porch as supports for the entablature and roof. The frieze had its place above the epistyles of the eastern and western façades and, at the same height, on the southern and northern walls of the main building, or cella, except where it was interrupted by the roof of the North Portico; it extended also above the architrave of the North Portico on the eastern, northern, and western sides and for a short distance on the southern side, where the portico projects to the west of the cella.

I. THE CARYATIDS

(PLATES XXXVIII, XXXIX)

The entablature of the southwest porch is supported, not by columns, but by draped female figures which have usually been called caryatids¹ in modern times, though in the building inscription of the Erechtheum (p. 290) they are designated simply as maidens (*κόραι*). These six figures are at once architectural members and works of sculpture, and naturally the fact that they were to be architectural members influenced and limited the sculptor in his choice of forms and attitudes.

In order to produce as nearly as possible the effect of columns, that is, of virtually

¹ Pausanias (III, 10, 7 and IV, 16, 9) mentions dances of the maidens of Caryae (Caryatids) in the worship of Artemis. Pliny (*N. H.* XXXVI, 23) mentions among works of Praxiteles Maenads, Thyiads, and Caryatids, from which it would seem that Caryatids were dancers. Athenaeus (VI, 241 e) quotes from Lynceus, a writer of the fourth century B.C., a story of a banquet held in a room the roof of which was so unsafe that one of the banqueters said "a man has to feast here holding up his left hand as Caryatids do." Apparently, then, the word Caryatid designated in the fourth century a female figure holding up her left hand to support something above her. Perhaps the first such figures to which the name was applied were represented in the attitude of dancers. Vitruvius (I, 1, 5) says that Caryae, a Peloponnesian town, sided with the Persians against Greece and was severely punished by the Greeks after the Persians were defeated. The men of Caryae were killed, and the women enslaved. In their slavery they were forced to bear burdens and perform menial tasks without laying off their maternal costumes. The architects of the time gave the name Caryatides (women of Caryae) to statues of these women so placed as to support a weight, in order that the wrong-doing of the inhabitants of Caryae might not be forgotten. Vitruvius doubtless had some (perhaps misunderstood) Greek authority for this tale; but there is no indication that the word Caryatid was in general use in Greece to designate female figures employed as supports in architecture. On this story of Vitruvius, and on the use of the word Caryatid in general, see Blomfield, 'Some Remarks on the Caryatides of Ancient Architecture,' *Museum Criticum*, II, 1826, pp. 400-402; C. A. Böttiger, 'Ueber die sogenannten Caryatiden am Pandroseum in Athen und ueber den Missbrauch der Benennung Caryatiden,' *Amalthea*, III, pp. 138-167 (both these writers reject the statement of Vitruvius as legendary); Wolters, *Z. bild. Kunst*, VI, 1895, pp. 36-44; Homolle, *R. Arch.*, fifth series, V, 1917, pp. 1 ff., and *B. C. H.*, XXIII, 1899, pp. 625 ff.; Bulle, *Der Schöne Mensch*, col. 298; Fiechter in Pauly-Wissowa, XX, cols. 2247-2252; Pomtow, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXV, 1920, pp. 113-128, especially p. 127.

straight lines, at the ends of the porch, the maiden at each corner, as well as the one standing behind her, was made to rest her weight chiefly upon the outer leg, which is, therefore, straight, while the other leg is slightly bent. In other words, the maidens at the west end stand with the right leg straight and the left leg bent, while at the east end the posture is reversed. Of the two remaining figures each has the posture of the figure at the end nearest which it stands (PLATES XXXIII, 2, XXXIV, 4). This arrangement adds to the symmetry of the whole, while the easy pose of all the maidens, without making them less upright or vertical, gives them the appearance of supporting the entablature without effort, and thus produces an impression of strength.¹

The architect of the Erechtheum was not the first to employ female figures to support an architrave.² Such figures took the place of columns in two of the so-called treasuries at Delphi, those which were erected in the sacred precinct of Apollo by the Cnidians and the Siphnians,³ both of which were built in the sixth century B.C. In these two instances the figures stood on high bases and must have produced somewhat the effect of votive statues. Their heads were surmounted by high *calathi* or baskets, higher in proportion to the total height of the statues with their bases than are the capitals of Doric or Ionic columns in proportion to the total height of the columns to which they belong. The attitude of these figures is that of the numerous contemporary votive statues which have been found at Athens, Delos, and elsewhere. They stand perfectly straight and rigid, the weight being borne equally by both legs, and each figure holds with one hand a corner of her gown. A caryatid figure found at Tralles and now in the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople,⁴ which is evidently a replica of a figure at Cherchel,⁵ displays the qualities of Greek sculpture at a time shortly before the middle of the fifth century B.C., and is clearly a copy of a work of that period. The face, the hair, and the drapery all show traces of archaism. Here the head is surmounted by a tall *calathus*; the left arm, which is now wanting, was raised, undoubtedly so that the hand supported the weight that rested on the head, and the right hand holds a fold of the drapery. Closely related to this figure is another, which is preserved in three replicas, one at Mantua, one at Petrograd, and one at Venice.⁶

¹ On the esthetic qualities of the caryatids in relation to the effect of the porch as a whole, see K. Ronczewski, 'Die Karyatiden des Erechtheion; zur Frage über perspektivische Ausdrucksmittel,' *Arch. Anz.*, XXXVII, 1922, cols. 174-184. His article is in part a refutation of a theory advanced by the late Professor W. Malmberg (*Ekskur-sionny Vestnik Museja Alexandra III*, 1915, pp. 57 ff.; in Russian) that the caryatids were made of different breadths for the purpose of increasing, through perspective, the general effect of the porch. Later investigation has shown that the cast in Moscow, upon which this theory was based, is defective.

² On the use of human figures as architectural supports, see Erwin Wurz, *Plastische Dekoration des Stützwerkes in Baukunst und Kunstgewerbe des Altertums (Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes, 43)*, pp. 46 ff., especially pp. 56-59.

³ The caryatids formerly called Cnidian are now ascribed to the Siphnians, and *vice versa*. See W. B. Dinsmoor, *B. C. H.*, XXXVII, 1913, pp. 22-24.

⁴ Maxime Collignon, *Mon. Prot.*, X, pls. II, III, pp. 13-29; H. Lechat, *La sculpture attique avant Phidias*, pp. 489 ff.

⁵ Collignon, *l. c.*, p. 15, fig. 3; Gauckler, *Musée de Cherchel*, pl. IV, pp. 98 ff. This figure was probably made toward the end of the first century B.C.

⁶ Collignon, *l. c.*, p. 24 (fig. 10), p. 25 (fig. 11), and p. 21 (fig. 7) respectively. The figures at the corners of a sarcophagus from Salonica, now in the Louvre, are also closely related to the figures from Tralles and Cherchel; see Collignon, *l. c.*, p. 15, Gauckler, *Musée de Cherchel*, p. 102.

It has been suggested that these are copies of a figure which served as the companion piece of the original from which the figures from Tralles and Cherchel are derived,¹ but if that is the case, various details of the hair, face, and drapery have been modified by the copyist, and the *motif* of the left hand is radically changed, for the folds of the drapery curve uninterruptedly round the left thigh, showing that the hand did not hold the garment.² These figures differ among themselves, and may, perhaps, not be derived from one original. At any rate, they produce a less archaic effect than the figures from Tralles and Cherchel, and are probably derived from an original (or originals) of a date not earlier than 450 B.C.³ Their resemblance to the figures from Tralles and Cherchel is, however, so marked that they represent, not an original type, but a modification of the type of those figures.⁴ There are, then, three groups of caryatids at present known to us dating from times before the erection of the Erechtheum: those at Delphi, of the sixth century, the type of about 460 B.C., represented by the figures from Tralles and Cherchel, and what appears to be a modification of that type, made, apparently, in Attica about 450–440 B.C. In all the types earlier than the Erechtheum there is a tall *calathus* on the head of each figure.⁵

The originality of the caryatids of the Erechtheum is found in the reduction of the tall *calathus* to a simple cushion surmounted by a curved echinus decorated with an egg-and-dart moulding, which supports the square abacus, and in the more advanced and perfect treatment of the face and the drapery, to which should be added the variety and grace of pose. The hair, while treated with the mastery of the best Attic sculpture, still retains the general arrangement found in the earlier figures — a heavy, solid mass at the back,⁶ with long locks falling over the shoulders in front. The *motif* of the hand holding the drapery is the same as appears in the caryatids of Delphi and Tralles, and also in the archaic figures found on the Acropolis at Athens, at Delos, and elsewhere.⁷ What, if anything, was held in the missing hands, we do not know.

¹ Furtwängler, *Ueber Statuenkopieen im Altertum*, pp. 55 f.

² A similar difference seems to exist between the figures from Tralles and Cherchel on the one hand and a second figure from Venice on the other, so far as I can judge from the photograph published by Collignon, *l. c.*, p. 21, fig. 8.

³ Collignon, *l. c.*, p. 24. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, pp. 55–56, regarded the original of all these figures (the one from Tralles was not known when he wrote) as a work of Agoracritus of Paros, which he dated somewhat after 450 B.C. His argument is ingenious, but not convincing, and the date at which he arrives is surely too late for the style of the figure from Tralles.

⁴ Cf. Bulle, *Röm. Mitt.*, IX, 1894, p. 153.

⁵ The two figures in Constantinople (Gustave Mendel, *Mus. imp. ott., Sculptures*, I, Nos. 253, 254, pp. 586 ff., with one illustration) lack the head. Moreover, they do not seem to have been free standing supports. Their posture is one of considerable movement. Mendel ascribes the original of them to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century B.C., the figures themselves to about the first century A.D.

The caryatid in the Vatican (Braccio Nuovo, 5, Amelung, *Catalog*, pl. II) is a rather poor copy of the caryatid from the Erechtheum which is now in the British Museum. It is said to have been in the Palazzo Paganica, which was a part of the Palazzo Mattei, and to have been restored from models made by Thorvaldsen when it was put in its present place in 1824. It was tentatively suggested by Dodwell (*Tour*, I, p. 354) that this was the then missing statue behind the southeast corner figure.

⁶ This solid mass about doubles the thickness of the stone at this point (the neck), where it would otherwise be weak, thus greatly increasing the strength of the support. The arrangement of the hair is, however, traditional, something retained from earlier times, not an original device for strengthening the support.

⁷ The preservation of this *motif* in the caryatids of the Erechtheum tempts one to see a hint of some connection between them and the archaic figures found on the Acropolis, as if the archaic figures might have had some peculiar

The six caryatids of the Erechtheum, while virtually identical in their general lines and chief features, are by no means identical in details.¹ The one which has suffered least from exposure,² and which seems to have been originally the best, is the second from the west end.³ The surface of this figure is comparatively well preserved, though the hands are gone,

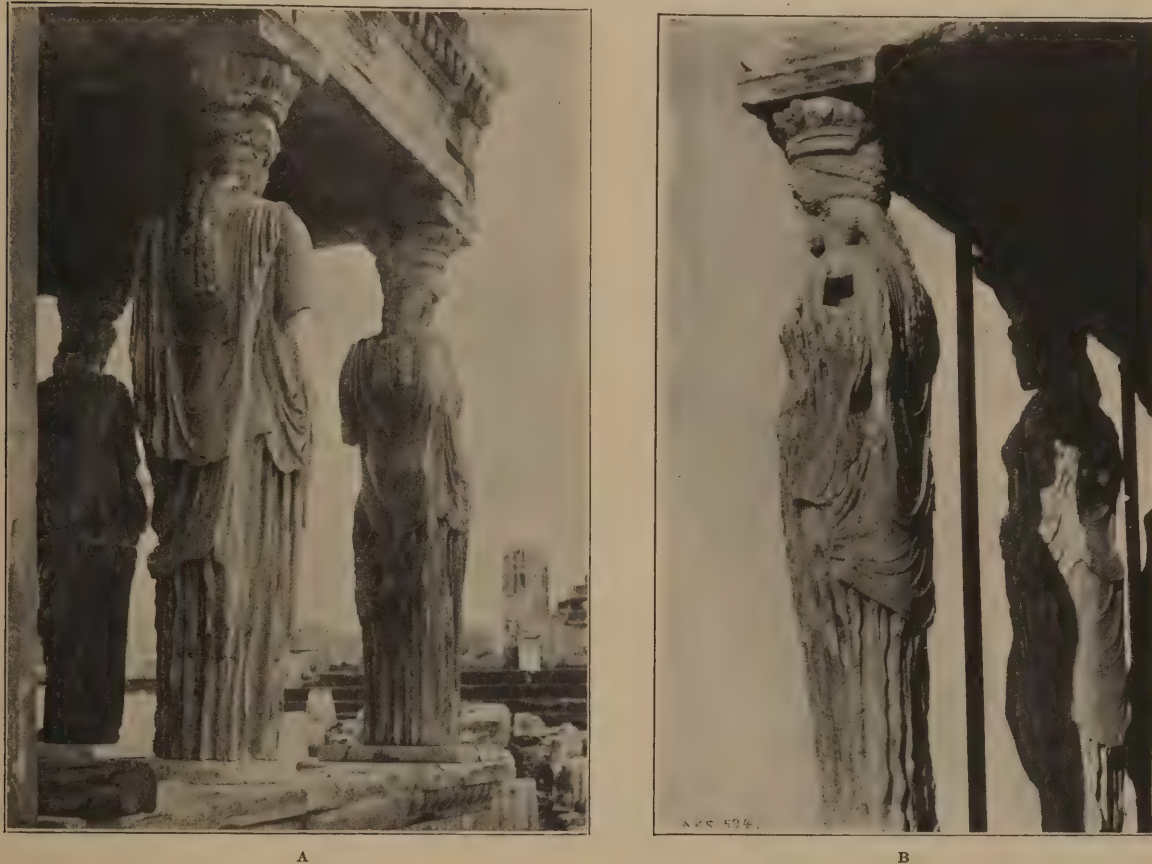


FIGURE 145. PORCH OF THE MAIDENS: (A), SOUTHWEST CORNER FROM NORTHWEST.
(B), SOUTHEAST CORNER FROM NORTHEAST

the face is much battered, the middle parts of the locks of hair — between the ends that lie on the breast and shoulders and their junction with the head — are broken away, and

significance in connection with the cult for which the Erechtheum (or, more especially, the southwest porch) was erected. Possibly the caryatids were intended to serve in a manner as substitutes for the lost and ruined archaic statues. Beulé, II, p. 254, suggested that the caryatids represented the Arrephori, young girls who annually carried on their heads some object to the temple of Aphrodite in the Gardens and brought another back to the Erechtheum (Paus. I, 27, 3), and that the architrave replaced their mysterious burden. This idea has been taken up independently by Petersen, *Burgtempel*, p. 27, and further elaborated by Elderkin, *Problems in Periclean Buildings*, pp. 13–18.

¹ On these differences see Ch. I, p. 111 f. and also Lechat, *La sculpture attique avant Phidias*, pp. 493 ff.; figs. 47–49.

² The figure north of the east corner is so much restored that it is now very largely modern work; see below, Ch. V, pp. 567, 578.

³ This figure was removed by Lord Elgin and is now in the British Museum. Its place on the porch was long occupied by a terra-cotta copy, which was replaced in 1912 by a copy made of Portland cement.

the edges of the folds of the drapery are injured in many places. A detailed description is rendered unnecessary by the illustrations (PLATES XXXVIII, XXXIX; Figs. 145-149).

An elaborate discussion of the general proportions of these figures, with a view to determining their position in the history of Greek art, can be of little value. We are reasonably sure that they were carved at Athens, and the inscription of 409 B.C. informs us that they were already in place in that year, inasmuch as the "ceiling blocks over the maidens" are mentioned (Inscription II, col. 1, ll. 85, 86). How long before that date the figures were made we do not know, since we do not know exactly when the building was begun, or how long the work was carried on without interruption.¹ The general proportions of the figures differ little from those of other Attic works of the latter part of the fifth century.² Nor are the proportions of the heads such as to indicate that these figures are not the work of Attic artists. To be sure, the eyes are relatively somewhat nearer together than those of certain other heads, and the cheeks and jaw are very evenly rounded, showing less of the osseous structure than is sometimes apparent,³ but these facts certainly do not suffice to invalidate the natural presumption that the figures are Attic work.⁴ The effect produced by the faces was undoubtedly somewhat different when the hair, now broken away, served as a complete frame at each side. The whole head, including the hair, would then appear wider, and the face itself narrower.

¹ For a discussion of these questions, see Ch. V, pp. 452 ff.

² Even if the proportions were peculiar, the fact that the figures were designed as architectural members would tend to invalidate any arguments based on comparison of them with the proportions of other statues.

³ These statements are true of the caryatid in the British Museum. The others have not been measured (in part because they are less well preserved), but there is no noticeable difference between the six caryatids in these particulars.

⁴ Few female heads are available for comparison. The following figures, taken from August Kalkmann's work, *Die Proportionen des Gesichts in der griechischen Kunst* (53tes Berl. Winkelmannsprogramm), 1893, pp. 110, 111, give proportions of the heads of the caryatid in London and of five Roman copies of Greek heads of the fifth and fourth centuries. To these I have added the corresponding proportions (from measurements of the cast in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston) of the head from the Heraeum near Argos (*The Argive Heraeum*, Vol. I, frontispiece, pl. XXXVI, pp. 189-191), an undoubted original of a date not very far removed from that of the Erechtheum. It will be noticed that while some of the proportions of our head agree pretty closely with those of the head from the Heraeum, others do not.

	Height from eye to chin = 100		Height of face = 200		Distance between outer corners of eyes = 100		
	Distance between outer corners of the eyes	Distance between ears	Distance between outer corners of the eyes	Distance between ears	Eye to chin	Height of face	Distance between ears
Caryatid in the British Museum	82.8	124.6	106.5	160.2	120.7	191.1	157.0
Amazon, Capitoline type	80.6	114.9	104.4	148.8	124.0	191.5	142.5
Amazon, Berlin type	79.4	116.9	102.6	151.0	125.9	194.9	147.2
Head in Bologna (Athena Lemnia)	85.0	120.0	108.5	153.2	117.6	184.3	141.2
Eirene, Munich	82.1	121.9	100.0	148.5	121.8	200.0	148.5
Cnidian Aphrodite (Vatican)	79.6	122.4	98.7	151.9	125.6	202.6	153.8
Head from the Heraeum	85.6	121.6	114.4	162.7	116.8	174.7	142.1



A



B

FIGURE 146. HEAD OF NORTHWEST CARYATID. (A) FRONT. (B) PROFILE



FIGURE 147. HEAD OF CARYATID AT SOUTHWEST CORNER. PLATE XXXIX, 1, 2, 3

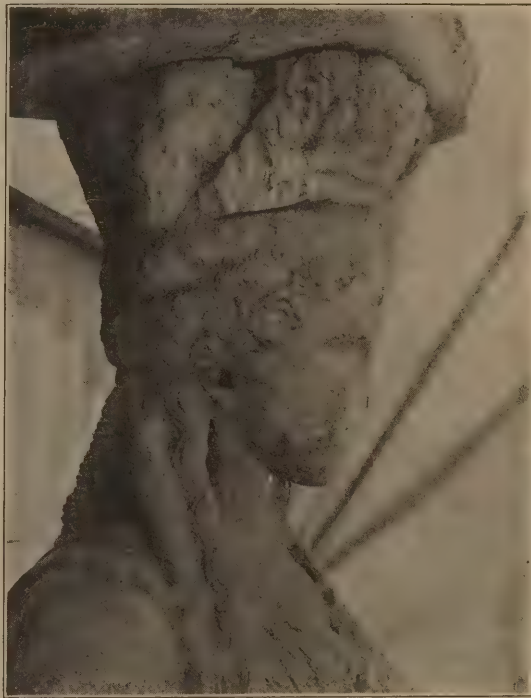


FIGURE 148. HEAD OF CARYATID AT SOUTHEAST CORNER. PLATE XXXIX, 7, 8, 9.

Even in their present condition these caryatids are impressive and beautiful. It is natural and fitting that they have served since the fifth century B.C. as models for figures of this class.

Bruno Schroeder¹ calls attention to the points of resemblance between these figures and several others² which he regards as works of Alcamenes, the pupil of Phidias, and suggests that Alcamenes may well be the author of the sculptures of the Erechtheum. That

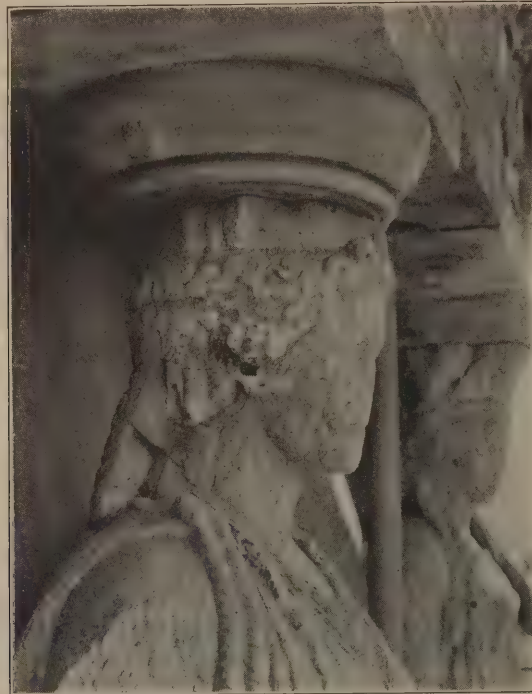


FIGURE 149. HEAD OF CARYATID WEST OF
SOUTHEAST CORNER.

PLATE XXXIX, 4, 5, 6

this is possible can hardly be denied, but our knowledge of the differences between the styles of the individual sculptors of the latter part of the fifth century is not sufficient to warrant us in ascribing these sculptures with confidence to any one of them.³ Indeed, Schroeder's references to the opinions of other scholars show that the names of Agoracritus, Cephisodotus, and Strongylion have all been mentioned in connection with the Erechtheum.

¹ *Alcámenes-Studien* (79tes Berl. Winckelmannsprogramm), 1921. Hans Schrader, *Phidias*, pp. 185, 195-203, also includes the Maidens among the works which he ascribes to Alcámenes.

² Such are the Spitzhöver threefold Hecate in the Berlin Museum (Inv. 1751), the so-called Procne in the Acropolis Museum (Casson, *Catalogue*, pp. 257 ff.), and a draped statue from Pergamon, now in Berlin (*Pergamon*, VII, 1, *Die Skulpturen*, pls. VI, VII, pp. 25 ff.).

³ The incompleteness of our knowledge is made plain by the instance of Paeonius of Mende. By chance his statue of Victory at Olympia is preserved and is identified by its inscription and by the mention of Pausanias. This admirable work has made him, for us, one of the famous sculptors of his time. But Paeonius is not mentioned in all extant ancient literature, except in Pausanias' description of Olympia, and there he is said to be the sculptor of the figures in the eastern pediment of the temple of Zeus, those in the western pediment being ascribed to Alcámenes. The

II. THE FRIEZE

(PLATES XL-XLVI)

The frieze was different in technique from any other known Greek frieze;¹ for it consisted, not of slabs of marble or other stone carved with figures, but of smooth blocks of very dark Eleusinian limestone, upon which figures of white marble were fastened by means of iron dowels.² The use of the dark stone made it unnecessary to color the background with paint, and there may have been some economy of material, and possibly also of labor, in having the figures carved separately from relatively small pieces of marble; but the general effect of the finished frieze was probably not very different from that of other

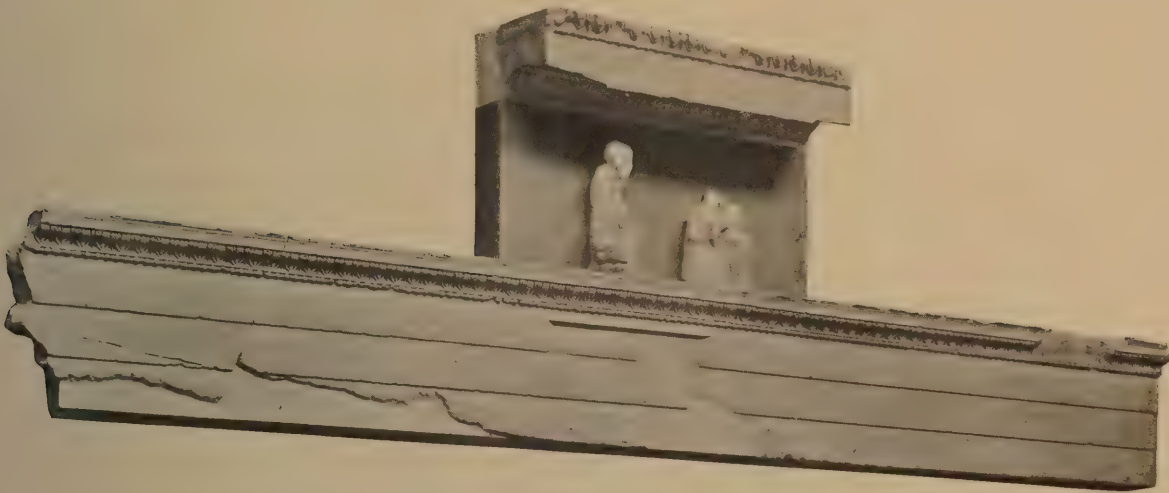


FIGURE 150. ARCHITRAVE, FRIEZE, AND CORNICE: BRITISH MUSEUM

friezes, the backgrounds of which were painted. The fact that the figures were carved separately has resulted in the loss of so many of them and the preservation of the rest in so fragmentary a condition, that it is now impossible to form an accurate judgment concerning the beauty of the work, or even to determine with certainty the subject or subjects represented.

The height of the blocks of Eleusinian stone which formed the frieze about the cella is 0.617 m., that of the frieze of the North Portico 0.683 m. The total length of the frieze of

latter ascription is now almost universally rejected, and the former is accepted, if at all, only with the gravest doubts. Evidently Paeonius was not a famous sculptor in ancient times, for in that case his name would be mentioned by other writers. Yet his Victory is now universally, and justly, admired. Whether other equally good sculptors may be totally unknown to us because their names are not mentioned in the extant remains of ancient literature is quite beyond our power to determine.

¹ The figures of gold on the pedestal of the statue of Zeus at Olympia (Pausanias, V, 11, 8) must have been made separately and fastened to the background; but such application of metal to a background of less valuable material is hardly comparable to the application of one kind of stone upon another.

² In general each figure was fastened by a single dowel; but when two persons, or a person with accessories, or a team of horses with chariot and driver, were carved from one piece of marble, only one dowel was used for the whole. The dowels had the shape represented in Figure 120, p. 195. The positions of the dowel holes in the blocks of the background are shown on PLATES III, IV, V, VI, XXI, and XLVI.

the cella was less than the entire circuit of the building, because the roof of the North Portico cut off part of it. Moreover, when the western end of the building was restored in Roman times, plain ¹ blocks of Eleusinian stone, without attached figures, were used to form the western frieze. Whether the western frieze was always plain, or had been adorned with figures before the restoration, is no longer to be determined with certainty, but the greater width of the Greek architrave suggests the presence here, as elsewhere, of a sculptured frieze; but even if figures once existed here, they must have been destroyed in ancient times, and there is no probability that any of the surviving fragments belong to figures of the western frieze. It may, therefore, be assumed that all the known fragments of figures from the frieze of the cella were once on the eastern, the southern, or the northern side. The total length of the frieze on these three sides was about 49 m. But the original position of the extant fragments can, perhaps, be even more closely limited. The drawings by Dalton, Stuart, and Pars show the building as it was about the middle of the eighteenth century (PLATES L, LI). At that time the dark blocks of the original Greek frieze were in position only across the eastern end and for a short distance along the southern side. No figures were then in place on these blocks, but it is perhaps probable, though by no means certain, that the last figures to be detached, and therefore the last to be destroyed, were those which once adorned the blocks which remained longest on the building.² In other words, there is some slight probability that most of the extant fragments of the figures from the frieze of the cella belong to the eastern front and the eastern part of the southern side; to a total length, that is to say, of about 14 m., though it is, of course, quite possible that fragments from other parts of the frieze may have escaped destruction.³

¹ They are old statue bases, with the tops turned toward the interior of the building (see Ch. I, p. 73). These tops show the foot marks of the statues which once stood on them (Fig. 207), but the outer surfaces are plain (PLATE XXXIII, 3).

² There is no reliable record of the places in which most of the fragments were found. Rangabé (*R. Arch.* II, 1, 1845, p. 323) says that nine were discovered in 1844, when the vault in the North Portico was removed; but he only describes two of these pieces in detail: "l'un représente une femme debout, vêtue d'une tunique et d'un manteau qui lui tombe de l'épaule gauche, et laisse le bras droit à nu; la main s'appuie avec grâce sur le côté. L'autre fragment représente également une femme debout; devant elle une autre femme, un genou à terre, se penche en avant, et a l'air d'examiner quelque chose qui se trouverait devant elle." The former fragment is still unidentified, but the latter appears to be the lower part of 66 (p. 259), wrongly described as composed of two women; the other group with a kneeling figure (49, p. 256) had been known for some time and published in 1837 in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*. Still other fragments are known to have been found in the walls between the nave and aisles of the church, and beneath the Christian pavement (Bötticher, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 193 f.), but they do not appear to have been described and cannot now be identified. These latter fragments very probably came from the side walls, which lost their architrave — at least in part, — and consequently their frieze, when the church was built (p. 502). The fragments in the vault of the North Portico might have come from any part of the building, if the vault was built for the powder magazine (p. 532). If, however, the vault belonged to the Turkish house and was constructed about the time when the North Door was closed with blocks of dark stone (pp. 523 f.) which almost certainly came from the frieze of the side walls, it is quite possible that these fragments had the same source. The fragments found in the débris around the building, however, may very well have belonged on those blocks of the frieze which remained longest in place.

³ In the inscription (Ch. IV, Inscription XIII, col. II, ll. 31–34), payment for the removal of scaffolding from the north wall, after the figures have been fastened to the frieze, in the seventh prytany of the year 408–407 B. C., is recorded. From this Carl Robert (*Hermes*, XXV, 1890, pp. 431 ff.) concludes that the sculpture for which 3315 drachmas were paid in the same prytany was on the north side of the building. He also identifies with fragment 106 (PLATE XLVI), the figures described in lines 7–9 of the inscription (a wagon, a youth, and two horses which are

The entire length of the frieze of the North Portico was about 25 m., and about 21 m. of the dark blocks now exist. Those blocks are now, with the exception of a few fragments, secured in their proper places on the building.¹

The total number of extant fragments of figures (reckoning as one those which certainly belong together) is 112, including the fragments of horses, and omitting the doubtful fragments described in the Appendix (pp. 270 ff.), but the number of figures represented by the fragments is probably somewhat less. Since the frieze of the North Portico is higher than that of the cella, the fragments are to be assigned to one or the other in accordance with the size of the figures to which they originally belonged. This size can, however, be determined only by calculation based upon the proportions of the human figure, or other objects represented, and measurements of the fragments. The difference in the height of the blocks on which the figures were fastened is only 0.066 m. (0.683 m. – 0.617 m.), and many of the fragments are so small that it is impossible to be quite certain whether they belong to figures of larger or smaller size. Moreover, since some of the figures were seated, while others were erect, there would certainly be in each division of the frieze some variety of proportions, even if all the figures represented adult human beings, which was not the case.² Nevertheless, careful measurement of the fragments has made it possible to assign almost all of them with greater or less probability to one frieze or the other, the degree of probability depending upon the size, preservation, and form of the fragments.³ The

being harnessed). If his conclusion and identification are correct, we cannot assume that all the fragments now existing are from the blocks which were still in place in the eighteenth century. However, as Frickenhaus (cited by Pallat, *A. J. A.*, XVI, 1912, p. 188, note) has observed, the part of the inscription which relates to the *ὑπουργοί* is not entirely preserved. It is, therefore, possible that scaffolding was removed from other parts of the building in that same prytany, and in that case lines 7–9 of the inscription do not necessarily refer to the frieze of the north side of the building. See Ch. IV, Commentary, pp. 413 ff.

¹ The place of the missing blocks is supplied by blocks of bluish "upper Pentelic" marble.

² See Ch. IV, Inscription XVII, col. I, l. 21, *ἡ παῖς*, and col. I, l. 2, *νεανίσκον*. If, as is almost certain, some figures represented deities, further variety of proportions would naturally result.

³ Dr. Ludwig Pallat (*Ant. Denk.*, II, pls. 31–34, with accompanying text) published in 1899 measured drawings of the dark blocks and the projecting top of the architrave upon which they rest, and photographs of the 95 (by his numbering 93) fragments of figures which he had succeeded in identifying. He described each fragment in detail, giving exact measurements, and stating, as accurately as the circumstances permit, the height above the ground line of every dowel hole found in the fragments. His work is very careful and thorough, and I have accepted his results, with certain reservations and corrections which are stated below.

The earliest publication of the figures was by A. R. Rangabé in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1837, pp. 68–70, figs. 33–49. It comprised brief descriptions of five pieces and rather poor reproductions of seventeen, apparently all which had then been identified. In 1842 Rangabé published in his *Antiquités helléniques*, I, p. 73, pls. III, IV, figs. 61–85, a brief account, with illustrations, of twenty-five fragments, omitting one (no. 33) of those previously reproduced in the *Ἐφημερίς*. Seventeen of these fragments (seven of those in the *Ἐφημερίς*) were more fully described in the *Annali dell' Istituto*, XV, 1843, pp. 310–312 by Ludwig Stephani, who omitted the other pieces because he had been unable to find them during his stay in Athens. Sixteen fragments were also published by Ph. Le Bas in his *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure, Monuments figurés*, pls. 15–17 (see also the edition by S. Reinach, *Bibliothèque des Monuments figurés*, I, pp. 56, 57). Some of the fragments reproduced in these early publications cannot now be identified with certainty; see below p. 276. The frieze has, of course, been briefly mentioned or discussed in a considerable number of books of more general content, such as *Die Museen Athens* (Milchhöfer), *Histoire de la sculpture grecque* (Collignon), *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik* (Overbeck), Pausanias (Frazer's notes in Vol. II), etc.

Rather poor drawings of 46 fragments were published by Richard Schoene (*Griechische Reliefs*, pls. I–IV, pp. 1 ff.). This was the first serious attempt to publish this frieze. The fragments published by Schoene and Overbeck are repro-

fragments ascribed to the North Portico are parts of about 56 different figures, including three chariots with galloping horses,¹ each of which was fastened to the background by a single dowel.² In the existing dark blocks of the frieze of this porch (about 21 m. in length) there are 59 dowel holes (PLATE XLVI), not including several small round holes which may have served for fastening attributes, and disregarding also a few holes in fragments which cannot be placed (PLATE XLVI). In the entire frieze of the porch there were, then, probably about 70 dowel holes,³ corresponding to about 70 figures. Apparently, then, fragments of much more than half the figures of the frieze of the North Portico are preserved. The existing fragments of the frieze of the cella represent about 46 figures, in addition to a team of horses, which must certainly have occupied more space than other figures. Now if these figures were all on the blocks of the frieze which were in place in the eighteenth century, we have fragments of about three figures to the running metre ($46 \div 14 = 3.29$), very close to the average in the frieze of the North Portico when it was complete. In that case, all, or nearly all, the figures of this part of the frieze would be partly preserved. Even if the extant fragments are ascribed impartially to the southern, the eastern, and the northern sides of the building, nearly one figure in three still exists in part.

Under these circumstances it would seem that, with the aid of the dowel holes in the backs of the fragments of the figures and in the blocks of the background,⁴ many of the fragments could be assigned to their proper places and the design could be in great measure reconstructed with perfect certainty. This, however, is not the case. Some few fragments, the edges of which fit more or less perfectly, were put together by Pallat and those who studied the frieze before him, and I was unable to obtain further results by placing the fragments next one another, though I tried all possible combinations. I found no further exact joints, and even probable arrangements failed to present themselves. Nor did the attempt to fix the position of the figures by means of corresponding dowel holes in the fragments and the blocks lead to any definite results. As a general rule, the dowel holes in

duced by S. Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains*, I, pls. 9-12. Ludwig von Sybel (*Ath. Mitt.*, V, 1880, p. 228, and *Katalog der Skulpturen von Athen*, 1881, under No. 5686) added 20 to Schoene's list of fragments, but published no further drawings. See also Baumeister's *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, I, pp. 489, 490, and Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur*, pls. XXXI-XXXIII. Further discussions of the frieze are by Carl Robert (*Hermes*, XXV, pp. 431 ff.), K. Weissmann (*Beiträge zur Erklärung und Beurteilung griechischer Kunstwerke*, 1903, pp. 31-50; not important), and Ludwig Pallat (*A. J. A.*, XVI, 1912, pp. 175-202). The last mentioned article contains a somewhat detailed discussion of the dowel holes in the dark blocks and the marble fragments, with an attempt to reconstruct, by the use of all the evidence at our disposal, some of the scenes of the frieze, and some suggestions for the interpretation of the whole. This is the most serious attempt at interpretation that has been made.

The latest discussion of the frieze is by Stanley Casson in the *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, Vol. II (Cambridge University Press, 1921), pp. 19-27 and 174-218, with a few illustrations. On pages 19-27 is a general discussion of the frieze, on pages 174-218 a description of each fragment, with some discussion and full bibliographical references.

¹ See Pallat, *A. J. A.*, XVI, 1912, pp. 175, 177, 178.

² See above, p. 239, note 2.

³ $21:59 = 25:70$. The average distance between the dowel holes is 0.356 m., and the average number of holes per metre is 2.81.

⁴ The blocks of the eastern front of the East Portico are shown on PLATE XXI; the existing blocks of the southern side on PLATES VI and XLVI.

the figures are smaller than those in the blocks of the background; and exact correspondence in measurements is, therefore, not to be expected. Moreover, since the dowels were fixed in the holes with lead, the holes were necessarily larger than the dowels, and the dowels were probably not always exactly in the middle of the holes. A hole in the Eleusinian stone might, therefore, be a centimetre, or possibly even more, higher or lower than the corresponding hole in a marble figure; and, since all the holes are, roughly speaking, in the middle third of the blocks,¹ many of them are at nearly the same height. In the blocks of Eleusinian stone (not including one or two fragments) there are 92 dowel holes, besides eleven small holes already mentioned. Of the 112 fragments² of figures only about 45 have dowel holes,³ and none of these holes corresponds so exactly with any hole in the blocks as to determine with perfect certainty the position of the figure. The fragments which contain no dowel holes may have had their places anywhere, except where there are dowel holes in the Eleusinian stone, subject, of course, to the limitation that the lower part of a figure cannot go on the upper part of a block or *vice versa*.

The top of the architrave below the blocks of Eleusinian stone shows by its weathering where it was always exposed and where it was protected by the projecting figures of the frieze. There are also in the top of the architrave numerous small round holes, and similar holes, some of which contain remains of iron pins or plugs and of lead, are found in a few of the fragments of sculpture.⁴ But some of the holes in the top of the architrave are outside of the area protected from the weather, and were therefore not covered by the figures of the frieze. Perhaps attributes (or, possibly, projecting points to prevent birds from alighting) may have been fastened in these holes. At any rate, the lines of weathering and the small holes must be taken into account in any proposed reconstruction of the frieze.

Although attempts to reconstruct the design of the frieze by direct juxtaposition of the fragments and by means of corresponding dowel holes in the fragments of sculpture and the blocks of the background were unsuccessful, nevertheless some results may be obtained in a somewhat less direct way by examination of the fragments and the dowel holes. The fragments show that some of the persons represented were seated, others standing, others in motion, and others in various attitudes. Among the fragments far more than half are from female figures, and persons engaged in action were apparently very few in comparison with those who were either seated or standing quietly.⁵ As Pallat observes, seated and

¹ The lowest is 0.175 m. from the bottom (except that the hole in the back of fragment 98 is only 0.16 m. from the original under surface), and nearly all are at a height between 0.22 m. and 0.45 m.

² There are more than 112, if any of the doubtful fragments belong to the frieze.

³ In a few cases there is, just where the stone is broken, something that looks like a cutting and may be the remains of a dowel hole. The number of holes cannot, therefore, be given with absolute certainty.

⁴ See Hill, quoted by Pallat, *A. J. A.*, XVI, 1912, p. 195, note, and compare PLATES XXI, XLVI; Fig. 11.

⁵ The following statistics are given by Pallat, *A. J. A.*, XVI, 1912, pp. 182 ff., 191 ff.: Frieze of the cella: standing or quietly walking figures, 15 (now 17); moving, 7 (now 8); seated, 10 (now 11); in various attitudes, 5; male, 13 (now 14); female, 24 (now 28). Frieze of the North Portico: standing, 22; quietly walking, 3 (now 4); running, 6; seated, 9 (now 10); engaged in some action, 4; male, 5; female, 42 (now 44). To these the horses and some small fragments are to be added.

quietly standing figures are likely to be divine or heroic spectators of whatever action is represented, if one may reason from the analogy of the friezes of the Parthenon, the "The-seum," and the temple of Athena Nike. The same analogy lends some slight additional probability to the assumption (p. 240) that most of the fragments of the frieze of the cella, so many of which belong to quietly standing or seated figures, are derived from the eastern front. On the North Portico, on one side at least, and probably on two sides, the frieze must, apparently, have contained groups of divine or heroic spectators of some action or actions, and by far the greater number of these superhuman beings must have been female.

These results of the examination of the fragments of the figures and the dowel holes in the blocks of the background may be accepted as correct and virtually certain. They give us some idea of the general appearance of the frieze, the figures of which seem to have been arranged in separate groups or scenes, rather than in one continuous representation. Some division of scenes is inevitable in view of the different heights of the frieze of the cella and that of the North Portico, while the shape of the latter, with its three sides ¹ nearly equal (of which the eastern side is really the most important and conspicuous, while the northern side is architecturally the front of the porch), lends itself readily to the representation of three scenes, and any continuous representation on the walls of the cella would necessarily be unsymmetrical, since the frieze on the northern wall was much shorter than that on the southern (p. 240).

The subjects of the groups have not as yet been determined with certainty. Those who have tried to determine them have generally assumed that scenes connected with Erechtheus and his cult were represented; and this is, indeed, probable; but since the subjects of the sculptured adornment of Greek temples were not always directly connected with the deity or hero to whom any given temple was dedicated,² and since this particular temple was built for Athena as well as for Erechtheus, the connection of the frieze with Erechtheus is not absolutely certain.³

¹ The single block on the fourth side, where the porch projects to the west of the cella, would hardly afford space for an independent scene.

² See Tarbell and Bates, *A. J. A.*, First Series, VIII, 1893, pp. 18 ff.

³ Ingenious and carefully considered attempts to determine what scenes were represented, and even to reconstruct to some extent individual scenes, have led to results which may be correct, but are not certain. Pallat, *A. J. A.*, XVI, 1912, p. 184, observes that in the frieze of the eastern front of the temple the second hole in the fourth block (counting from the left) is at the same height from the ground line (*ca.* 0.27 m.) as the dowel hole in the back of the horse, 106 (PLATE XLVI; museum number 1235), if the legs of the horse be restored, and is at a considerable distance from the holes to right and left. These facts indicate that a chariot with its horses was represented at this point. From this and other similar indications, Pallat concludes that the scene represented here, over the entrance to the eastern cella, was the harnessing by Erechtheus, under the direction of Athena, of the first four-horse chariot. Besides the persons engaged in this action, the eastern frieze contained, according to Pallat, only spectators, messengers, etc. But the low hole in the sixth block, at the right, may indicate the presence of another horse, which seems to destroy the symmetry of the composition and is hard to bring into connection with the proposed scene. Pallat also, on the ground of the arrangement of the dowel holes and the existence of a large number of female figures, thinks that on the eastern (which was the most important and conspicuous) side of the North Portico the birth of Erichthonius was represented, and he suggests for the northern front of the porch Athena surprising the daughters of Cecrops at the opening of the chest in which Erichthonius was hidden. Some of the fragments of the figures he identifies

On account of the fragmentary condition of the figures, nearly all attributes, which might aid in the identification of persons and thereby in the interpretation of scenes, have been lost. Two fragments (11, PLATE XL, museum number 1237, and 84, PLATE XLIV, museum number 1075) are from figures, or groups, which were evidently much alike. Each represented a seated woman holding a nude boy in her lap, and one turns towards the right, the other towards the left. It is tempting to try to reconstruct a group in which these two shall be symmetrically arranged, but, unfortunately, their proportions are not the same, and in all probability the larger (11) belongs to the frieze of the North Portico, the other to that of the cella. One or both might readily find a place in scenes from the myth of Erechtheus or that of Erichthonius. The fragment 18 (PLATE XLI, museum number 1239) belongs to a female figure seated on a somewhat elaborate chair, the arm of which ends in a lion's head and is supported by a sphinx. The interpretation of this figure as Athena is, however, hardly to be accepted as certain. Part of the seat for the figure in the fragment 73 (PLATE XLIV, museum number 2818) projects in relief, and this has not as yet been satisfactorily explained. Part of the trunk of a tree is visible at the right of the fragment 78 (PLATE XLIV, museum number 1077). The object held in the lap of the figure in the fragment 83 (PLATE XLIV, museum number 1293) is usually called an omphalos, but the designation is far from satisfactory. With the male figure in the fragment 92 (PLATE XLV, museum number 1196) is an object which Pallat explains as parts of a mast and spar with a sail, and this explanation may be correct, though so little of the object (or objects) is preserved that certainty is hardly to be attained. Unfortunately none of these objects or attributes is of much service in the interpretation of the frieze.

The design for the entire frieze was probably the work of one artist, and, though we can form no accurate judgment of his ability in the composition of groups and the arrangement of figures, some of the fragments are sufficiently well preserved to show that in designing individual figures, in arranging the folds of drapery, and in portraying variety of attitude he exhibited no mean powers. The positions of the dowel holes in the background show that the figures were not so close together as are those of the frieze of the Parthenon, though their arrangement is far from being as loose as that seen in the Amazon frieze of the Mausoleum. The space was well filled without overcrowding. In the treatment of drapery this frieze occupies a middle position between the frieze of the Parthenon and the balustrade of the temple of Athena Nike. Good examples are the fragments 13 (PLATE XL, museum

tentatively with persons who would naturally be present at these events. On the western side of the porch he thinks a chariot race of four-horse chariots was represented.

In *Hermes*, XXV, 1890, pp. 431-445, Carl Robert constructs, from the words of the inscription, XVII, col. I, ll. 1-17, a scene representing the departure of Erechtheus for his combat with Eumolpus, and from XVI, col. I, ll. 2-9, he deduces a scene relating to the giving of an oracle. The first of these scenes he thinks was on the northern side of the East Cella, the second on the North Portico. Somewhat less positive results were obtained through study of the inscription by Bergk, *Z. Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1845, pp. 947 f. (quoted by Brunn, *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler*, I, p. 250). Weissmann's (see p. 242) interpretation is founded in great part on Schoene's imperfect publication of the fragments. Of these attempts at interpretation, that of Pallat is by far the most carefully worked out and the most nearly convincing.

number 1072), 77 (PLATE XLIV, museum number 1071), 78 (PLATE XLIV, museum number 1077), and 84 (PLATE XLIV, museum number 1075). The surface of the marble has suffered greatly from time and exposure, but even now it is evident that the execution was uneven. The inscriptions (XVI, col. 1, ll. 2-9; XVII, col. 1, ll. 1-22) record payments made to various artisans for carving the figures at the rate of 60 drachmas for each figure of the usual size. Evidently the artisans were not all of equal ability, but all possessed considerable skill and all worked with ease and assurance. As a whole, the frieze was, apparently, inferior in dignity of conception and richness of design to the frieze of the Parthenon and by no means equal to the balustrade of the temple of Athena Nike in brilliancy of execution. As a unique departure from the usual technique it was, and is, interesting, but the fact that the experiment was not repeated may indicate that it was not regarded as a perfect success. Nevertheless, so far as we can judge from the extant fragments, the frieze was well designed and executed, and formed no unworthy part of the adornment of the most ornate structure on the Acropolis of Athens.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FRAGMENTS OF THE FRIEZE¹

1. (No. 2822; Pallat 31, 1.) H. 0.26 m.; Br. 0.15 m.; Th. 0.14 m. Part of thigh and adjacent portions of a standing figure, turned to the left (her right), draped with a himation which is held in folds at the front. The flat surface at the back is dressed with a point and chisel, and contains only a few unworked holes. The width at the bottom is 0.06 m., at the top 0.07 m. A dowel hole, neatly wrought with a chisel (length 0.04 m.; breadth 0.018 m.; depth 0.036 m.), is 0.17 m. from the lower edge (that is, about 0.33 m. from the original ground line). If the dowel was vertical, the figure would stand nearly erect. The work on the front is facile, vigorous, and not especially fine. Strong effects of shadow seem to be intended.

¹ This description is a translation of Pallat's description, with various changes and additions. For many of these I am indebted to Dr. James M. Paton, others are derived from Mr. Casson's *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, others from Dr. Pallat's article in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, still others are due to the kindness of Dr. Bert H. Hill and Dr. Carl W. Blegen. My thanks are due to Dr. Pallat and the German Archaeological Institute for the free use I have been allowed to make of Dr. Pallat's work. I have examined and measured all the fragments.

The following abbreviations are employed: H., height; Br., breadth; Th., thickness; l., length; br., breadth; d., depth, in the description of dowel holes).

No., the number given in the inventory of the Acropolis Museum, where all the fragments, with the few exceptions noted in the text, are preserved.

Pallat, Dr. Ludwig Pallat's publication in *Antike Denkmäler*, II, pls. 31-34, with accompanying text.

A. J. A., Dr. Pallat's article in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, XVI, 1912, pp. 175-202.

Casson, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, Vol. II, by Stanley Casson. In this catalogue the fragments are designated by their inventory numbers; reference to pages is, therefore, unnecessary, except when the introduction is cited.

In his publication, Dr. Pallat assigns fragments 1-55 to the North Portico, and arranges them on his plates 31-32. To these he added fragment 56 in A. J. A. Fragments 57-61 and 112, not published by Pallat, seem to belong also to this porch. Fragments 62-96 are ascribed by Pallat in *Antike Denkmäler* to the frieze of the cella, and are arranged on plates 33-34. Fragment 97 is assigned to the same series in A. J. A. Fragments 98-104 seem to belong also to the cella. The fragments of horses, 105-108, are grouped by Pallat on plate 34, and to these 109 was added in A. J. A. The order of Pallat's arrangement is here followed as closely as possible, for his division of the figures between the cella and the North Portico is without doubt in most cases correct.

With few exceptions the fragments are now mounted on plaster bases. This adds greatly to their beauty, but makes it impossible to examine the under (and in some cases the back) surface.

2. (No. 1290; Pallat 31, 2.) H. 0.34 m.; Br. 0.17 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Fragment, of two pieces put together — abdomen, right leg to below the knee, and a small bit of the left thigh, — of a female figure apparently moving towards the right,¹ as is shown by the drapery at the left. Her left knee may have been raised rather high. She wears a chiton which was girt about the waist. A small hole, bored up from below into the deep middle fold of the three that exist between the legs, seems to indicate that a small piece was once fastened on here. The back surface is dressed with the toothed chisel and exhibits slight unevennesses caused by lifting the chisel.

3. (No. 1294; Pallat 31, 3.) H. 0.37 m.; Br. 0.20 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Lower part — from about the waist down — of a female figure clad in a chiton girt at the waist; she is striding toward the right. The back is finely roughened. The lower surface has flaked off; in it is a hole (possibly modern) which contains lead. The surface has suffered much. Where the surface has broken away in the front are several small holes, seemingly due to the drill used in working the drapery.

4. (No. 2825; Pallat 31, 4.) H. 0.33 m.; Br. 0.305 m.; Th. 0.155 m. Upper part — from the neck to the middle of the thighs — of a female figure striding rapidly towards the left and forward. She wears a sleeved chiton girt at the waist. Her rapid forward movement has caused this to slip from her left shoulder to a point below the left breast. Over her extended right arm she has thrown her cloak, one end of which she was pulling up with her raised left hand over her shoulders, perhaps in fear. This part of the cloak is somewhat roughly wrought out from the back surface (Fig. 151). The end of a mass of hair is also visible here, indicating that the coiffure was like that of the "maidens" of the Erechtheum. The head was turned back towards the right. The back surface is dressed with two toothed chisels; that used in the upper part being the coarser of the two. There seem to be traces of previous use of the point. In the back, 0.11 m. from the lower edge (i.e., about 0.36 m. from the original ground line) and 0.03–0.035 m. from the left edge (of the back), is a dowel hole entirely filled with iron and lead (l. 0.07 m.; br. 0.025 m.). The lead spreads over the edge of the hole. At the height of this dowel hole, in the left hip, is a second hole, cut horizontally, which is 0.18 m. from the lowest corner of the figure and still contains much lead. This hole probably served in attaching an attribute. The whole fragment is noticeably thick (0.135 m. at the bottom). The folds of the drapery are cut very deep in some places, for which purpose the drill was freely employed, and, for instance at the left hip, pretty roughly managed. On the other hand, the lines of the folds, especially where they lie close to the arm, breast, etc., are divided in almost excessive detail by means of long-drawn, fine incisions and little grooves.

Casson, p. 24, says this "is a very fine example of a winged Nike, a type which seems to have figured largely in contemporary sculpture and in the Erechtheum frieze in particular." He calls this (p. 214) a "female winged figure." He says "the traces of the wings consist of a groove behind the right shoulder and a base of the left wing on the left shoulder." The so-called base of the left wing seems rather to be a fragment of the drapery, and the groove behind the right shoulder is surely no sufficient ground for assuming that the figure is winged. Casson very properly calls attention (p. 25) to the resemblance in style and type between this fragment and 2, 26, 27, 28, 29, 58, 74, 76, which he calls collectively "Nike figure fragments," without offering any definite reason for that designation. Dr. Blegen writes: "What Casson calls the base of the left wing is, I feel sure, part of the drapery. The himation hanging over the right arm was imagined as swinging down behind the back

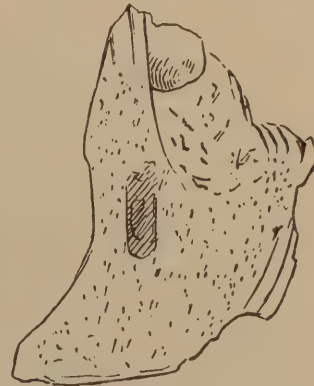


FIGURE 151. FRAGMENT 4:
BACK

¹ The words right and left are used with reference to the spectator, except when they define members of the body (e.g., right arm), in which case they are used with reference to the particular figure under discussion.

and then high up on the other side, presumably held in the left hand across the shoulder. On the figures of the Nike balustrade the base of the wing starts from the very top of the shoulder; the projection on this fragment, however, rises not from the top of the shoulder, but from some distance down the back. The groove behind the right shoulder gives no evidence whatsoever for a wing. In the first place it is not in the right place for a wing, and in the second place it seems to me to show, if anything, that nothing was ever attached in this place. The groove, as Hill points out, was made to provide access for pouring lead about the dowel. Hill has examined the figure and agrees with the above." Dr. Blegen writes further that Mr. Casson now concedes that there is no sure evidence for wings, though he still thinks the figure is of the Nike type and shows strong similarity to the figures of the Nike balustrade.

5. (No. 1291; Pallat 31, 5.) H. 0.28 m.; Br. 0.20 m.; Th. 0.12 m. Fragment — left thigh and part of the right — of a female figure moving rapidly towards the front and left, clad in a chiton girt at the waist. The folds at the sides are not sharply set off from the surface at the back, but pass over into it in curves. The surface of the back is roughened with a fine toothed chisel. The front seems to have been treated in the same way as that of the previous fragment. Little grooves are still distinguishable. Pallat says: "Near the upper left corner on the back is a bit of bronze, but not in a hole, and there is no clear trace of a dowel." There is now no trace of bronze or of dowel hole. This fragment is very similar to 2. The marble is noticeably coarse grained.

6. (No. 1074; Pallat 31, 6.) H. 0.44 m.; Br. 0.23 m.; Th. 0.13 m. Lower part of a female figure moving with airy motion, not rapidly, forward and to the left. She is clad in chiton and himation. The sides at right and left pass over in curves into the rough surface of the back. The figure appears to be broken at the bottom. The surface of the coarse-grained marble has suffered from fire and crumbles readily.

7. (No. 1300; Pallat 31, 7.) H. 0.35 m.; Br. 0.18 m.; Th. 0.095 m. Fragment — extending from the breasts to the knees — of a female figure moving, like the preceding one, with airy motion towards the left. She is entirely wrapped in her himation, one corner of which is thrown over her left forearm. The back surface is dressed with the toothed chisel. In it, at a point corresponding to the left breast, is a broken dowel hole (l. 0.035 m.; d. 0.04 m.). It is 0.275 m. from the lower edge (i.e., about 0.46 m. from the original ground line) and extends somewhat diagonally downwards from right to left, as seen from the back. The fragment was at one time built into a wall and is much worn off.

8. (Nos. 2830 and 2830 a; Pallat 31, 8.) H. 0.21 m.; Br. 0.24 m.; Th. 0.11 m.; and H. 0.27 m.; Br. 0.22 m.; Th. 0.12 m. Two fragments, which fit one another, of a female figure clad in chiton and himation. She sits in profile towards the right on a smoothly worked, somewhat rounded seat which seems to have had a slight moulding at the top (Pallat calls this a stone, Casson a box; it is a seat of cut stone), bends her body forward, and extends her left forearm in the same direction. The right forearm is bent upwards, and the hand must have extended somewhat higher than the left breast. The lower part of the left leg is broken off, and therefore the entire lower part of the figure looks somewhat too small in comparison with the full forms of the upper part. The back surface of both parts is worked with coarse toothed chisel and point and has, in the upper fragment, flaked off somewhat. The dowel hole is in the lower fragment at the broken right hand edge as seen from behind. It consists of three overlapping drill holes (l. 0.04 m.; d. 0.042 m.) and is 0.165 m. from the ground line. The work on the front seems to have been vigorous and not very fine.

9. (No. 1296; Pallat 31, 9.) H. 0.20 m.; Br. 0.27 m.; Th. 0.13 m. Fragment — thighs and great part of legs — of a figure seated towards the right, but turned more towards the front than towards the side. The legs are covered with a cloak. The knees and shins are broken away. The seat is of uncertain shape (Casson suggests a rock or a large box). The back surface is roughly worked with a point and made even with a toothed chisel. On the front the drill was freely used; this is seen especially in the collection of folds under the right thigh.

10. (No. 1238; Pallat 31, 10.) H. 0.35 m.; Br. 0.28 m.; Th. 0.18 m. Lower part of a female figure clad in a chiton with kolpos and apptygma and, apparently, a himation the folds of which fall over the seat at the left. She sits turned half towards the right, on a seat so high that her thighs are not horizontal, but slope downward towards the knees. Both knees are broken away. The seat, of unusual form, is broken away at the bottom (Casson calls it a rock, but the form seems too regular). This figure sits, like the previous one, with her legs spread somewhat apart. There is, as Schoene and Pallat have observed, no indication that she is rising from her seat, as was suggested by Stephani. The back surface is dressed with a rather coarse toothed chisel, except at the upper left (right, as seen from the front) corner, where it is smooth. The broken lower edge is embedded in plaster. The drapery of the front is designed with a certain largeness and is clearly subdivided, but the treatment is somewhat coarse.

11. (No. 1237; Pallat 31, 11.) H. 0.33 m.; Br. 0.33 m.; Th. 0.165 m. Lower part of a female figure seated towards the left on a rock. She is clad in a girded chiton and a himation and holds in her lap a naked boy whose legs were wrought free from the background and are now broken off; a faint trace of them still remains on the seat. The back surface is smooth, as if polished; in the lower part are some marks of the point. The bottom, apparently level, rests now on a plaster base. The work on the front is like that of the previous figure. This fragment is of the same type as 84, but in the reverse position. Both are said to have been found in front of the North Portico. The two fragments have often been considered parts of a symmetrical group (p. 245; cf. Casson, p. 183), but 84 seems, by its proportions, to belong to the frieze of the cella, this fragment to that of the North Portico.

12. (No. 1234; Pallat 31, 12.) H. 0.33 m.; Br. 0.34 m.; Th. 0.15 m. Lower part of a female figure sitting to left on a rock. She is clad in chiton and himation. The feet and part of the legs are broken away. In the surface of the fracture at the right side of the seat are the inner edges of a large number of holes in two rows, a front and a back row; they were bored from the front towards the back. The back surface is dressed with the toothed chisel and in some places with the point. Two small holes are visible in the front, about 0.10 m. apart. The hole at the left is 0.05 m. from the left edge of the fragment and 0.02 m. from the bottom; the other is 0.028 m. from the bottom, which is, apparently, level and now rests on plaster. On the front some details seem to be executed in a clumsier and harder manner than on the two previous fragments.

13. (No. 1072; Pallat 31, 13.) H. 0.44 m.; Br. 0.28 m.; Th. 0.18 m. Female figure, sitting, somewhat turned towards the left. She wears a chiton with girdle and a himation. The right half of the body (with shoulder and arm), the left forearm, and the feet are broken off. The left forearm and the feet were carved in the round. The seat is rounded at the right, but is not cylindrical; at the left, behind the right leg, its shape is irregular. It stands on a low elevation, probably a low rock or uneven ground, and is considerably higher behind the right leg than in front. The back surface is dressed with a fine toothed chisel in the upper part, and in the lower part, apparently at some later time, coarsely worked with a point. In the body, following the direction of the fracture, i.e., obliquely to the ground line and 0.33 m. above it, is the dowel hole (l. 0.065 m.; br. 0.015 m.; d. 0.045 m.). Its upper edge is slightly higher than the middle of the breast; its long axis forms with the lower edge of the figure an angle of 60 degrees. Behind the shoulder an oblique pour channel enters this dowel hole. The front of this fragment is especially well preserved. The deep undercutting, in the execution of which the drill was much used, is noticeable. The folds of the himation, regarded separately, are carried through in fine continuous curves without sharp interruptions, in contrast to the method pursued in 18. In section they are rounded, and where they lie flat on the body they are pretty thick, even looking as if stuffed. The chiton lies upon the body in small folds which are here lighter and more lively than in 4, and in general the fragment under discussion is distinguished from fragment 4 by moderation in detail. Only at the bottom, where the chiton appears below the himation, the pro-

jecting parts of the folds, which are very narrow and project as much as 0.038 m., are enlivened by longitudinal grooves, undercuttings, etc. Some spirally curved folds, such as are frequent on the balustrade of the temple of Athena Nike, are found here, one of them quite in the bottom of one of the incised folds.

14. (No. 3309; Pallat 31, 14.) H. 0.25 m.; Br. 0.17 m.; Th. 0.13 m. Fragment — thighs and about one-third of the legs below the knees — of a figure, apparently female, standing in front view. She stands with her weight on her right leg, and wears a himation, a corner of which is visible upon the left thigh. The back surface is dressed with the toothed chisel at the edge and coarsely treated with the point in the middle. The lower two-thirds of the left edge are bevelled off. The front, on account of the very sharply cut folds, looks at first different from that of the other fragments. This fragment, however, certainly belongs to the frieze.

15. (No. 1284; Pallat 31, 15.) H. 0.25 m.; Br. 0.16 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Trunk, including right shoulder and neck, of a female figure facing three-quarters to left (her right). She was probably standing, but may have been seated. She leans forward and to the right. This fragment is composed of two pieces. The right arm extended downward and forward; the left arm may have been raised. The back surface, in so far as it is not worked round from the left side, is roughly dressed with a point. In the axis of the fracture is the dowel hole (l. 0.045 m.; br. 0.014 m.; d. 0.035 m.). On the front the treatment of the kolpos and apodygma is quite coarse; and the little folds below likewise begin rather clumsily. Cf. for the contrary 4 and 77.

16. (No. 1295; Pallat 31, 16, upper.) H. 0.34 m.; Br. 0.20 m.; Th. 0.135 m. Fragment of a female figure facing the front, clad in a long chiton and a himation. The right arm was bent and passed across the body, the left forearm was extended forward and to the right (her left). The weight was evidently borne on the left leg. The back surface is dressed with the toothed chisel; but towards the bottom the surface has crumbled away somewhat. The drilled dowel hole is slightly higher than the right breast — about 0.49 m. from the estimated ground line — and is entered by a drilled pour channel from the left shoulder. The fragment has evidently suffered from fire and is in bad condition. Pallat, followed by Casson, joins this with the following fragment. The surfaces of the two do not, however, fit, and the deep folds of 17 could never develop from the drapery of this piece, even if the folds corresponded in position, which is not the case. Pallat's suggestion (*A. J. A.*, p. 196), that this figure may have had its place on block IV, hole 3 or 7, of the North Portico, is not affected by the separation of the two fragments.

17. (No. 1307; Pallat 31, 16, lower.) H. 0.19 m.; Br. 0.15 m.; Th. 0.09 m. The lower part — from almost the height of the knees — of a draped figure facing the front. The weight is on the left leg and the right is slightly bent. The folds of the drapery are very deeply cut. The right (as seen from the front) half of the back is unusually rough. Casson calls attention to the resemblance of this fragment and 35. As stated above, this fragment does not belong with 16.

18. (No. 1239; Pallat 31, 17.) H. 0.37 m.; Br. 0.21 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Lower part, from about the waist down, of a figure in chiton and himation, half seated in, or leaning against, a decorated arm-chair, perhaps rising from it. The himation is slipping down. At the person's left side the pillar-like leg of the chair, and the arm, which ends in a lion's head and is supported by a sphinx, are preserved (Fig. 152). The surface between the arm of the chair and the seat is plain and smooth. The seat of the figure is higher up than the arm of the chair; the person is, therefore, not sitting, nor, as seen from this side, standing with bent knees. At the figure's right side (Fig. 153) the leg and arm of the chair are almost entirely wanting. The right arm extended downwards, and the hand seems to have rested on the arm of the chair. The leg and arm of the chair were not covered by the drapery. The under side of the seat (at *a*) lies at the same height as on the left (0.175 m. high); *b-b* indicates the upper edge of the leg of the chair. At the figure's left the distance from the under side of the seat to the upper edge of the arm is 0.09 m.; here at the right, beginning at *a*, 0.09 m. extends only to *c*, i. e.,

to the lower edge, or to the undercutting, of the arm, the upper edge of which is marked by a drill hole (at *d*) that comes from above. The arm of the figure is clearly to be made out. From this side also one gets the impression that Stephani, in opposition to Schoene, is right when he says *in eo est ut surgat*. The figure can hardly have been intended to produce upon the spectator who saw it from below the effect of being seated. For, apart from the fact that the himation would then have to lie differently, the figure, since the point of separation of the thighs is as high as in a standing figure (cf. 6 and 16; this, with the height of the seat, is also the chief ground for assigning this fragment to the North Portico), must have appeared to be higher than the seated figures and therefore to be standing or nearly standing (Casson, p. 197, appears to believe that the figure is seated, though on p. 196 he does not). The somewhat stiff posture of the legs is probably occasioned in part by the



FIGURE 152. FRAGMENT 18: FRONT
AND LEFT SIDE



FIGURE 153. FRAGMENT 18:
RIGHT SIDE

narrowness of the ground surface (i. e., by the slight projection of the relief). Reminiscence of an archaic prototype does not seem to be intended. The arrangement of the himation is only less lively than in the other fragments. The kolpos, lying flat on the body, is treated in a way like that seen on the base of the Nemesis of Rhamnus. We find here the same breaks in the folds, and also in the sel-vage, as there (cf. *Jb. Arch. I.*, IX, 1894, pls. I ff. and, for contrast, fragments 1 and 13). The folds are also, here as there, cut in as far as the surface of the body. Among the fragments of our frieze, 77 is most closely related to this. Compare the folds over the arm of the chair here with those by the upper arm of the left hand figure there. The back surface is dressed with the toothed chisel. The bottom of the fragment was formerly embedded in plaster, and an apparently modern pin still remains fixed in it. The figure is almost certainly female, and was interpreted by Schoene as Athena, but Casson observes that the hips are narrow and the physique not markedly feminine and suggests that a male deity — perhaps Zeus — may be represented.

19. (No. 1285; Pallat 31, 18.) H. 0.27 m.; Br. 0.16 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Upper part — without the head — of a female figure clad in a thin chiton and standing with her weight on her left foot. The right arm hangs by her side. The left arm seems to have been akimbo, with the hand on the hip though there are no clear traces of contact at this point. The surface has suffered much from exposure. The back surface is rough and the front surface abraded. At the left (the figure's right) side the modelling is roughly carried round to the back. The dowel hole (l. 0.04 m.; d. 0.04 m.) is 0.15 m. from the lower edge (i. e., about 0.42 m. from the original ground line), corresponding in height to the left breast. It was made by means of three drill holes and is now broken out at the side. The lowest drill hole still contains some metal. A drilled pour channel comes from behind the neck at the left. Pallat suggests that this may belong with 54. As the figure is now set up, the neck is inclined very much to the right. Probably the whole should be somewhat tilted to the left.

20. (No. 1199; Pallat 31, 19 a.) H. 0.26 m.; Br. 0.16 m.; Th. 0.09 m. Upper part, from neck to thighs, of a female figure wearing a chiton with overfall (kolpos and apoptygma). She appears to be standing. The drapery on the right hip seems hardly to belong to the chiton; it may be part of a chlamys or himation. The back surface is dressed with toothed chisel and point. This fragment is put together from two pieces. In the back, in a position a little higher than the left breast, and about 0.46–0.47 m. from the estimated ground line, is the dowel hole (l. 0.04 m.; d. 0.03 m.), now broken out. The sides of it are smooth and show no traces of drilling. Pallat puts this together with 21 and (*A. J. A.*, p. 196) finds five places on the North Portico (block I, 4, block II, 1, and block IV, 1, 4, 6) which the whole might fit. But his only apparent reason for uniting this with 21 is the similarity in treatment of the back surface. There is really no sufficient evidence.

21. (No. 1304; Pallat 31, 19 b.) H. 0.20 m.; Br. 0.17 m.; Th. 0.09 m. Lower part of a standing draped figure, from below the knee to the ground. The weight rests on the left foot. The right foot appears to have rested on a slight elevation 0.025 m. in height, the right surface of which is smooth and vertical; its left surface is covered by the drapery. The back surface is treated like that of 20 (see above). The under surface is rougher than the back, and in it is a hole 0.01 m. in diameter, containing lead but no pin or plug. Pallat, following Schoene, regards this hole as modern.

22. (No. 2837; Pallat 31, 20.) H. 0.25 m.; Br. 0.16 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Fragment — from the navel to the knee — of a female figure wearing a chiton and a himation, and moving to the right with her weight on her left leg. The back surface is very narrow (only about 0.03 m.) and roughly worked with a point. It slopes off decidedly to the right and is broken at the left. The front is much abraded. Pallat suggests that 54 may be part of this figure.

23. (No. 1209; Pallat 32, 1.) H. 0.09 m.; Br. 0.15 m.; Th. 0.09 m. Abdominal portion of a female figure in chiton and himation facing the front. The chiton is drawn tight, so that it seems almost transparent. The back surface is dressed with the toothed chisel. The treatment of the front is hard, resembling that of 74 and 79.

24. (No. 1270; Pallat 32, 2.) H. 0.22 m.; Br. 0.12 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Right shoulder and breast of a female figure in an ungirt chiton. The right arm was extended horizontally; the hand held a corner of the garment the folds of which are indicated in the back. The back surface was first dressed and then coarsely treated with a point. In it is a dowel hole (l. 0.04 m.; br. 0.01 m.; d. 0.042 m.) made with three drill holes. The marble of the fragment, which is in very poor condition, flakes off in large, thin layers.

25. (No. 2843; Pallat 32, 3.) H. 0.19 m.; Br. 0.16 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Right breast and part of the raised upper arm of a female figure. Pallat says: "Apparently in rapid motion towards the left"; but the folds of the drapery fall almost vertically, giving no indication of motion. She was clad in a sleeved chiton and wore a himation the folds of which are over her right arm. The back of the drapery that falls from the arm is carved in some detail. The back surface is almost smooth. At the broken

edge is a broken dowel hole, 0.10 m. from the bottom. The work on the front is like that of 4. Pallat (*A. J. A.*, p. 192, note 7) suggests that this may belong with 5, and Casson repeats the suggestion.

26. (No. 1250; Pallat 32, 4.) H. *ca.* 0.165 m.; Br. *ca.* 0.12 m.; Th. 0.095 m. Right shoulder and two-thirds of the breast of a female figure in a sleeveless chiton which is pinned in front, near the right shoulder. The folds show that the figure is moving rapidly towards the left. The back is injured by fracture. Only faint remains of the pour channel and the dowel hole are recognizable at the height of the shoulder. Casson classes this among the "Nike figure fragments" (see under 4).

27. (No. 1249; Pallat 32, 5.) H. 0.16 m.; Br. 0.13 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Breast — without the left shoulder — of a youthful female figure in chiton and himation, apparently moving rapidly towards the right. In this fragment, as in several others, part of the back is worked out, but only roughly (Fig. 154). A small part of the back is nearly smooth; below this and to the right of it are half-wrought folds of the himation; farther right, shallow folds of the chiton; two small holes, one horizontal and

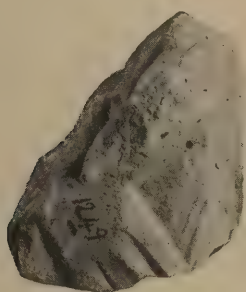


FIGURE 154. FRAGMENT 27: BACK

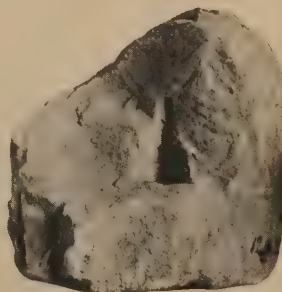


FIGURE 155. FRAGMENT 28: BACK

one rising at an angle of about 45 degrees, are in the right half of the fragment; and towards the left is the broken dowel hole, with traces of the oblique pour channel. Casson connects this also with the "Nike figure fragments" (see under 4).

28. (No. 1202; Pallat 32, 6.) H. 0.15 m.; Br. 0.15 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Breast, without the left shoulder, of a female figure facing nearly front and moving to the right. She was clad in a sleeveless chiton and seems to have held in her raised right hand a mantle blown out by the wind. The back surface is rudely worked over with a point. In it, corresponding in position to the middle of the breast, 0.055 m. from the lower edge (i. e., about 0.40 m. from the original ground line), is a broken dowel hole (l. 0.035 m.; br. 0.02 m.; d. 0.03 m. Fig. 155). Casson classes this with the series of "Nike figure fragments."

29. (No. 2842; Pallat 32, 7.) H. 0.12 m.; Br. 0.115 m.; Th. 0.12 m. Breast and shoulders of a female figure standing in front view. She seems to have worn a himation in addition to her chiton. The back surface is somewhat abraded. In it the remains of a dowel hole, which corresponds approximately to the left breast, are plainly recognizable. The fragment is of the same type as 4, 27, 28, etc., but is in bad preservation.

30. (No. 1227; Pallat 32, 8.) H. 0.16 m.; Br. 0.13 m.; Th. 0.12 m. Neck, right shoulder, right upper arm, and right breast of a female figure standing in three-quarter profile to (spectator's) right. She wore a sleeveless chiton, pinned on the right shoulder, and had her hair bound in a mass at the back. The back surface is dressed with a point and a toothed chisel. The broken dowel hole (several drill holes, one above the other; l. 0.04 m.; d. 0.04 m.) is 0.07 m. above the lower edge of the fragment (i. e., about 0.43 m. above the original ground line) and corresponds in position to the left breast. No trace of the pour channel remains. The fragment is in bad condition, but exhibits the same type and style as the preceding.

31. (No. 1240; Pallat 32, 9.) H. 0.12 m.; Br. 0.08 m.; Th. 0.13 m. Left shoulder, upper left arm, breast, and upper part of body of a female figure in a sleeveless chiton, facing the front. The fragment is broken behind. In the surface of the break the upper and middle drill holes of the dowel hole are preserved, 0.08 m. above the lower edge; at the height of the breast. At the right a small part of the smoothly chiselled back surface is preserved. That which appears as the front on PLATE XLI is, therefore, really the side of the fragment, and that which appears as the right side in our plate is the front. Figure 156 shows the fragment as it would have appeared to a spectator standing in front of the frieze. As the fragment is now mounted all trace of the dowel hole is hidden. Casson suggests that this may belong with 11, but he thought the front was as given on our plate.

32. (No. 2839; Pallat 32, 10.) H. 0.13 m.; Br. 0.135 m.; Th. 0.12 m. Right shoulder, part of the breast and of the right upper arm of a man (perhaps bearded) standing (?) to right; he may have been leaning on something, perhaps a staff. His right arm was stretched forward. He wears a himation, the folds of which are seen on the back and a corner of which is squeezed under the right



FIGURE 156. FRAGMENT 31:
FRONT

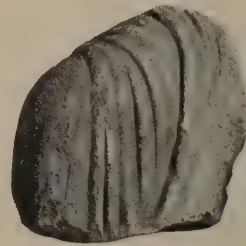


FIGURE 157. FRAGMENT 33:
BACK

armpit. The back surface is rudely worked with a point. The broken dowel hole, corresponding to the left shoulder, is in the fracture at the side; it consists of three drill holes (l. 0.035 m.; d. 0.04 m.), and is inclined upward to the left (as seen from behind) at an angle of 45 degrees. A pour channel, coming diagonally from the outer edge, enters it from above.

33. (No. 1241; Pallat 32, 11.) H. 0.125 m.; Br. 0.155 m.; Th. 0.085 m. Fragment of a draped limb. Pallat thinks it is the left elbow of a figure which seems to have held the left hand pressed to the left side, with the elbow projecting. At the back the mantle is worked out as in the front (Fig. 157). The flat back surface is not preserved, but its direction can be determined by means of the remains of a dowel hole (l. 0.06 m.; d. 0.02 m.) towards which a pour channel leads. The channel is now broken and does not reach the dowel hole. Pallat (*A. J. A.*, p. 192, note 2) suggests that this may belong to 45, to which Hill (*ibid.*) assents.

34. (No. 1244; Pallat 32, 12.) H. 0.20 m.; Br. 0.17 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Lower part — from the knees down — of a female figure in a long chiton; she is in profile and is walking towards the left (Casson says she is facing the front). The right foot, which is missing, was raised from the ground. The sandal under the left foot is hollowed out below. Traces of drilling are found here and under the garment that hangs free between the feet. The back surface is made unusually smooth with a toothed chisel. At the back of the left sandal, below the garment that hangs between the legs, the marble was cut through to the back, so that the robe hung free of the ground.

35. (No. 1286; Pallat 32, 13.) H. 0.205 m.; Br. 0.18 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Lower part — from the knee down — of a female figure facing somewhat to left of front and wearing a himation. She seems to have been moving with dance-like step or to have stood leaning on something at her left. The weight must have been on the left leg, which is slightly in front of the right and rather close to it. On the left foot is a sandal with a thick sole, or, perhaps, a boot the upper part of which is covered by

the drapery. The back surface and the under surface are rudely worked with a point. The fragment was built into a wall, and is therefore slightly smeared with mortar and injured.

36. (No. 2833; Pallat 32, 14.) H. 0.23 m.; Br. 0.15 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Lower part — from about the knees down — of a probably female figure standing in full front and resting her weight upon her right foot. She wears a long chiton and stands upon a plinth 0.014 m. high. The right foot is covered with a shoe. The back surface is finely, the under surface more rudely, roughened with the toothed chisel. The work of this fragment resembles that of 1.

37. (No. 2834; Pallat 32, 15.) H. 0.27 m.; Br. 0.15 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Lower part — from the middle of the thighs down — of a female figure standing in full front and wearing a long chiton. She stands on a plinth 0.008 m. high and rests her weight on her right foot. There are four small drill holes just above the bottom in front. The fragment has suffered from fire and has flaked and crumbled off a good deal behind and at the bottom.

38. (No. 1246; Pallat 32, 16.) H. 0.21 m.; Br. 0.14 m.; Th. 0.12 m. Fragment of a female figure in front view. She wears a chiton and a himation. The projecting part at the left (her right) side seems to be the kolpos of a chiton so girded that the kolpos hangs low over the girdle, and here the himation falls over this. The weight of the figure was borne by the right leg, and the left foot was placed forward. The back surface is rudely worked over with a point. At the highest point of the back are the remains of a dowel hole (under side of the lowest drill hole). On the costume, cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 1895 (Triptolemus relief from Eleusis) and *Mon. Inst.*, IX, pl. XVI (reliefs from the Dionysiac theatre). Pallat's suggestion (*A. J. A.*, p. 196) that the figure held a cloth like that seen on the "Ludovisi throne" is not very plausible.

39. (No. 1261; Pallat 32, 17.) H. 0.18 m.; Br. 0.16 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Fragment of a figure turned in half profile to the right, and either standing or walking with a short step. The figure wears a himation and seems to be male. The back surface was worked with a toothed chisel. It has suffered from fire and crumbles easily, as does also the front.

40. (No. 2826; Pallat 32, 18.) H. 0.22 m.; Br. 0.17 m.; Th. 0.12 m. Fragment, from a little below the waist to below the hips, of a female figure standing in front view and resting her weight on her right foot. She wears a chiton with kolpos and apoptygma, and seems to have been drawing forward with her right hand a cloak that hung down her back. The back surface is rudely worked with a point, the front badly abraded. The drill was freely used for the folds of the kolpos and apoptygma.

41. (No. 1287 a; Pallat 32, 19.) H. 0.23 m.; Br. 0.17 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Thighs and waist of a female figure. She stands in front view, with her weight on her right leg, and wears a chiton with kolpos and apoptygma. This fragment certainly does not belong to the same figure as 96, though the two pieces were formerly set together with plaster. The motives of the folds of the drapery do not correspond; they are more detailed in the lower piece, which seems also to belong to a smaller figure. The back surface is rough, the front much abraded.

42. (No. 1298; Pallat 32, 20.) H. 0.40 m.; Br. 0.16 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Lower part, from the waist down, of a female figure in chiton with kolpos and apoptygma, standing in front view, with her weight on her right leg and the left knee bent. Made up of two pieces. At the right side of the figure, in a fold of the apoptygma, is a bit of lead. The back surface and the under surface are dressed with a fine toothed chisel.

43. (No. 1302; Pallat 32, 21.) H. 0.23 m.; Br. 0.16 m.; Th. 0.13 m. Fragment, from the waist down to the thighs, of a female figure in chiton with kolpos and apoptygma, standing in front view with her weight on her right leg and turning somewhat towards the right. There are two drill holes, doubtless for attachments, one in the left thigh, the other in the lower part of the abdomen. At the (spectator's) left a cloak that hung down behind was pulled forward. The back surface is somewhat rough, but shows no trace of any tool (cf. 41 and 52). The front is much abraded.

44. (No. 1283; Pallat 32, 22.) H. 0.22 m.; Br. 0.18 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Made up of two pieces. Thighs, etc., of a woman like 43 in costume and posture, though the left knee (now restored in plaster) is somewhat more bent. Here also at the (spectator's) left a cloak that hung down behind was pulled up forward. The back surface is smooth at the left edge, elsewhere rudely worked with a point.

45. (No. 1306; Pallat 32, 23.) H. 0.23 m.; Br. 0.19 m.; Th. 0.14 m. Portion, from the waist to the knees, of an apparently male figure standing in front view with the weight on the left leg and wearing a himation. The back surface is somewhat rough, the front much damaged (see under 33).

46. (No. 1221; Pallat 32, 24.) H. 0.28 m.; Br. 0.15 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Middle portion of a probably female figure standing in front view with the weight on the right leg and wearing chiton and himation. The back surface is rudely worked with a point, the front much damaged.

47. (No. 1305; Pallat 32, 25.) H. 0.20 m.; Br. 0.20 m.; Th. 0.15 m. Thighs and lower part of body of a male figure seated to right. The garment that is wrapped about the legs fell down from the shoulder. Save for that, the upper part of the body seems to have been entirely nude. The knees are broken away. At the left side, forming an obtuse angle with the back, is a smooth surface, at the lower edge of which are two small holes. The back surface is roughly worked with a point in the middle, but smooth at the edge (cf. 66, which also shows similarity in the treatment of the front). At the back upper edge the remains of a dowel hole (remnant of a drill hole) are visible.

48. (No. 1201; Pallat 32, 26.) H. 0.16 m.; Br. 0.18 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Fragment of a crouching or kneeling female figure in chiton and himation; she is turned towards the left. At her right side is a projection which may come from the right knee. The lower part of this side, which lies farther back, forms an acute angle with the front; it is smooth in the upper part and broken in the lower (Fig. 158). Whatever abutted there can hardly have been part of the figure; at any rate, it was not the left foot, which must be farther to the right, about where the folds are crowded together. The back surface is rudely worked with a point; only towards the bottom a small part is dressed with a toothed chisel. Perhaps there was at the left another standing figure (as in the following fragment), or some object connected with this figure in such a way that the right knee was not visible at all. In the present condition of the fragment no natural transition appears between the folds on the left and those on the right leg. In the under surface is a hole, 0.01 m. in diameter, containing lead. Pallat says this hole is modern, but see page 243, note 4.



FIGURE 158.
FRAGMENT 48: SIDE

49. (No. 1288; Pallat 32, 27.) H. 0.19 m.; Br. 0.28 m.; Th. 0.14 m. Lower part of a group of two figures, both probably female, turned towards the right. The figure at the right is standing, or walking slowly to right, the one at the left is kneeling. Of the former the legs from the knee down and of the latter the legs and the abdominal portion are preserved. The standing figure wears a long chiton and has a sole under her right foot; the kneeling figure wears a long chiton and has a himation thrown about her legs. The back surface of the standing figure is rough and uneven, that of the kneeling figure smooth, with occasional small chisel marks. The under surface, in which is a hole (perhaps modern) containing a pin and lead, is rudely treated with a point. Casson compares this group with 66 (No. 1073) and says "the figures are in nearly the same position." But the body of the kneeling figure here was clearly more erect than that of the kneeling youth in 66. The action must have been quite different. Rangabé (*Ath. Mitt.*, VII, p. 333) suggests as interpretation Agraulus or Pandrosus seeking pardon for herself or her sister from Athena. He connects the "woman with a girl who is at her feet" of the inscription (XVII, col. I, l. 21) with this fragment. Pallat (*A. J. A.*, pp. 194 f.) interprets it as Athena with Pandrosus waiting to receive Erichthonius.

50. (No. 2832; Pallat 32, 28.) H. 0.12 m.; Br. 0.10 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Small fragment of a draped figure which Pallat thinks wore chiton and himation, was female, and probably kneeling to right. A hole in the front was presumably for a metal attachment. The back surface is somewhat rough.

51. (No. 1220; Pallat 32, 29.) H. 0.135 m.; Br. 0.14 m.; Th. 0.12 m. Fragment — the knees and thereabouts — of a probably female figure in front view, standing with her weight on her right leg. She wears a chiton over which, at the left, some folds fall; these may be part of a himation. The back surface is rudely treated with a point, the front much damaged.

52. (No. 1203; Pallat, 32, 30.) H. 0.10 m.; Br. 0.18 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Fragment — feet and part just above — of a female figure in chiton and himation, walking slowly to right. A thick sole is seen under her left foot. The back and under surfaces are rough, but show no traces of any tool. In the under surface are, in addition to a hole, 0.01 m. in diameter, containing lead, six small drill holes, each 0.005 m. in diameter.

53. (No. 1247; Pallat, 32, 31.) H. 0.10 m.; Br. 0.125 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Small fragment of drapery, apparently from the right leg of a probably female figure walking towards the right and wearing chiton and himation.

54. (No. 1205; Pallat 32, 32.) H. 0.125 m.; Br. 0.155 m.; Th. 0.085 m. Fragment — portion about the feet — of a female figure standing in front view. She rests her weight on her left leg and wears chiton and himation. The back surface and the under surface were first dressed and then gone over with a point. Pallat suggests (*Ant. Denk.*, p. 10) that this may belong with 22 or (*A. J. A.*, p. 192) 19.

55. (No. 1292; Pallat 32, 33.) H. 0.175 m.; Br. 0.25 m.; Th. 0.13 m. Thighs and a small part of the left leg below the knee of a male figure seated to left. He sat, apparently, in an armchair. The seat is undercut and has a roughly levelled surface. The whole is much damaged. The back surface is rudely treated with a point.

56. (Pallat, *A. J. A.*, pp. 176 ff., figs. 9–14; Casson, p. 174; no inventory number.) H. 0.31 m.; Br. 0.31 m.; Th. 0.16 m. Lower part, from above the knee, of a female figure standing to right (her left) and wearing chiton and himation. In front of her (i. e., to right) is something which Pallat calls a *thronos*. It cannot be, as Casson suggests, a tripod. It had a level top which was covered with drapery. At the front one sturdy pillar-like leg is preserved. At the right, toward the back, part of the top is preserved, and above it, separated by a cutting 0.028 m. high and, at its deepest point, 0.03 m. deep, is a horizontal projection 0.012 m. thick. This is without doubt the upper rail of the arm of the chair (or, possibly, the whole is a couch, in which case this would be the upper rail of the end). At the right, 0.152 m. from the ground line, is a hole, perhaps, as Casson suggests, for fastening on another leg. On the chair is something which measures 0.18 m. in width and 0.08 m. in height. This Pallat regards as a cushion which the figure is pressing down with her left hand. He compares the “*thronos*” with that of 18. Casson suggests that the object on it may be a wineskin or some sacrificial offering. The figure is evidently touching the object, but what it is must, for the present, remain doubtful. In the depression on the top of it, part of the finished surface is preserved — a curved surface treated like nude flesh. Possibly a baby lay on a cushion and was held down by the left hand of the female figure. In the bottom of the fragment is a pin hole, 0.01 m. in diameter, which probably served to fasten the figure to the top of the architrave (see p. 243). It extends through the marble behind the broken drapery. This fragment was identified by Professor Heberdey.

57. (Casson, p. 175; no inventory number.) H. 0.085 m.; Br. 0.08 m.; Th. 0.09 m. Head of a female figure. Much worn. The right cheek and right side of the chin are wanting. A hole in the top of the head may have served for fastening on a *meniskos*. The back of the head is flat, which shows that the head belongs to the frieze, and the proportions are those of the figures of the North Portico.

58. (No. 284.) H. 0.13 m.; Br. 0.15 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Neck and shoulders, right breast and part of the left breast of a female figure facing the front. She wears a chiton which is tied on the right and pinned on the left shoulder. Her left arm was raised, her right probably extended to the side. Her

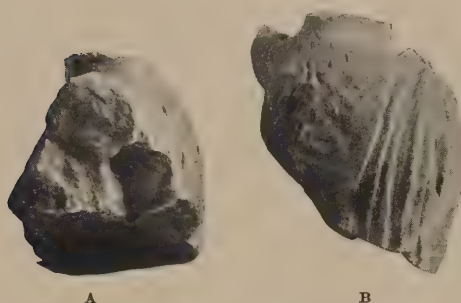


FIGURE 159. FRAGMENT 58: (A) SIDE; (B) BACK

head was turned slightly to her right. The proportions seem to be those of the larger figures. The surface is exceptionally well preserved. The back is unfinished, though not perfectly flat. A broken dowel hole, 0.035 m. long and 0.03 m. deep, is at the right side (Fig. 159A). In the back is a pin hole 0.005 m. in diameter (Fig. 159B). The workmanship, both of the nude parts and of the drapery, is very fine. Casson compares the technique with that of 4.

59. (No. 3437; hitherto unpublished.) H. 0.12 m.; Br. 0.105 m.; Th. 0.09 m. Left shoulder, wearing chiton and himation. The latter passes under the left arm around to the back. Behind the neck is a drilled hole, 0.013 m. in diameter and 0.04 m. deep, passing down diagonally, undoubtedly for pouring lead about the dowel. The rear surface is smoothly picked with the point. One side of the dowel hole is preserved in the fracture. It is 0.04 m. high and has a depth of 0.04 m. It was made by three drilled holes, one above the other. This fragment certainly belongs to the frieze. Hill accepts it. This fragment and the two following are probably from the larger series. They were recognized as belonging to the frieze by A. Panagiotakis, chief restorer and mender of the Acropolis Museum (Blegen). The inventory numbers of these three fragments are those of the National Museum, from which the fragments have been transferred to the Acropolis. The corresponding numbers of the inventory of the Acropolis Museum refer to architectural fragments.

60. (No. 3438; hitherto unpublished.) H. 0.12 m.; Br. 0.09 m.; Th. 0.07 m. Fragment of left shoulder. The bare shoulder projects from the drapery which passes round it. The work was good, but the surface is not well preserved. In the himation, behind the shoulder, are two vertical drilled holes. The one to the right is 0.005 m. in diameter and 0.013 m. deep. The second is 0.007 m. in diameter and 0.015 m. deep. The rear surface is smoothly worked with the point. One side of the dowel hole is preserved. It is 0.04 m. high and 0.142 m. deep. It was made by drilling three holes one above the other. This fragment certainly belongs to the frieze. Hill accepts it (Blegen).

61. (No. 3439; hitherto unpublished.) H. 0.10 m.; Br. 0.09 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Right shoulder and breast of a female figure. She wears a chiton pinned at the shoulder. The breast is prominent. The surface is fairly well preserved, and the treatment is very good, recalling 77. The rear surface is carefully worked with the toothed chisel. The side of the dowel hole is preserved, measuring 0.04 m. in height. It had a depth of 0.04 m. This fragment also is certain. Hill agrees (Blegen).

The following fragments (62-104) are on a smaller scale, and apparently belong to the main building.

62. (No. 1248; Pallat 33, 1.) H. 0.13 m.; Br. 0.16 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Fragment — from the pubes to a point about half way between the knee and the ground — of a seated man turned to the left. He seems to have been seated obliquely towards the front, because the seat and the garment are finished behind the right leg. The cloak upon which he sits is thrown round the right leg from behind; the corner of it lies on the left thigh (Fig. 160). At the back the fragment is broken.



FIGURE 160. FRAGMENT 62: SIDE AND FRONT

63. (No. 1275; Pallat 33, 2.) H. 0.19 m.; Br. 0.14 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Fragment, from above the middle of the thighs to a little below the knee, of a male (?) figure standing in front view. The figure rests its weight on the right leg and wears a himation. The back surface is roughly worked with a point and is uneven on account of injuries; indeed the whole fragment has been much injured.

64. (No. 1195; Pallat 33, 3.) H. 0.21 m.; Br. 0.15 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Fragment of a draped figure, probably male, standing in front view. The weight is borne on the right leg. Only the part from the abdomen to the knee is preserved. The back surface is dressed with a toothed chisel, the front much abraded.

65. (No. 2836; Pallat 33, 4.) H. 0.23 m.; Br. 0.14 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Fragment of a man standing with his weight on his left leg. The fragment extends from the breast to the middle of the thighs. The body is nude; a garment is cast about the legs and a little above the left hip. The flat back surface is but small, because both sides of the figure are rounded behind. The flat surface is dressed with a toothed chisel. In spite of the poor preservation of the front, the minute and dry treatment of the drapery is noticeable. Pallat (*A. J. A.*, p. 187 and note) remarks that the fall of the himation shows that both arms were occupied. He suggests that the man may have assisted 92 in carrying a mast.

66. (No. 1073; Pallat 33, 5.) H. 0.49 m.; Br. 0.22 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Group — made up of four pieces — of two men turned to the right. One is standing, the other kneeling before him. Each wears a himation that leaves his body bare. The standing man leaned with his left armpit on a staff, for the fastening of which a hole is bored through the garment at the right of the end that hangs down. The kneeling figure has noticeably full forms, without being exactly boyish — as is, for instance, 84 — in appearance. His foot is quite smooth; perhaps he wears a shoe; possibly the foot is simply not worked out. The direction of his right arm was downward and forward; his left arm was bent, the forearm in an upward direction. His head is bent forward. The back surface has a border 0.02 m. wide and is treated in the middle with a point. Between the upper and the middle fragment is the dowel hole (about 0.05 m. long and about 0.015 m. wide), 0.35 m. above the ground line. The dowel hole is now smeared with plaster of Paris. The narrow plinth on which the two figures stand seems intended to indicate rock. On the under side it is broken towards the edge and level in the middle. In the treatment of the front, the rounded, and here and there even thick and swollen, folds of the drapery are characteristic. The nude also — though not in the kneeling figure — is rendered with a certain softness. Where the drapery hangs down from the left arm of the kneeling figure, the folds are produced by broad and deep cuttings; in the projecting lines between these cuttings the sudden bends are noticeable, as are the drill holes (not worked up into folds) in the mass of drapery between the legs, and also the apparently purposeless shallow drill hole in the left thigh.

The head was published for the first time by Pallat (*A. J. A.*, pp. 175 f., figs. 1 and 2), who gives its measurements. The upper part of the standing figure is not quite correctly attached; it should be slightly more erect. The head of the kneeling figure is turned a trifle too much towards the spectator. The kneeling figure has been interpreted (Collignon, Milchhöfer, Schoene) as a youth tying his sandal; but Robert (*Hermes*, XXV, *l. c.*) points out that the left arm was raised, and he suggests that the group represents the declaration of an oracle (cf. *Jb. Arch. I.*, III, 1888, p. 59, P, from the Telephus frieze at Pergamon). He connects it with the group mentioned in the inscription (XVI, col. 1, ll. 1, 2); the kneeling figure would then be a youth writing down an oracle. But the youth's right hand would, apparently, have been too low for this purpose, though Casson observes that there are marks upon the drapery just over his groin, which may possibly indicate that something, perhaps a tablet, was fixed upon his lap. A definite interpretation is, then, still to be sought. Hill (quoted *A. J. A.*, p. 183, note 7) says that this group can be placed at the fourth dowel hole in the first block of the south side, "though it fits there only passably. It can be placed nowhere else in the existing east or south frieze."

67. (No. 1229; Pallat 33, 6.) H. 0.255 m.; Br. 0.13 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Body of a standing nude man, in front view. On the right shoulder and in a projection on the back are traces of a chlamys, which seems to have been pinned together at the neck. The back surface is rudely worked with a point and is not even quite flat. In it, at the height of the breast, is the dowel hole (0.04 m. long and 0.035 m. deep), made by drilling several holes. It is 0.18 m. from the lower edge of the fragment (i. e., 0.43 m. from the original ground line). In the surface of the fracture at the bottom are several drill holes about the legs, in the middle a hole with an iron pin and lead. Pallat thought this modern; Casson explains that the figure was fractured and mended in antiquity or else was made of two pieces of marble. Casson, p. 24, suggests that this figure and 69 may have represented Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Historical personages were, however, so far as we know, not introduced into the sculptured decorations of Greek temples, and it is hardly to be assumed that Harmodius and Aristogeiton were regarded in the fifth century B.C. as mythological.

68. (No. 1200; Pallat 33, 7.) H. 0.21 m.; Br. 0.12 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Middle portion of a standing man in front view. Thrown round the legs is a garment which passes across the body and then, at the back, from the right hip towards the left shoulder. At the back the folds are only roughly indicated. The garment cannot have extended much farther downwards than it now does, because there are holes bored from below upwards between the legs. The lower part of the left leg was carved free from the background. The man wore, then, a cloak girt up. The flat back surface is only 0.06 m. wide and is roughly worked with a point. At the top, 0.20 m. from the lower edge (i. e., 0.41 m. from the original ground line), the remains of a dowel hole are visible. The treatment of the front is noticeably harsh and superficial.

69. (No. 1197; Pallat 33, 8.) H. 0.21 m.; Br. 0.12 m.; Th. 0.12 m. Torso of a nude man. He had his right arm raised and stood, apparently, firmly on his right foot, with the left foot placed somewhat away toward the left. The left arm was raised and the body somewhat turned to that side. The back is as roughly worked and as uneven as in 67; here also a piece reaching from the buttocks to the shoulder is higher than the rest of the surface. In this raised portion, 0.135 m. from the lower edge (i. e., 0.38 m. from the original ground line), corresponding to the left breast, is the broken dowel hole. In the left hip is the end of an ancient drill hole. A drill hole in the surface of the fracture of the right leg is, however, modern. Pallat (*A. J. A.*, p. 187) suggests that the figure was seated and may have held a lance in the right hand. For Casson's suggestion see under 67.

70. (No. 1299; Pallat 33, 9.) H. 0.11 m.; Br. 0.19 m.; Th. 0.13 m. Left thigh and leg to below the knee, and upper part of right thigh, of a draped figure seated to left. The back surface is dressed with the toothed chisel and has flaked off in part. The surface under the seat is smooth.

71. (No. 1206; Pallat 33, 10.) H. 0.125 m.; Br. 0.10 m.; Th. 0.07 m. Left shoulder and extended upper arm of a female figure in sleeved chiton and himation; the latter is tucked under the armpit and appears, probably, at the back. The left hand was perhaps drawing the himation up. In the drapery is a deep drilled hole. The back surface is rudely worked with a point. In it and in the surface of the fracture at the left is the dowel hole, placed very high and reaching to the neck. It is made by means of four drill holes. A pour channel coming from the left side of the neck runs into it. The fragment has suffered from fire and crumbles easily. As this fragment is set up in the Acropolis Museum, the upper arm is almost horizontal. This would make the neck and, presumably, the head incline very much to the left in an unusual posture; but it makes the drapery fall in vertical folds and also makes the dowel hole vertical. If the arm is allowed to slope downward as in PLATE XLIV, the peculiar folds of the drapery can be explained as due to the crowding of them under the armpit; and this would not be the only example of an oblique dowel hole. It is probable, however, that the installation in the Museum is correct.

72. (No. 1216; Pallat 33, 11.) H. 0.13 m.; Br. 0.09 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Left shoulder, with a piece of the upper arm and left breast, of a female figure in a sleeveless chiton. Behind the shoulder

a remnant of a himation is visible; it was drawn up high. The back surface is dressed fairly smooth and exhibits only a few rather rough holes. The dowel hole, now broken, consists of three drill holes. A pour channel extending downwards to the right from the left shoulder runs into it. Pallat (*A. J. A.*, p. 183, note 2) suggests that this may belong to the same figure as 95. Casson suggests a combination with 74.

73. (No. 2818; Pallat 33, 12.) H. 0.21 m.; Br. 0.15 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Legs of a figure seated to right. The legs are covered with a cloak. The fragment is broken at the left and at the top. The surface of the right side of the cloak, in which the feet of the figure disappear, is smooth, as though worn by water, as is also the under side, which was originally dressed with a point. In the back surface, after it had been worked over with the toothed chisel, some very slight depressions were made with a point. Under the seat and the folds of the drapery are five small drill holes, which may have been part of the working of deeply cut drapery, now broken away. There seems to have been something on the right knee of the figure. The design, like a curved horn or a handle ending in a knob, which appears in front at the left in low relief on the plane surface of the lower part of the fragment, is certainly not a mere ornament, but is very evidently part of the seat. If, as Pallat (*A. J. A.*, p. 187) suggests, the figure is sitting in a wagon, this would be the seat of the wagon. However, a perfectly convincing explanation of this object, and of the unusual posture of the figure, is yet to be found.

74. (No. 2844; Pallat 33, 13.) H. 0.115 m.; Br. 0.16 m.; Th. 0.08 m. Part of the thighs of a female figure in chiton and himation moving to left. The drapery is blown in between the legs. As Pallat says, it is not certain that this fragment belongs to the frieze. It agrees with the frieze in material and workmanship, but it is almost round and is broken at the back. The flat back surface must have been very narrow. The workmanship is similar to that of 79. Casson says the type is the same as that of 4, and suggests that 72 may belong with this.

75. (No. 2829; Pallat 33, 14.) H. 0.19 m.; Br. 0.13 m.; Th. 0.13 m. Middle portion — waist and right thigh — of a female figure wearing a girded chiton and a himation. The folds of the drapery suggest a seated figure, but there is no trace of a seat. If not seated, she stood on her left foot and had her right foot placed in front of her or on some elevation. A part of the himation is worked out on the back. In the upper edge — about 0.36 or 0.37 m. from the presumable ground line, if the figure is standing — is the lower edge of a drill hole, doubtless the remnant of the dowel hole. The work of the front, especially in the chiton, goes into minute detail.

76. (Nos. 1245, upper part, and 2819, lower part; Pallat 33, 15.) Upper part, H. 0.27 m.; Br. 0.15 m.; Th. 0.10 m.; lower part, H. 0.22 m.; Br. 0.18 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Two fragments of a female figure standing in front view. The two fragments fit accurately. The figure is clad in a chiton with girdle and a himation. The latter falls towards the front over the right leg, which is bent forwards. The body is much damaged. The right arm was raised. The back surface, which was originally finely roughened, has now flaked off very much. In it, at a height of 0.402 m., is the broken dowel hole (l. 0.05 m.; br. 0.018 m.; d. 0.035 m.), made by means of several drill holes. It is inclined somewhat towards the left (seen from behind). So far as the dowel hole is concerned, this fragment, according to my notes, might be fitted to the second hole of the second, the third, or (perhaps) the fourth block, or the first hole of the seventh block, of the eastern portico, but Casson says Hill mentions only the fourth hole of block II and the first of block V as possibilities.

77. (No. 1071; Pallat 33, 16.) H. 0.49 m.; Br. 0.31 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Group of two women moving slowly towards the right. The one to the right turns towards the other and seems to be drawing her along. The former wears a girded chiton with kolpos and apoptygma, the latter a very thin chiton without girdle and with a himation thrown over it. At the point where the left wrist of the left-hand figure would naturally be, is a drill hole; perhaps the hand was attached; but this hole is more probably merely part of the working of the drapery. The back surface is dressed with a

toothed chisel and then somewhat rudely treated with a point. A very small remnant of the dowel hole — the left-hand corner — is at a height of 0.42 m., 0.215 m. from the extreme edge of the right-hand figure. The deep cutting in the back near the top appears to be modern. The treatment of the folds of the drapery and the execution in detail in the front betray, as has been already suggested, the same hand as 18. Pallat (*A. J. A.*, p. 186) suggests that these figures may represent Demeter and Kore. A small fragment of drapery (No. 3213) is now joined to the left side of this group and is shown on PLATE XLIV. Dr. Blegen found it in the small museum in 1917 and discovered the juncture.

78. (No. 1077; Pallat 33, 17.) H. 0.47 m.; Br. 0.17 m.; Th. 0.13 m. Two fragments composing the figure of a woman standing in front view, wearing a chiton girded high and a himation. She rested her weight on her right leg and had her left foot placed on a slight elevation. At the right a remnant of a tree trunk is preserved, which is now broken off but certainly continued upwards. The whole movement, especially the posture of the left shoulder, indicates, as Schoene observed, that the figure was leaning on something. Perhaps her foot rested on a root and she leaned on a branch of the tree. The himation passed over the right shoulder and lies on the left thigh without being held. The back surface is narrow and dressed with the toothed chisel. The dowel hole is 0.42 m. above the lower edge and corresponds to the left breast. It is irregular (four drill holes) and 0.045 m. deep. This, although the upper part is not well preserved, is one of the finest fragments of the frieze. Pallat calls attention to the delicate workmanship and to the resemblance of this figure to the great statue in Berlin published by Kekulé von Stradonitz (*Ueber eine weibliche Gewandstatue aus der Werkstatt der Parthenongiebelfiguren*, 1894). He suggests (*A. J. A.*, p. 186, note 1) that the fragment also represents Aphrodite and, following Kekulé, that it was modelled after the Berlin statue.

79. (No. 1251; Pallat 33, 18.) H. 0.14 m.; Br. 0.12 m.; Th. 0.09 m. Fragment — abdomen and thighs — of a standing female figure in front view. She rests her weight on her left leg and wears a closely clinging chiton. At the sides, towards the back, one sees that she was pulling a cloak forward with her left hand. The back surface is dressed with the toothed chisel and in some places treated with a point. The front is discolored and shows traces of mortar, but one can see that the work was peculiarly fine and many small folds were sharply cut (or scratched) in. Pallat (*A. J. A.*, p. 186) suggests that this figure and 80 may represent the Charites. Casson says "the figure suggests the goddess Aphrodite."

80. (No. 1198; Pallat 33, 19.) H. 0.24 m.; Br. 0.11 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Torso of a standing female figure in front view. The breasts are very slightly developed. The surface is in poor condition. The chiton clings closely and only collects into a raised border at the sides. From this border little folds extend forward. Such folds were probably introduced on the front also. Now only the two folds between the breasts are visible, which pass up towards the right shoulder. The left shoulder is bare; the left arm seems to have hung down. The back surface, a small, trapezoidal, flat portion, is finely worked with a point. The dowel hole (0.04 m. deep and 0.05 m. long) is broken out; it is 0.32–0.33 m. from the presumable ground level and corresponds behind to the hip. In the bottom is a hole, perhaps modern, with lead and a pin. Pallat (*A. J. A.*, p. 186) suggests that this and 79 represent the Charites. Casson thinks Von Sybel was probably right in believing that this does not belong to the frieze. But the reasons for rejecting this fragment are based upon its style and workmanship. The poor preservation of the surface deprives such reasons of much of their weight, and the presence of the dowel hole is a very positive argument for including this among the fragments of the frieze.

81. (No. 1297; Pallat 33, 20.) H. 0.28 m.; Br. 0.20 m.; Th. 0.13 m. Lower part of a female figure seated to right and wearing chiton and himation. The seat seems to be meant for a rock. The back surface is very rudely worked with a point; part of the left leg is worked out behind. The under surface is broken at the right and has flaked off at the left. The whole fragment is much damaged. Remains of a dowel hole are found in the back, 0.27 m. from the ground line. Hill (*A. J. A.*,

p. 183, note 6) says this can be fitted to the seventh hole in the fifth block or, better, the second hole in the fourth block of the eastern front.

82. (No. 1281; Pallat 33, 21.) H. 0.24 m.; Br. 0.26 m.; Th. 0.13 m. Lower part of a female figure seated to right and wearing chiton and himation. The seat is of uncertain form, roughly worked at the left, not broken. It may represent a rock. The back surface is finely worked, its right lower corner treated with a point and bevelled. In it is a round hole containing lead. The under surface was made by drilling holes and knocking their edges away. There is in it a hole containing lead.

83. (No. 1293; Pallat 33, 22.) H. 0.32 m.; Br. 0.23 m.; Th. 0.12 m. Lower part of a figure seated to right, wearing a himation and holding an omphalos. A hand — probably the left hand of the figure — reaches over the omphalos from behind. The back surface and the under surface are very rudely worked with a point, and the work on the front is likewise remarkably rude. Pallat calls the figure female and (*A. J. A.*, p. 186) suggests that it may represent Ge or Themis. Casson thinks it may be male, and suggests Apollo.

84. (No. 1075; Pallat 33, 23.) H. 0.38 m.; Br. 0.29 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Female figure seated to right, wearing a chiton, with kolpos and apotypygmata, and a himation which hangs down from the shoulders and is wrapped about the legs. On her knees she holds a nude boy whose right hand rested on her neck; his left hand also was raised. The seat has no definite shape. The back surface is rudely worked with a point, but is smoother towards the edge. The dowel hole is 0.335 m. above the ground line and corresponds to the middle of the breast and also to the fourth dowel hole in the first block of the south side (Pallat, *A. J. A.*, p. 183, note 6). The workmanship of the drapery is harsh, but not so coarse as that of 83, and the two garments are so treated as to show different fabrics. The nude is more softly and carefully treated; cf., in this respect, 66. This fragment was found in front of the North Portico. Pallat (*A. J. A.*, p. 186) suggests that Kourotrophos is represented. Other suggestions have been Demeter and Iacchus, Athena and Erichthonius, Pandrosos and Erichthonius, and a genre scene. This group has often been connected with 11 (see p. 245).

85. (No. 1076; Pallat 33, 24.) H. 0.40 m.; Br. 0.26 m.; Th. 0.12 m. Female figure in girdled sleeved chiton and himation, seated to left leaning back in an armchair. The whole is made up of three pieces. The figure seems, since the left breast is somewhat higher than the right, to have held the left arm raised and perhaps resting on the back of the chair. The garment has slipped down from the right shoulder. The back surface is dressed with a toothed chisel and also worked with a point. The front is more carefully treated than that of the other seated figures. The broken dowel hole is in the back of the uppermost piece, 0.30–0.31 m. above the original ground line. It is roughly cut and somewhat inclined towards the left (as seen from behind). According to Hill (*A. J. A.*, p. 183, note 6) the dowel hole agrees with the third or fourth hole of the sixth block of the eastern front. But those holes are vertical, whereas this is inclined.

86. (No. 2820; Pallat 33, 25.) H. 0.28 m.; Br. 0.22 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Lower part of a figure, probably female, wearing a himation and seated to right (her left) on a seat without a back. The left leg was raised much higher than the right. On the left thigh lies a piece of cloth which is squeezed together; it may, perhaps, be a part of the himation gathered in the hand. The back surface and the under surface are dressed with the toothed chisel. The work is almost as rough as that of 83. The fragment has been built into a wall and is much discolored and damaged.

87. (No. 1078; Pallat 33, 26.) H. 0.39 m.; Br. 0.30 m.; Th. 0.13 m. Female figure seated to left on a rock. She wears a sleeved chiton and a himation. She was probably leaning on the rock, which has a projection that seems adapted to that purpose. Half of the back is roughly modelled. At the right a piece of the edge, which is 0.06 m. wide at the widest point, is cut to a depth of 0.03 m. The left edge of this cutting, at the bottom of which folds of drapery are indicated, is straight. The rest of the back surface is rudely worked with a point. The dowel hole corresponds to the middle of

the breast. It is in the fracture, at a height of 0.315 m., is 0.04 m. long and 0.045 m. deep (three drill holes), and broken out at the side and at the top. According to Hill (*A. J. A.*, p. 183, note 6) it would fit the first hole of block II or the fourth hole of block V of the eastern front.

88. (Nos. 2821, and 1208; Pallat 34, 1.) 2821, H. 0.14 m.; Br. 0.14 m.; Th. 0.11 m.; 1208, H. 0.17 m.; Br. 0.136 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Two pieces which fit together — lower part from the knees down — of a female figure in a long chiton which completely covers the feet. She is moving slowly to the right. The mass of the garment produces the effect of a channelled column, so that it is hard to tell where the right leg is. The projection at the left near the bottom is probably the heel of the left foot (cf. 34 and 48). The under surface is rudely worked with a point, as is the back surface, except that the latter is smooth at the edge.

89. (No. 1255; Pallat 34, 2.) H. 0.09 m.; Br. 0.12 m.; Th. 0.095 m. Small fragment — left foot and drapery — of a standing or walking female figure turned toward the right and wearing a long chiton. The foot, with a sole under it, stands on a plinth, as did, perhaps, the whole figure. The back surface is rather finely worked with a point, the under surface somewhat rough.

90. (No. 1204; Pallat 34, 3.) H. 0.12 m.; Br. 0.15 m.; Th. 0.09 m. Lowest part of a female figure in chiton and himation, in front view, standing with the weight on her left foot. She stands on a thin plinth. In this is a hole containing lead. The surfaces at the back and underneath are dressed with a toothed chisel. The folds of the chiton are cut deeply, and the projecting parts between the deep cuttings are enlivened by small folds (cf. 13).

91. (No. 1242; Pallat 34, 4.) H. 0.16 m.; Br. 0.12 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Fragment — from the pubes to the knees — of a man in front face, standing with, apparently, somewhat bent knees, with the weight on the left leg and the right somewhat advanced. Thrown about the thighs is a cloak which leaves the pubes bare. The back surface is 0.04 m. wide and contains some holes made with a point. The marble flakes off in layers.

92. (No. 1196; Pallat 34, 5.) H. 0.22 m.; Br. 0.14 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Middle part of a nude male figure in profile to left. The drapery is evidently fastened to a staff which extends diagonally across the upper part of the fragment. The cylindrical (or nearly cylindrical) object about which the drapery passes is regarded by Casson as the left arm of this figure; Schoene thought it was the arm of another figure standing behind this one; and Pallat declares its lines are so straight that it cannot be an arm at all. He calls it a thicker staff and (*A. J. A.*, p. 187 and note) interprets the figure as a man holding a mast and spar. The thick staff, however, seems to have ended in a rounded point in the present fracture. If that is the case, it could hardly be a mast. Schoene thought the man was leaning backwards, and Pallat, after having assumed (*Ant. Denk.*) that he was lying down, seems

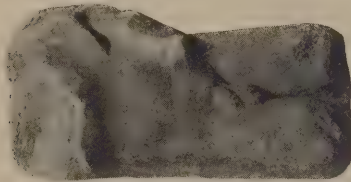


FIGURE 161. FRAGMENT 92:
RECUMBENT

(*A. J. A.*, p. 187, note) to have doubts about it. Figure 161 shows the person in a recumbent posture and this is the mounting in the Acropolis Museum. Pallat's reasons for his first assumption are the direction of the folds of the drapery and the rough under surface of the left leg. Casson says the figure might well have been seated. The upper part of the body is bent forward and turned towards the figure's left, so that it faces the front, but the figure is hardly bent to a sitting posture, nor are there any traces of a seat. The left arm of the figure probably, as Pallat says, embraced the whole mass — thick staff and drapery, — or the man may have been lying down and leaning on his elbow. Pallat further (*A. J. A.*) suggests that the man may have been raising or lowering a mast and sail, or may have been lying shipwrecked upon them. He thinks this figure and the next (93) might form parts of a scene of the sack of Troy. The back surface is rudely worked with a point and shows traces of a toothed chisel. From it three drill holes which lie close together, and are broken out, pass obliquely into the broken surface of the piece of drapery. They do not seem to have formed the dowel hole.

In the rough under surface of the left leg are also three drill holes. The nude parts of this fragment exhibit the same full, round forms as the boy of 84. The marble has very large crystals, and Pallat says it seems to be Parian.

93. (No. 1262; Pallat 34, 6.) H. 0.20 m.; Br. 0.14 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Lower part of a female figure in chiton and himation, who is kneeling with her left leg bent under her and her right leg out at the side. The object by which she has sunk down is explained by Pallat as the base of a statue of a deity; but there is little evidence for this. The front surface is smooth. A broad, rounded depression, 0.025 m. deep and 0.05 m. wide, is made in the upper side. There seem to be steps at the bottom. Here also the front and the top are smooth. The upper edge of the base is wanting. The back surface is roughly worked with a point; four holes are drilled in it, each 0.01 m. in diameter and 0.028 m. deep. The work of this fragment is very superficial; many drill holes have been left in it. The upper part of the figure stands clear from the background.

94. (No. 2627; Pallat 34, 7.) H. 0.12 m.; Br. 0.10 m.; Th. 0.09 m. Lowest part of a female figure in long chiton. The fragment has the columnar appearance of 88. The back surface is somewhat rough. Casson observes that the figure is on a very small scale, and doubts if it belongs to the frieze.

95. (No. 1217; Pallat 34, 8.) H. 0.13 m.; Br. 0.08 m.; Th. 0.08 m. Part of left leg, below the knee, of a draped figure moving towards the left. The back surface is dressed with the toothed chisel. Pallat (*A. J. A.*, p. 183, note 2) suggests that this and 72 may belong to the same figure.

96. (No. 1287 b; Pallat 34, 9.) H. 0.17 m.; Br. 0.13 m.; Th. 0.11 m. Lower part, from the knee down, of a female figure in a long chiton, who stands with her weight on her right foot. The surface at the back and that underneath are smeared with plaster of Paris. This fragment was formerly joined to 41, to which it does not belong.

97. (No. 4861; Pallat, *A. J. A.*, pp. 176 ff., figs. 3-8.) H. 0.255 m.; Br. 0.21 m.; Th. 0.155 m. Draped female figure seated, or crouching, to left (her right). The head and part of the drapery on the shoulders are wanting. The right arm is not clearly distinguishable and was, perhaps, never clearly carved. Perhaps it was extended, with the hand resting on the right knee. The drapery above the right knee (over the right arm) is broken. The lower part of the left thigh is chipped off. The right knee is drawn up, so that the right leg from the knee down is nearly vertical. The left knee is so bent that the left foot (now wanting) passed in front of the right foot. The right foot was never visible. The woman did not sit on the ground, but on something (now gone) which raised her very slightly, 0.01 m. to 0.015 m. The left arm is bent across the body. A small part of the original lower edge is preserved under the feet. The work was apparently rather careless, and the surface is considerably weathered. The dowel hole, one side of which is broken out, is 0.16 m. from the bottom of the fragment. Its height is 0.05 m. It consists of three drill holes, with the stone between them broken out. There are traces of a pour channel. Pallat (*A. J. A.*, p. 176, note 2) says this dowel hole agrees exactly with the first dowel hole (from the left) in the first (from the west) block on the south side of the eastern portico. At the right of the dowel hole, as seen from the back, are three small holes, about 0.003 m. in diameter and 0.013 m., 0.011 m., and 0.013 m. deep, arranged in a triangle. Beginning near the top of the dowel hole, and slightly to the right, is a nearly horizontal cutting, 0.045 m. long and 0.015 m. deep. Its breadth cannot be determined, as the stone is broken away. This cutting must have formed a slot between the back of the figure and the Eleusinian stone. At a distance of 0.013 m. from the right end of this cutting is a small hole like the other three, but only 0.009 m. deep. The proportions of this fragment make it proper to assign it to the frieze of the cella.

98. (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England; not previously published.) H. 0.15 m.; Br. 0.155 m.; Th. 0.092 m. Lower part of a figure in a very long garment. The figure was probably standing and turned slightly toward the spectator's left. The leg is heavy and clumsy, as is also the

foot over which the drapery falls. At the right the folds of the drapery continue to the rear surface. At the left the fragment is broken off. The back is fairly well wrought, apparently with a toothed chisel. About 0.045 m. from the left edge is a cutting, the left side of which is approximately vertical and smooth, extending 0.02 m. upward from the lower surface. The top of the cutting is about 0.005 m. wide. The right side slopes downward in a wide curve to the lower surface, which it reaches at varying distances (0.025–0.045 m.) from the left edge. The cutting extends inward 0.02–0.025 m. from the present front at this point, perhaps as much as 0.04 m. from the original front. The purpose of the cutting is not clear. It appears to be ancient, but cannot have served to fasten the figure to the architrave. It may have served for the attachment of some metal accessory or, possibly, of a small bit of marble. A round hole about the middle of the lower surface appears to be ancient, though it is now filled with a wooden plug. The proportions indicate that this fragment belonged to the frieze of the cella.

The fragment was brought from Athens in 1841. I owe my knowledge of it to Dr. Paton. His attention was called to this fragment in 1914 by the Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Mr. S. C. Cockerell, who kindly allowed a cast and a photograph to be made. Its connection with the frieze of the Erechtheum had already been recognized by Mr. W. R. Lethaby. The fragment is mentioned in Casson's *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, p. 19, note 2.

99. (No. 2473; hitherto unpublished. Identified by A. Panagiotakis.) H. 0.23 m.; Br. 0.16 m.; Th. 0.115 m. Lower part of a draped female figure, preserved from the middle of the thighs to the base. Left knee and left foot missing. The figure is leaning to the right (its left) with the weight on the left leg. The treatment of the drapery is good, recalling that of 77. The rear surface is smoothly finished with the toothed chisel. No trace of dowel hole. This fragment undoubtedly belongs to the frieze, and I think to the smaller series. Hill accepts it. (Blegen.)

100. (No. 1271; hitherto unpublished.) H. 0.23 m.; Br. 0.10 m.; Th. 0.09 m. Left side, abdomen, and thigh of a standing male figure. The figure leans over slightly to his right, resting his weight on his left leg. Perhaps he was leaning on something. A fold of drapery hangs down across the left shoulder and passes behind the thigh, and there is a trace of drapery near the navel to the left. The drapery is carried around on the back, but only carelessly indicated. The muscles are rendered very prominently, though this effect has apparently been increased by weathering. The surface is in bad condition, having suffered presumably from fire, as well as from lime incrustation. On the back I believe I see a faint trace of the dowel cutting, at a point corresponding approximately to the left breast. The figure probably belongs to the frieze and to the smaller series. Hill is inclined to accept it. (Blegen.) This fragment and the two following were found in 1917 in the small museum by Dr. Blegen, who has also furnished the photographs and descriptions of them.

101. (No. 3277; hitherto unpublished.) H. 0.37 m.; Br. 0.125 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Lower part of a female figure, preserved from below the breast to the base. Missing: breasts and everything above, arms, feet, and part of the left side. The figure stands facing front. She wears chiton and himation. The latter hangs down from the right shoulder and has kolpos and apoptygma (Fig. 162). The surface is in bad condition, but the work was originally good. A small part of the bottom surface is preserved, including part of a drilled pin hole. The rear surface is worked fairly smooth with the point. On the top of the fracture in the back are traces of a dowel hole *ca.* 0.025 m. wide. This fragment clearly belongs to the frieze. Hill agrees. (Blegen.)

102. (No number; hitherto unpublished.) H. 0.10 m.; Br. 0.11 m.; Th. 0.08 m. Left shoulder and part of breast of a female figure, probably in rapid motion to the left. There are traces of a sleeved chiton. The himation flies out behind over the left shoulder. The back is roughly worked with the point. No traces of a dowel hole. I think this belongs to the frieze. Hill agrees. (Blegen.) In 1913 this fragment bore the almost illegible number 4865, and it is described, not quite accurately, under this number by Casson. A fragment of the Parthenon frieze (Casson, No. 1191) is now numbered 4865.

103. (Berlin Museum; hitherto unpublished.) Greatest length, 0.08 m.; greatest thickness, 0.03 m. Left foot of a human being. Fully wrought on both sides. Near the right end (as seen from the back), under the front part of the foot, is an oblique drill hole (Fig. 163). The foot is evidently placed on a rock, and may belong to a figure in motion; cf. 89.

This fragment, the following one, and also 110 and 111, have been for some years in the Berlin Museum. They are mentioned in the *Verzeichniss der antiken Skulpturen* as follows: "884 a-d.

Kleine Bruchstücke der Friesfiguren vom Erechtheion, darunter ein Pferdeschenkel und ein menschlicher Fuss." For the photographs, measurements, and descriptions of these four fragments I am indebted to Dr. Karl Anton Neugebauer, who furnished them at the request of Geheimrat Ludwig Pallat. The fragments are so small that it cannot be determined with any certainty whether they belonged to the frieze of the cella or to that of the North Portico.



FIGURE 162. FRAGMENT 101:
SIDE

104. (Berlin Museum; hitherto unpublished.)

Length, 0.122 m. Irregular fragment. On two sides, which meet at right angles, are plane surfaces for contact with other surfaces (*Anschlussflächen*), and their position determines the interpretation of the fragment. Neither of these surfaces can have been at the right of the fragment, for that would imply that a piece of relief was there attached, and there is no evidence of anything of the kind in the frieze of the Erechtheum. (Indeed, since the marble figures were carved separately and attached to the background, such piecing of the marble would be needless, because a figure could perfectly well extend over adjacent parts of two slabs of the Eleusinian stone.) Moreover, the smaller of the two plane surfaces cannot have been attached to the back-ground, as the projection of the relief would in that case have been too great. The longer plane surface, upon which 1260 is written in black (Fig. 164), must, therefore, have been the back, and the other the bottom, of the fragment,

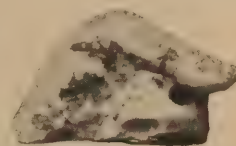


FIGURE 163.
FRAGMENT 103: BACK



FIGURE 164.
FRAGMENT 104:
BACK

which is, then, to be regarded as a thin piece split off from front to back, of which only the right side of the surface that was to be visible is now preserved. If this is correct, the thickness from front to back is 0.058 m. At the front the fragment is very narrow, and at the back it attains a breadth of 0.035 m. The irregular, wavy surface precludes the interpretation of the fragment as a part of an organic being; it is probably a piece of rock from the seat of a figure such as 87. Our plate represents the fragment as seen, not from the front, but from the right.

105. (No. 1236 b; Pallat 34, 10.) H. 0.20 m.; Br. 0.24 m.; Th. 0.09 m. Breast and part of the body of a horse, standing quietly and turned towards the right. The projection at the left, on the flank of this horse, is without doubt the beginning of a second one. The back surface is worked with a point in the middle, smooth at the edge. In it is a dowel hole (0.04 m. long and 0.04 m. deep), broken out at the left; above this a drill hole which cannot have been part of the pour channel. The fragment does not belong to the following one. Pallat (*A. J. A.*, p. 181) thinks this belongs to the frieze of the cella.

106. (No. 1235; Pallat 34, 11.) H. 0.32 m.; Br. 0.55 m.; Th. 0.16 m. Remains of a standing or slowly moving pair of horses (stallions), with the chariot and a nude man standing behind the

chariot. That the man stands behind the chariot, not (as Schoene assumed) in it, may be deduced from the fact that the chariot is not broken underneath, but is smooth. The stump that appears under the chariot is the left knee of the man. Above the rear part of the rear horse is a projection which may possibly be the remains of a tree trunk. The vertical (though apparently slightly curved) projection on the chariot is probably not (as Schoene thought) a remnant of the horse's tail, but rather of the wheel of the chariot. The tail seems to have gone more upwards. The right hind leg of the horse is connected with the chariot by a sort of flat moulding. The two curves in the upper edge of the chariot are part of the design, not fractures. The inside of the chariot is hollowed out by means of drill holes. The horse in the background stands so far forward to the right that its hind quarters were on a line with the shoulders of the horse in the foreground; it should perhaps be thought of as not yet harnessed to the chariot. The back surface is finely roughened with the toothed chisel and worked over with the point besides. The dowel hole lies in the direction of the vertical fracture that goes through the horse's body (several drill holes one above the other); it is 0.04 m. long, 0.015 m. broad, and 0.04 m. deep, and its lower end, which corresponds to the small hole in the line of fracture in the front, is about 0.27 m. above the ground level to be assumed for the horses. There is a horizontal pin hole, 0.04 m. deep, under the chariot, just forward of the remains of the wheel. Pallat (*A. J. A.*, p. 184) places this fragment near the middle of the eastern front (cf. *ibid.*, p. 190, note).

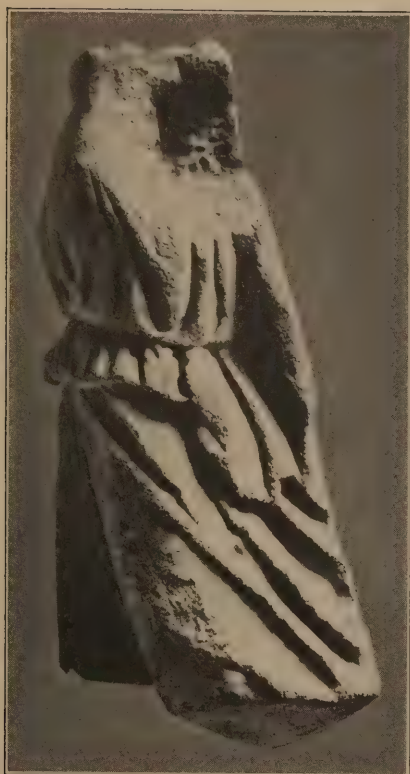
107. (No. 1282; Pallat 34, 12.) H. 0.26 m.; Br. 0.25 m.; Th. 0.08 m. Fragment of a quadriga galloping towards the left. Of the horse in the foreground the broken fore legs and the breast are preserved, of the second the breast and the beginning of the neck. In addition, on the front side of the first horse, traces of another horse belonging to the quadriga are visible. The back surface is rudely worked with a point. In the surface of the fracture at the right is a large broken dowel hole (four drill holes), 0.05 m. long, 0.05 m. deep, and 0.115 m. from the lower edge of the fragment (i. e., about 0.25 m. from the presumed ground line). A pour channel enters from above. Schoene believed that this and the following fragment belonged together, and Pallat (*Ant. Denk.*) followed him. Later (*A. J. A.*, p. 181 and note) Pallat rightly says that the two cannot be joined, as we should then have a team of five horses. Pallat (*l. c.*) ascribes to the western frieze of the North Portico this fragment and the two following, to the frieze of the cella the first two fragments of horses.

108. (No. 1280; Pallat 34, 13.) H. 0.35 m.; Br. 0.31 m.; Th. 0.17 m. Fragment of the stallions of a quadriga galloping towards the left. The breast and the beginning of the fore legs of the first horse and remnants of the bodies and hind legs of the second and third are preserved. In the fracture at the right, 0.17 m. from the lower edge of the right hind leg of the second horse, is a hole (broken out) which cannot be a dowel hole, because it comes, not from behind, but from the right. Corresponding to it in the middle of the left-hand fracture is a hole 0.045 m. long and 0.015 m. wide, containing some lead. Both holes probably served to fasten pieces which were attached. A third hole, in which are traces of rust, is bored from below into the left hind leg of the rear horse. A pin hole in a slight elevation on the back of the second horse and another in the breast of the first horse may have served for the attachment of reins. The back surface is finely dressed with the toothed chisel and in parts worked with the point.

109. (No. 1133; Pallat, *A. J. A.*, pp. 178 ff., figs. 15-18.) H. 0.125 m.; Br. 0.217 m.; Th. 0.125 m. Rear part of a pair of horses facing left. Pallat (*l. c.*, p. 181 and note) says that this cannot be combined with any of the known fragments of horses.

110. (Berlin Museum; hitherto unpublished.) Greatest length, from the fracture of the leg to the rear part above, 0.168 m.; greatest thickness, 0.067 m. Hinder part of a horse. At the back is a piece of the original flat surface, worked with a point. The back of the existing fragment of the leg is only roughly worked. At the edge of the belly two drill holes remain. The fragment appears to be part of a horse in motion (cf. 107 and 108) and is therefore reproduced in a raised position.

111. (Berlin Museum; hitherto unpublished.) H. 0.071 m.; Th. 0.027 m. Leg of an animal (?).



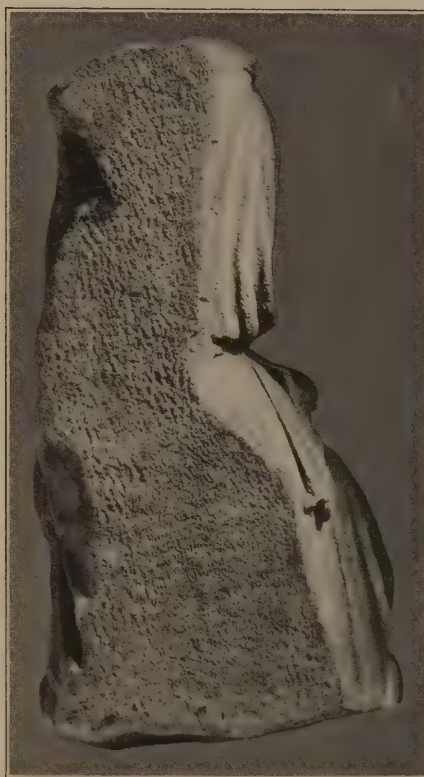
A



B



C



D

FIGURE 165. FRAGMENT 112: (A) FROM LEFT. (B) FROM FRONT. (C) FROM RIGHT. (D) FROM BEHIND.

One is inclined to regard this as the hind leg of a horse, but the sinew at the left, separated by a depression or furrow from the rest, seems hardly to fit this interpretation.

112. (Sir John Soane's Museum, London; hitherto unpublished; Fig. 165). H. 0.37 m. (at back, 0.35 m.); Br. 0.14 m.; Th. 0.043 m.; across neck from side to side, 0.04 m. Fragment, from the neck to the knee, of a youthful female figure moving toward the right, with the weight borne momentarily by the left leg. She wears a sleeveless chiton fastened at her right shoulder and girt, with overfall, about her waist. In the girdle are two drill holes 0.003 m. in diameter, probably for attaching a clasp or buckle. The bare right arm extended downward, outward, and forward; probably the forearm was bent forward, as it would otherwise have projected too far from the background. Figure 165B shows the fragment approximately as it would have appeared to a spectator standing directly in front of the frieze. The work is excellent. The proportions indicate that the figure belonged to the frieze of the North Portico. At the back, the upper part is worked with a point, the lower part with a toothed chisel as well. The broken dowel hole in the left shoulder is about 0.043 m. deep and about 0.035 m. high.

The fragment was identified by Mr. Bernard Ashmole, of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, who kindly sent me photographs and measurements through Mr. A. M. Woodward, Director of the British School at Athens. These reached me after the heliotype plates were already made and the text of this chapter was in type. I have, therefore, inserted description and illustrations at this point.

APPENDIX

The following fragments resemble more or less closely those that certainly formed parts of the frieze of the Erechtheum. Some of them may well belong to the frieze, but cannot be ascribed to it with certainty; others are mentioned here because, although they do not belong to the frieze, they have been connected with it more or less tentatively by previous writers, or by those who have studied the frieze in the Museum at Athens.

A. (No. 1236 a; Fig. 166.) This fragment is published and described in Casson's *Catalogue*. At my request Dr. Blegen examined it, and I am indebted to him for the photograph published herewith and the following description. H. 0.135 m.; Br. 0.165 m.; Th. 0.155 m. This is a very curious piece. Preserved: a right leg and foot standing directly behind a drum-like object, on the same circular base with the latter. Casson seems not to have understood the position of the fragment, since the illustration he gives (p. 194) and his measurements indicate that he took the left side as the front. At the extreme left of the fragment, as shown in his illustration, is preserved a small part of the presumable rear surface. It is roughly worked with the point. This shows that the drum-like object is the front of the piece and that the leg was behind. The drum-like object is worked in the round, the figure behind and to the right of it was in low relief. The height of the relief at the fracture, where the left leg is broken away, is 0.032 m. (Cf. 95, which might be the left leg of a similar figure.)



FIGURE 166.
FRAGMENT A

The drum-like object measures 0.11 m. in diameter from front to back, and 0.095 m. from side to side, and is, therefore, not circular. From the front, however, it would appear to be circular. On the flat top of the drum-like object and hanging over the front side is the lower end of a piece of drapery, which presumably hung down from the (outstretched) left arm. This drapery falls over the drum in a spiraliform fold. The figure evidently faced to the left and was engaged in doing something over the drum-like object. The figure was apparently not standing, but kneeling or stooping or hurrying toward the left.

The marble is rather discolored and much darker than most of the fragments of the frieze (re-

sembling 86 in color). It is perfectly possible, however, that it comes from the frieze; in which case I should guess that it belonged to the larger series.

Dr. Blegen tells me that Mr. Casson agrees that the fragment should face as in our photograph, that is, with the drum-like object toward the front, and not as in his illustration. Dr. Blegen adds, "but of course it is only a possible, not a certain, attribution to the frieze."

B. (No. 1263; hitherto unpublished; Fig. 167.) H. 0.305 m.; Br. 0.175 m.; Th. 0.09 m. Female figure seated to right on what seems to be a rock. The upper part of her body is turned to face the front. Her right arm is bent across her body, the hand disappearing under the left arm, which is bent and originally extended diagonally across the knees. She wears a chiton which is pinned at the left arm and girt at the waist. A himation seems to be draped over the left shoulder, and the heavy folds under the right hand may belong to this. The head, the entire right side, and the lower part of the figure are missing. Casson doubts the attribution to the frieze. Dr. Blegen writes: "The scale is right, and the rear surface, though coarsely worked, implies that the figure was set against a background. I thought I saw traces of a dowel hole, *ca.* 0.04 m. high and 0.04 m. deep, about level with the right breast. There is a drill hole, 0.055 m. deep, from the rear face on the broken right edge to a point 0.10 m. above the bottom of the



FIGURE 167. FRAGMENT B



FIGURE 168.
FRAGMENT C



FIGURE 169.
FRAGMENT D

fragment. The work is very 'hard' and strikingly different from that of the certain pieces. I consider its ascription to the frieze very doubtful, but barely possible. Hill agrees to this."

C. (No. 1266; Fig. 168.) H. 0.14 m.; Br. 0.10 m.; Th. 0.05 m. Mr. Casson's description in his *Catalogue* is as follows: "Fragment of a wing covered with feathers which are of an average size of 0.05 m. $\times$ 0.015 m. in breadth. The feathers are in three rows, each row overlapping the other. The feathers of the middle row are of an average length of 0.05 m. The fragment is only roughly worked at the back and sides and shows no trace of having been joined to any other fragment, but it probably belongs to No. 2825 [our 4]. It cannot, of course, be definitely assigned to the frieze."

Dr. Blegen writes: "I am absolutely convinced that this fragment of a wing does not belong to 4. The marble seems different, the workmanship is not the same, the rough treatment of the rear surface is in quite another style, the scale is too large (there were originally at least four rows of feathers), and last but not least, I feel certain that 4 is not a winged figure." (See under 4 above.) In another letter Dr. Blegen writes that Mr. Casson is no longer willing to assert that the fragment of wing belongs to 4 (No. 2825), but thinks it may rather come from the Nike balustrade.

D. (No number; hitherto unpublished; communicated by Dr. Carl W. Blegen; Fig. 169.) H. 0.16 m.; Br. 0.06 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Left arm of standing figure. It is held out somewhat from the side, with the drapery hanging over it. It is worked almost in the round. The scale and work are right for the frieze, and it may belong to it, but there is no certain indication. (Blegen.)

E. (No. 1269; Fig. 170.) H. 0.22 m.; Br. 0.13 m.; Th. 0.08 m. The lower part of a standing draped figure facing the front. Only the right leg from knee to ankle and the left leg from the middle of the thigh to a point between knee and ankle are preserved. Casson says "the attribution of this fragment is uncertain." Dr. Blegen writes: "Very sketchy and impressionistic work. Hill rejects it, and, I think, rightly. There are some slight indications that the figure had a background on the same piece."

F. (No. 1239 a; Fig. 171.) H. 0.17 m.; Br. 0.13 m.; Th. 0.07 m. Torso, from neck to waist, of a male figure standing facing the front. He wears a himation draped over his left shoulder and under his (missing) right arm. The left arm extended forward from the elbow, but is now broken off. In the fracture is a hole for the attachment of the wrist; the back surface is broken. Casson says "this fragment is probably not from the frieze; the treatment of the drapery seems different," and Blegen and Hill agree that its assignment to the frieze is only a bare possibility.

G. (No. 3143; Fig. 172.) Lower part of a draped figure standing to front. It is almost certain that this does not belong to the frieze. (Blegen.) The figure was carved entirely in the round.

H. (No. 1169.) H. 0.29 m.; Br. 0.23 m.; Th. 0.11 m. In his *Catalogue* Mr. Casson says: "It is uncertain whether this is a fragment of the Erechtheium frieze." He has since decided to reject it. Dr. Blegen writes: "This fragment certainly does not belong to the frieze. It is from a figure approximately twice as high as those of the frieze. The fragment seems to have been split off from a much larger piece (perhaps the Parthenon frieze), to judge from the present back, which is not the original surface." The fragment represents a piece of drapery.

I. (No. 1301.) H. 0.235 m.; Br. 0.17 m.; Th. 0.14 m. Fragment of a draped figure, preserved from the thighs to below the knees. The figure was standing with the weight resting on the right leg. In his *Catalogue* Mr. Casson says the figure "is perhaps not from the frieze," and he has since agreed with Dr. Blegen and Dr. Hill that it cannot belong to the frieze. The scale is much larger than that of the figures from the Erechtheum.

J. (No. 4225; hitherto unpublished; Fig. 173.) H. 0.08 m.; Br. 0.09 m.; Th. 0.08 m. Left shoulder and part of breast of a female figure. A himation hangs over the shoulder, and traces of a chiton are visible on the breast. The figure faces towards the front. The drapery is carried around on the back as in 58 (No. 284). No trace of a dowel hole. The fragment may be from the frieze. This fragment was found by Dr. Blegen in the small museum on the Acropolis in 1917. He has furnished the photographs and the description.

K. (No number; hitherto unpublished; Fig. 174.) Foot. No indication of the front, that is to say, of the side from which the fragment should be viewed. It is of the right scale and work and may belong to the frieze, but this attribution is not certain. This fragment was found in the southeast part of the Erechtheum under the Christian pavement, during excavations conducted in 1914 by the American School. The photograph and description are due to Dr. Blegen.

L. (Berlin Museum, Inv. 1768; Bruno Schroeder, *Alkamenes-Studien*, 79tes *Winckelmannsprogramm der archaologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, pl. II, fig. 5.) H. 0.09 m. This small youthful female head (Fig. 175 after Schroeder) was acquired by the Berlin Museum from a private possessor. It is said to have been found in the débris (*Schutt*) of the Acropolis at Athens. The nose is wanting, and the back is split off. The full forms of mouth and cheeks, the waves of the hair, which is parted and held in place by a band, the calmness and charm of the expression, the treatment of the eyes, and the general technique all show that the work belongs to the latter part of the fifth century B.C. The material is Pentelic marble, and the size (chin to hair 0.065 m.) agrees with the dimensions of the female figures of the North Portico; the fragment may, therefore, belong to the frieze. But, since the back of the fragment shows merely a fracture, there is no indication that the figure to which it belongs was carved separately to be attached to a background. It may have been a relief of the usual kind or a statuette. The ascription of the head to the frieze of the Erechtheum is, then,



FIGURE 170. FRAGMENT E



FIGURE 171. FRAGMENT F



FIGURE 172. FRAGMENT G

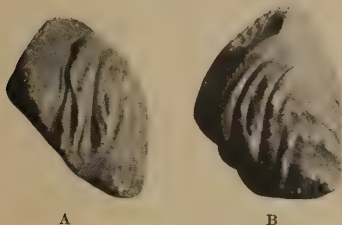


FIGURE 173. FRAGMENT J: (A) FRONT. (B) SIDE

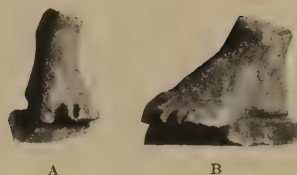


FIGURE 174. FRAGMENT K: (A) FRONT. (B) SIDE



A



B

FIGURE 175. FRAGMENT L: (A) FRONT. (B) SIDE



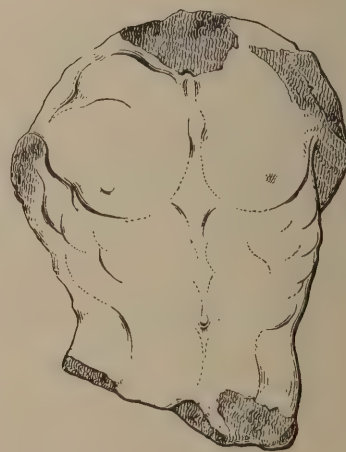
33



36



37



43

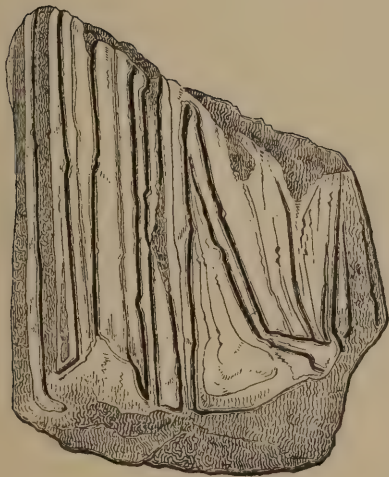
FIGURE 176. LOST FRAGMENTS: 'ΕΦ. 'ΑΡΧ. 1837, NOS. 33, 36, 37, 43



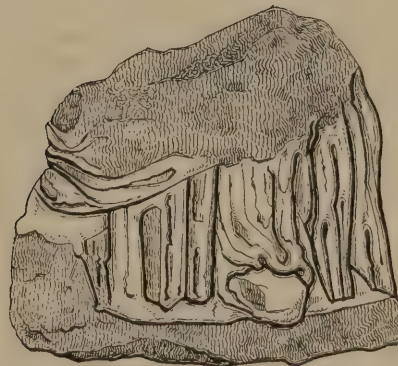
41



46



47



48

FIGURE 177. FRAGMENTS NOT CERTAINLY IDENTIFIED: 'ЕФ. 'АПХ. 1837, NOS. 41, 46, 47, 48

doubtful. Schroeder finds a marked resemblance between this head and the much mutilated head of the so-called Procne (Casson, pp. 257 ff.) in the Acropolis Museum, which he ascribes to Alcamenes, the sculptor whom he is inclined to regard as the author of all the sculptures of the Erechtheum (p. 238). Certainly the little head is unusually attractive, but whether it belongs to the frieze of the Erechtheum, or not, is quite uncertain.

Several fragments (Fig. 176) published in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1837, and also by Rangabé in his *Antiquités helléniques* are not described above. These are numbers 33, 36 (Rangabé, 84), 37 (Rangabé, 82), and 43 (Rangabé, 80). None of these can now be identified, and probably all are lost. The drawing of No. 33 looks as if the figure stood on a base and was not detached from the background; perhaps it did not belong to the frieze. It is the only one among these fragments not republished by Rangabé. No. 43 is also republished by Overbeck, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*⁴, fig. 123h. The identification of several other fragments (Fig. 177) is more or less doubtful. No. 41 (Rangabé, 69) is perhaps our 83 (in which case the draughtsman misunderstood the figure), possibly the lower part of 42 drawn from the side, or even 14 (if that happened to lose something of its lower part at a later time). Pallat (*A. J. A.*, p. 198, note 1) suggests that it may possibly be the lower part of 76. It cannot be, as Casson (*Catalogue*, No. 1281) suggests, our 82. No. 47 of the *Ἐφημερίς* has been tentatively identified with our 96, the lower part of Rangabé's 63, but it is also possible that it is the Cambridge fragment, 98. That was brought from Athens in 1841, and we know from Stephani (*Annali*, XV, 1843, p. 310) that whereas at that time some of the fragments were collected in the Erechtheum itself, others were scattered about on the Acropolis. Under such conditions the disappearance of small pieces is easily understood. No. 46 of the *Ἐφημερίς* (Rangabé, 85) appears to be our 8, and No. 48 (Rangabé, 77) our 90.

A fragment (No. 2286) included by Casson among the fragments of the frieze of the Erechtheum is no longer to be found. It is described as follows: "Female Figure. H. 0.12 m.; Br. 0.10 m.; average D. (i. e., Th.) 0.08 m. All that remains is the lower part of a figure showing a girt chiton and a himation. Probably a frieze fragment." Dr. Blegen informs me that the number 2286 is on a colossal head in the small museum and is so recorded in the inventory, adding that it was so entered before Casson wrote his *Catalogue*.

A fragment of relief (No. 1236), representing the fore parts, lacking the heads and the lower portions of the legs, of three horses moving slowly to left, is described in Casson's *Catalogue*, though not among the sculptures of the Erechtheum. He remarks: "It is unlikely that this is an Erechtheum frieze fragment, as this style of relief is, as far as one can tell, alien to the Erechtheum sculptures." He might well have expressed himself more positively, for the style is totally different from that of the horses of our frieze, to which it cannot by any possibility belong.

CHAPTER IV

THE INSCRIPTIONS

IN the summer of 409 B.C. a commission, appointed to have charge of the building of the Erechtheum, prepared a detailed report on the state of the unfinished temple, including an inventory of the materials lying on the site. A large part of this report is preserved on a marble stele found by Chandler on the Acropolis in 1765. It shows that the construction of the building, which had been begun either in the last years of the Periclean era, or during the peace of Nicias, was resumed in 409 B.C. after an interruption due in all probability to the disastrous Sicilian campaign of 415–412 B.C. Other fragments record expenditures upon this work. All the extant inscriptions belong to the last period of building. They may conveniently be grouped under four headings:

I. THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION. Nos. I–VII

The Chandler stele, II, is incomplete at the bottom; but the missing portion is in part preserved on the small fragments, III–VII, in Athens. Both faces of the stele were inscribed; its obverse contained the report; on its reverse were recorded specifications for work remaining to be done. No. I is included under this heading, since it has been held to be a fragment of the decree appointing the commission and authorizing the resumption of the operations.

II. THE ACCOUNTS OF 409/8 B.C. Nos. VIII–XII

These accounts were inscribed on two contiguous stelae, each with five columns of writing. One fragment (VIII) is opisthographic; the reverse of another (XI) is blank. From this it appears that the accounts were too long to be contained on both faces of one stele, and were continued on the reverse of a second stele which was added later. The five fragments, VIII–XII, have been identified with certainty as belonging to these accounts. They record work on the frieze, cornice, and pediments, the making of a wooden coffered ceiling, and the laying of a portion of the roof.

III. THE ACCOUNTS OF 408/7 B.C. Nos. XIII–XXV

The accounts of this year occupied the face of a series of thin slabs, set up in three tiers against a wall. Nos. XIII–XX certainly belong to them, and so in all probability do the small fragments XXI–XXV. The date is fixed by the mention of the archon Euktemon in the heading. The extant portions include, among other items, payments for the channelling of the east columns, for the making of a wooden ceiling, and for the carving of figures for the frieze.

IV. FRAGMENTS OF ACCOUNTS SUBSEQUENT TO 408/7 B.C. Nos. XXVI-XXVIII

These three fragments are from slabs of the same thickness as those of the previous accounts, and may have been set up next to them against the same wall. Nos. XXVII and XXVIII have been shown to fit together; and the inscription, which is in the Ionic alphabet, is dated in 406/5 and 405/4 B.C., if the name of the archon Alexias has been correctly restored in the lower of the two fragments. No. XXVI may be assigned to 407/6 B.C.

The evidence for this classification of the inscriptions and for the order of the fragments is discussed in the introductions to the several parts. The text of each inscription is published in facsimile, as well as in a restored minuscule transcription accompanied by a translation.¹ For the sake of completeness lists of variant readings by earlier editors are added.

The commentary is not intended to be exhaustive, except in so far as it seeks to bring out all the data contained in the inscriptions which can be used as evidence for the restoration of the building. In some instances members which are entirely missing could be drawn with certainty on the plates from the epigraphical evidence alone. More often the solutions adopted are hypotheses, some being highly probable, others merely plausible. Where the evidence is manifestly inadequate, as in the passages dealing with the coffered ceilings of the interior, a solution has been offered which seems to take the fullest account of all available evidence. It has not proved feasible to discuss all the alternative solutions which have been published, or which have suggested themselves in the course of the work.²

¹ The facsimiles were made with the help of photographs taken at one-half of the actual size. The letters were traced in pencil on the photographic prints, which were then bleached. After the copies thus obtained had been compared with the originals, and corrected, the letters were redrawn in ink. The use of this mechanical method insured accuracy in the spacing of the letters. The facsimiles are reproduced at approximately one-third of the actual size of the inscriptions.

² Published commentaries which have proved useful are cited in the text. The writer of this chapter has received numerous helpful suggestions from Dr. B. H. Hill for which only this general acknowledgment can be made. To Dr. L. B. Holland he is indebted for permission to use theories which have not yet been published, as well as for assistance in the revision of the translations. His thanks are due also to Mr. A. H. Smith for photographs of the two inscriptions in the British Museum (Nos. I, II), to Dr. Kurt Müller for a photograph, squeezes, and a transcription of the fragment (No. XII) discovered by him, and to Mr. Ashton Sanborn for photographs of some of the small fragments in Athens.

PART I. THE REPORT OF 409 B.C.

Nos.	Nat. Mus.	Dinsmoor	J.-M.	Other publications
I.....	..	A	21	<i>I.G.</i> , I, 60 = I ² , 111
II.....	..	B	22	<i>I.G.</i> , I, 322a = I ² , 372
III.....	6665	C	22b	<i>I.G.</i> , I, 322b = I ² , 372
IV.....	6735	D	22a	<i>I.G.</i> , I, Suppl., 322, p. 152 = I ² , 372
V _A	6662 _a	F	..	<i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 372
VI.....	6693	..	..	<i>I.G.</i> , I, 414 = I ² , 967
V _B	6662 _a	F	..	Unpublished
VII.....	6662	E	23	<i>I.G.</i> , I, 282 and Suppl., p. 73 = I ² , 372

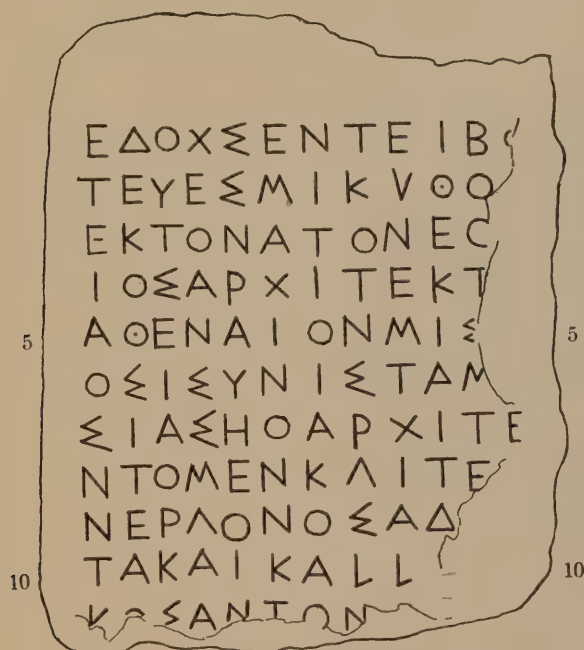


FIGURE 178. FACSIMILE OF INSCRIPTION I

I. Block of white marble in the British Museum (Elgin Collection), 0.267 m. high, 0.254 m. wide. Original top and left edge preserved. *Stoichedon*. Letters 0.01 to 0.012 m. high.

Osann, *Sylloge inscriptionum antiquarum graecarum et latinarum*. I, 6. Rose, *Inscr. gr.*, p. 257. *C.I.G.*, I, 77. *Br. Mus., Gr. Inscr.*, I, 7 (Hicks). *I.G.*, I, 60 (cf. Suppl., p. 18); I², 111. Choisy, *Études*, p. 87. J.-M., *App. Ep.*, 21. Dinsmoor, A.

Facsimile, Figure 178.

Variant readings. L. 4 "Müllerus ΙΟΞ, hoc est ΤΟΞ, quod restitui" (Boeckh). Hicks rightly restores Müller's reading. L. 8 -ν τὸ μὲν κ[α]τε[σκευασμένον] Boeckh, Kirchhoff. L. 10 ΚΑΛΑ Boeckh. L. 11 Κ··ΑΜΓ Boeckh. Κ··ΑΝΤ·Ν Hicks.

Ἔδοχσεν τῷ βο[λῇ καὶ τῷ δέμῳ, — ἰς ἐπρυτάνευε, — ἐγγραμμά-
 τευε, Σμίκυθο[ς ἐπεστάτε, Ἐπιγένης εἶπε — — — — — ἀρχι-
 ἐκτονα τῷ νεό[— — — — —] — — — — —
 ἰος ἀρχιτέκτον — — — — —
 5 Ἀθηναίων μισ[θῶσαι — — — — —
 οσι συνιστάμ[ενοι — — — — — ἐργα-
 σίας ἡο ἀρχιτέ[κτον — — — — — τῷ-
 ν τομὲν καὶ τῷ — — — — — τῷ-
 ν ἔργον, ὅσα δ[ὲ ἡμίεργα (?) — — — — — ὅς ἀρισ-
 10 τα καὶ κάλλ[ιστα — — — — —
 κοσάντων[— — — — —

Enough of the decree is left to show that it relates to the building of a temple (τῷ νεό, l. 3). Μισ[θῶσαι] in line 5 suggests the letting out of the work to contractors, who are apparently the συνιστάμ[ενοι] of line 6. In line 9, as Boeckh observed, a distinction seems to be made between different stages of the work. He suggested that the temple might be that of Athena Polias. Kirchhoff (*I.G.*, l.c.) identified this decree with the one mentioned in inscription II (l. 4: κατὰ τὸ φσέφισμα τῷ δέμῳ ἡδ' Ἐπιγένης εἶπεν) and restored line 2 accordingly. This theory was accepted by Michaelis (*Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, p. 362).¹

THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS, FIRST PRYTANY, 409/8 B.C.

The inscriptions numbered III–VII have long been recognized as having a close connection with the large inscription, II, which contains the greater part of the report of the commissioners. Nos. II, III, IV, VA, VI were all cut by the same hand; the size of the letters, as well as their style, and the spacing of the lines are the same. The letters on VB and VII correspond closely in character and size to those on II–VI; but the lines are more widely spaced, five lines occupying about the space of six on II–VI. The margin to the left of the inscription on VB is of the same width as that to the left of the first column on II; and the division of the text into paragraphs by means of horizontal strokes between the first letters of two successive lines occurs on VB as well as on II. The connection of the small fragment III with II was suspected by Pittakis (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 215), and considered obvious by Ross (*Kunstblatt*, 1840, p. 71) and Rangabé (*Ant. hellén.*, 86). It is to be placed with certainty below the first column of II. The contents of IV showed that it also belonged to the report, and it seemed probable that the two concluding lines of the same report were preserved on VA. The connection of the inscription on the reverse of V (VB) with VII (*I.G.*, I, 282) was noticed several years ago by Professor Adolf Wilhelm, who caused “Eis I, 282”

¹ For a new dating of this inscription in 427/6 B.C., see additional Note II, pp. 647 f.

Resolved by the Council [and People, -- held the prytany, -- was secretary,]
 Smikythos [presided, Epigenes moved, -- --]
 architect of the temple [-- --]
 -ios architect [-- -- of the]
 5 Athenians to let out the contracts [-- --]
 those associated [-- --]
 of the work the architect [-- --]
 the quarrying and the [-- --]
 of the works, those which [are incomplete? -- -- in the
 10 best] and fairest manner [-- -- .]

to be painted on the stone. A natural inference would be that all the fragments, II-VII, belonged to one tall, narrow stele, inscribed on both faces. But there was the obstacle that the opisthographic fragment V is 0.139 m. thick, and that IV has a maximum thickness of 0.136 m., whereas the large slab, II, has a uniform thickness of only 0.09 m. For the solution of this mystery we are indebted to W. B. Dinsmoor. He discovered that the broken surface at the bottom of IV exactly fits the top of V, and, what is more important, that the fragments III and VII fit together, back to back, their combined thickness being equal to that of V¹. This proves that the large slab must at some time have been reduced in thickness from 0.139 m. to 0.09 m. The occasion on which this mutilation took place was also discovered by Dinsmoor. Chandler, in his *Travels in Greece* (see App. A, XIII) narrates that he found the slab "at a house not far from the temple of Minerva Polias, placed, *with the inscribed face exposed*, in the stairs." He purchased it, and took it to England, but not till he had had it "*rendered more portable by a mason.*" The inscription on the reverse, which was hidden under a layer of mortar, was thus unwittingly destroyed. The small samples of it on VB and VII are all that have survived.

It remains to add that the tiny fragment VI was identified in 1913 by Dr. Fimmen as belonging to the report.²

The relative positions of fragments II-V and VII are clearly shown in the accompanying drawing (Fig. 179), reproduced from Figure 1 in Dinsmoor's article. He estimates the total height of the stele to have been about 1.835 m. Its width is 0.505 m. It was let into a socket in its pedestal, and fastened with lead, as is indicated by a roughening of the surface of VA, extending 0.06 m. up from the bottom. The place of discovery of the Chandler stone has already been noted. Fragment III is said to have been found between the Erechtheum and the Parthenon, fragment VII east of the Propylaea.

¹ Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XVII, 1913, pp. 242 ff.

² This identification is not accepted in *I.G.*, I², 967, where the fragment is considered as part of a metrical inscription on a public sepulchral monument.

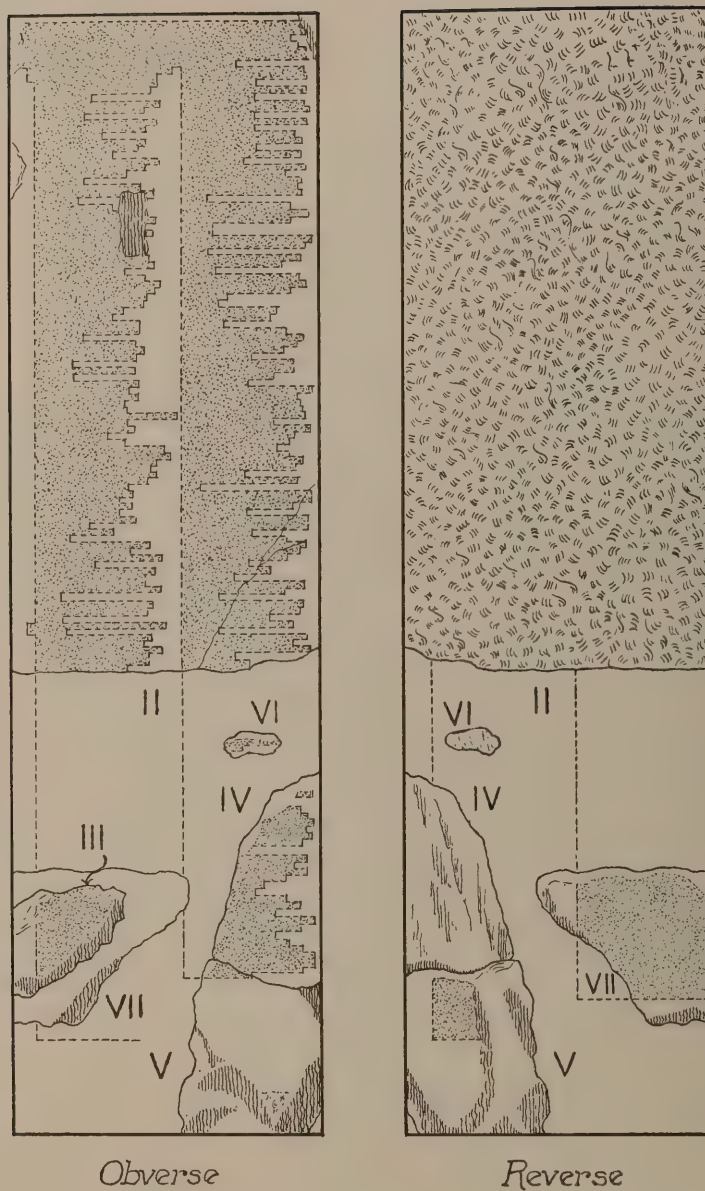


FIGURE 179. DIAGRAM SHOWING RELATIVE POSITION OF INSCRIPTIONS II-VII

The date of the report is given in the heading as the first prytany of the year 409/8 B.C. The inscription on the reverse, which contained specifications for work to be done, is probably to be dated early in the same year.

II. Block of white marble, 1.08 m. high, 0.505 m. wide, 0.09 m. thick. In two pieces. Broken at the bottom. Otherwise complete except for a fragment of the right-hand column (from line 73 to line 83), which is now missing, but is given in the earlier facsimiles. Back roughly tooled (cf. above, p. 281). Not *stoichedon*. The first seven lines, containing the heading, run across the whole width of the stone. The letters are 0.008 to 0.012 m. high. The rest of the inscription is arranged in two columns, the letters being 0.007 to 0.01 m. high. The block, found by Chandler on the Acropolis in 1765, was taken to England for the Society of Dilettanti, who later presented it to the British Museum.

Chandler, *Inscriptiones antiquae*, Pt. II, 1, with an engraved facsimile. Wilkins, *Atheniensi*a (1816), pp. 193–218, with a plate. The same in Walpole, *Memoirs* (1818), pp. 580–603, with an engraved facsimile and a plate. The same, *Prolus. Archit.* (1837), pp. 39–82. Visconti, *Museo Pio-Clementino*, IV (1821), pp. 324–326 (note on column II, ll. 73–86, with a facsimile, pl. B, IV; “quod repetiit in litt. ad Canovam et duabus commentt. de Coll. Elgin, p. 114 sq.” Boeckh). K. O. Müller, *De Minervae Poliadis sacris et aede* (1820), pp. 46–55 (= *Kunstarchäologische Werke*, I, pp. 136–147). Canina, *L’architettura antica*, Sez. II, *L’architettura greca*, Pt. II, pp. 73–75 (Greek text and an Italian translation). Rose, *Inscr. gr.*, pp. 145–208, pls. XXI–XXIII. Schneider, *Vitruvius*, vol. II, pp. 259 ff. Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, 160. Von Quast, *Das Erechtheion zu Athen* (1840), pp. 100–125, translation and commentary. Leake, *Topography of Athens*², vol. I, pp. 586 ff., text. *I.G.*, I, 322a; cf. Suppl., p. 38; I², 372. *Br. Mus.*, *Gr. Inscr.*, I, 35 (Newton). Choisy, *Études*, pp. 88 ff. Michel, *Recueil d’inscriptions grecques*, 571. J.–M., *App. Ep.*, 22. Roberts-Gardner, *Greek Epigraphy*, II, 117. Dinsmoor, B.

Facsimile, PLATE XLVII.

Variant Readings. Col. I. L. 27 ΓΛ N earlier edd. except Newton. L. 31 ΓΟ ΟΞ earlier edd. except Newton. L. 42 ΙΟΛΑΚΑΙΕΡΑΟΞ Chandler. ΙΟΙΑΚΑΙΕΤΛ Müller. The numeral III in the margin is placed by Wilkins to the right of line 41. So also Rose, Kirchhoff. L. 61 ΚΥΚΛΟΙ earlier edd. ΚΥΚΛ . Ι Newton. L. 69 ΕΚΤΟΞ all before Newton. L. 70 ΙΟΛΛΥΛΟ Chandler. ΤΟΛΛΥΛΟ Wilkins. ΛΟΛΛΥΛΟ Müller (Boeckh). L. 71 ΤΟΝΙΝ Chandler. ΙΟΝΙ Müller. ΤΟΜΙΑΙ Wilkins (*Atheniensi*a and in Walpole, *Memoirs*, etc.), Boeckh, Kirchhoff. ΤΟΜΙΑΙΥΦΞ Wilkins, *Prolus. Archit.* L. 72 ΔΙΑΞ ΔΝ Chandler, Boeckh. L. 75 ΤΟΑΛΔΟΜ Chandler. ΤΟΛΛΑΛΜ the other edd. On the text of lines 70–76 cf. also p. 310, below. L. 79 ΤΟΝΒ Wilkins, Kirchhoff. ΤΟΘΕΟΤΟ Chandler. L. 83 ΤΟΙ at the end, Wilkins, Boeckh, Kirchhoff. L. 92 ΕΔΕΙ Wilkins, Boeckh. L. 93 ΛΙΘ all. ΛΑΞΜΕΝΑ all. L. 97 ΑΓΟΜΑΤ Wilkins, ΑΡΥΟΜΟ Boeckh.

Col. II. L. 11 ΓΛΑΤΟΞ all. L. 41 the numeral Ι in the margin is omitted by Boeckh and Newton. Wilkins and Kirchhoff give here ΙΙΙ. See above on col. I, l. 42. L. 44 ΗΕΤΕΡΟΝ Wilkins, Kirchhoff. L. 53 ΤΕΜ in both places, Chandler, Boeckh. L. 58 ΞΙΑΞΕΝΕΡΑ Chandler, Wilkins, Kirchhoff. L. 60 ΑΡΑΟΙΞΚ Müller. ΜΑΤΙΟΤΡΕΞ earlier edd. except Newton. L. 64 Newton gives

the numeral I in the margin. L. 69 ΞTONKAITON Chandler, Wilkins, Boeckh. KATATON suggested by Müller. Ll. 73-83. A fragment containing portions of these lines is now lost. They are given in full by the earlier editors except Newton. L. 86 Π in the margin, Wilkins, Kirchhoff.

III. Fragment of white marble, 0.18 m. high, 0.18 m. wide, 0.05 m. thick. Broken except at the left edge. The broken rear surface fits that of No. VII; cf. above, p. 281. Letters 0.007 to 0.009 m. high. Not *stoichedon*. Found in excavations on the Acropolis in 1836 (Ross) and apparently re-discovered between the Erechtheum and the Parthenon in 1838 (Pittakis). During the interval the remains of letters in three lines at the beginning had disappeared. In the National Museum, Athens.

Ross, *Kunstblatt*, 1840, p. 71. Pittakis, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 215, 2205. Rangabé, *Ant. hellén.*, 86. Stephani, *Annali*, 1843, p. 286. *I.G.*, I, 322*b*; I², 372. Choisy, *Études*, p. 93. J.-M., *App. Ep.*, 22*b*. Roberts-Gardner, *Greek Epigraphy*, II, 117*b*. Washburn, *A.J.A.*, X, 1906, pl. I (new readings). Dinsmoor, C.

Ross (*l.c.*) evidently saw more than is now preserved. The first six lines of the inscription are repeated below from his copy. Line 4 corresponds to line 1 on the stone as shown in PLATE XLVII.

A
ΓΡΟΞΤ
ΕΟΕΞΤΑΓ
ΕΥΛΕΕΝ
ΛΙΙΑΡΙΟΜ
ΑΧΑΜΑ

Facsimile, PLATE XLVII.

Variant Readings. L. 1 omitted by Rangabé, Stephani. λή[μματα] 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 215, \IEL 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 2205. L. 3 [δρ]αχμαὶ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 215. ΑΑΧΑΜΑΙ Rangabé. \ΑΧΑΜΑΙ . . ΙΞ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 2205. L. 4 ΠΑΝΙ Ross. L. 7 ΔΙΟ \Ι Stephani. ΔΙΟ \Ι Washburn. L. 8 :ΙΙΙ Ross. :ΙΙΙΙΑΞ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 2205. L. 13 ΔΔ Ross.

IV. Fragment of white marble, 0.355 m. high, 0.185 m. wide, 0.136 m. thick. Right edge preserved. Other edges and back broken off. At the bottom it fits VA. Letters 0.007 to 0.01 m. high. Not *stoichedon*. Place of finding unknown. Bought by the Archaeological Society. Now in the National Museum.

Koumanoudes, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1889, p. 55, no. 3. *I.G.*, I, Suppl. 322 (p. 152); I², 372. J.-M., *App. Ep.*, 22*a*. Washburn, *A.J.A.*, X, 1906, pl. I (new readings). Dinsmoor, D.

Facsimile, PLATE XLVII.

Variant Readings. L. 14 <ATA Washburn. L. 21 \EK Washburn. L. 24 \ΞΙΙΘ Koumanoudes, Kirchhoff. L. 25 Ι'ΟΞ Koumanoudes, Kirchhoff.

V. Fragment of white marble, 0.282 m. high, 0.23 m. wide, 0.139 m. thick, inscribed on both faces. One edge, bottom, and back preserved. Bottom rough. In the National Museum.

I.G., I², 372 (face A; face B omitted). Dinsmoor, F.

Face A. Letters 0.008 m. high, as in Nos. II, III, IV. Not *stoichedon*. The inscription ends 0.25 m. from the bottom of the stone.

Facsimile, PLATE XLVII.

VI. Fragment of white marble, 0.05 m. high, 0.097 m. wide, 0.04 m. thick. Broken all around, and at the back. In the National Museum.

I.G., I, 414; I², 967. Cf. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, p. 245.

Facsimile, PLATE XLVII.

II, HEADING

Ἐπιστάται τὸ νεὸ τὸ ἐμ πόλει ἐν ἡδὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα, Βροσυν[ι-
 δ]ες Κεφισιεύς, Χαριάδης Ἀγρυλῆθεν, Διό(ν)δης Κεφισιεύς, ἀρχιτέκτο[ν
 Φι]λοκλῆς Ἀχαρνεύς, γραμματεὺς Ἐτέαρχος Κυδαθηναίεύς,
 τά]δε ἀνέγραφσαν ἔργα τὸ νεὸ ἧος κατέλαβον ἔχοντα κατὰ τὸ φσέ-
 5 φισ]μα τὸ δέμο ἡδὲ Ἐπιγένης εἶπεν, ἐχσεργασμένα καὶ ἡμέιεργα, ἐπὶ Διο-
 κ]λέος ἄρχοντος, Κεκροπίδος πρυτανεύσας πρότε, ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς
 ἡ]εὶ Νικοφάνης Μαραθόνιος πρότος ἐγραμμάτευσεν.

II, col. 1

Τὸ νεὸ τάδε κατελάβομεν ἡμέιεργα·
 ἐπὶ τῇ γονίαι τῇ πρὸς τὸ Κεκροπίο·
 10 πλίνθος ἀθέτος μέκος τετρά-
 ΙΙΙ ποδας, πλάτος δίποδας, πάχος
 τριημιποδίου.
 μασχαλιαίαν μέκος τετράποδα,
 Ι πλάτος τρίποδα, πάχος τριῶν
 15 ἡμιποδίων.
 ἐπικρανίτιδας μέκος τετράπο-
 Γ δας, πλάτος τρίποδας, πάχος
 τριῶν ἡμιποδίων.
 γονιαίαν μέκος ἑπτάποδα,
 20 [Ι] πλάτος τετράποδα, πάχος
 τριῶν ἡμιποδίων.
 γογγύλος λίθος ἄθετος, ἀντίμο-
 [Ι] ρος ταῖς ἐπικρανίτισιν, μέκος
 δεκάπος, ἡύφσος τριῶν
 25 ἡμιποδίων.
 ἀντιμόρο τοῖς ἐπιστυλίοις
 ΙΙ μέκος τετράποδε, πλ[άτος πεν-
 τεπαλάστο.
 κικόκρανον ἄθετον [ἐπὶ τὸ
 30 Ι μέτοπον τὸ ἔσο μέκ[ος τρίπον,
 πλάτος τριῶν ἡμιποδ[ίων, πάχος
 τριῶν ἡμιποδίων.
 ἐπιστύλια ἄθετα μ[έκος ὀκτ]ό-
 Γ ποδα, πλάτος δυοῖν π[οδοῖν
 35 καὶ παλαστῆς, πάχος [δίποδα.

II, HEADING

The commissioners of the temple on the Acropolis in which is the ancient image — Brysonides of Kephisia, Chariades of Agryle, Diondes of Kephisia, architect Philokles of Acharnai, secretary Etearchos of Kydathenaion — recorded as follows the state of the work on the temple, in obedience to the decree of
 5 the people proposed by Epigenes, according as they found it complete or incomplete, in the archonship of Diokles, while Kekropis held the first prytany, in the session of the Council in which Nikophanes of Marathon was the first to serve as secretary.

II, col. 1

The following parts of the temple we found unfinished:

At the corner towards the Cecropium:

10 Four wall-blocks not placed,
 four feet long, two feet wide,
 one foot and a half thick.

One *maschaliwia*,
 four feet long, three feet wide,
 15 one foot and a half thick.

Five blocks of the wall-capital
 four feet long, three feet wide,
 one foot and a half thick.

One angle block,
 20 seven feet long, four feet wide,
 one foot and a half thick.

One moulded block not placed,
 ranging with the wall-capital,
 ten feet long,

25 one foot and a half high.

Two (moulded blocks) ranging with the epistyle,
 four feet long,
 one foot and a quarter wide.

One capital not placed,
 30 for the *metopon* in the interior,
 [three feet long], one foot and a half wide,
 one foot and a half thick.

Five epistyle blocks not placed,
 eight feet long, two feet and a quarter wide,
 35 two feet thick.

- ἐπιστύλια ἄνω ὄντα [ἔδε
 ἐπεργάσασθαι μέκος ὀκτόπο-
 ||| δα, πλάτος δυοῖν ποδοῖν καὶ πα-
 λαστῆς, πάχος δίποδα.
 40 τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ ἔργο ἡάπαντος
 ἐγὼ κύκλοι ἄρχει ἡο Ἑλευσινιακὸς
 ||| λίθος πρὸς ἡδὶ τὰ ζῶια, καὶ ἐτέθε
 ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστατῶν τούτων.
 τῶν κίωνων τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ
 45 τῷ πρὸς τῷ Πανδροσεῖο,
 |||| κειμένον κίωνων
 ἄτμετα ἐκ τῷ ἐντὸς ἀνθε-
 μίο ἐκάστο τῷ κίονος τρία
 ἡεμιπόδια.
 50 ἐπιστυλίο ὀκτόποδος
 ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ τῷ πρὸς νότον
 κυμάτιον ἐς τὸ ἔσο ἔδε
 ἐπιθεῖναι.
 τὰδε ἀκατάχσεστα καὶ
 55 ἀράβδοτα·
 τὸν τοῖχον τὸν πρὸς νότο
 ἀνέμο ἀκατάχσεστον
 πλὴν τῷ ἐν τῇ προστάσει
 τῇ πρὸς τῷ Κεκροπίοι.
 60 τὸς ὀρθοστάτας ἀκατα-
 χσέστος ἐκ τῷ ἔχσοθεν ἐγὼ κύκλ[οι
 πλὴν τῶν ἐν τῇ προστά-
 σει τῇ πρὸς τῷ Κεκροπίοι
 τὰς σπέρας ἀπάσας
 65 ἀραβδότος τὰ ἄνοθεν·
 τὸς κίονας ἀραβδότος ἡάπαντας
 πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ· τὴν κρεπῖδα ἐγὼ
 κύκλοι ἡάπασαν ἀκατάχσεστον.
 τῷ τοίχῳ τῷ ἐντὸς ἀκατάχσεστα
 70 τῷ (γο)γγύλο λίθῳ τετραποδίας Γ|||. τῷ ἐν τῷ Προστομαί[οι
 τετραποδίας Δ|||. τῆς παραστάδος
 τετραποδίας Ι |.

Three epistyle blocks in position,
eight feet long, two feet and a quarter wide,
two feet thick, lacked the dressing
of their top surface.

- 40 All the rest of the work round about begins
with the Eleusinian stone against which the
figures (are to be fastened), and three blocks of it
have been placed under the present commissioners.

- Of the columns on the wall
45 towards the Pandroseum,
of four columns in position,
one foot and a half
of the anthemion of each column
were uncut on the inner face.

- 50 One epistyle block, eight feet long,
on the south wall,
needed to have the cymatium
on its inner face added.

- The following parts were unsmoothed
55 and unchannelled:

The south wall
unsmoothed,
except in the Porch
adjoining the Cecropium.

- 60 The orthostates unsmoothed
on the exterior round about,
except in the Porch
adjoining the Cecropium.

- The upper parts of all the bases
65 unchannelled.

The columns all unchannelled,
except those on the wall.

All the substructure round about unsmoothed.

- On the wall within there were unsmoothed
70 eight tetrapodies of moulded stone.

On that in the *Prostomiaion*
twelve tetrapodies.

On the Parastas
[seven ?] tetrapodies.

- 75 τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀγάλ[μ]ατος
 τετραποδίας ἰ. I.
 ἐν τῇ προστάσει τῇ πρὸς
 τὸ θυρόματος
 τὸμ βομόν τὸ θ[υ]εχὼ
- 80 ἄθετον.
 τῆς ἐποροφίας σφεκίσκος
 καὶ ἡμάντας ἀθέτος.
 ἐπὶ τῇ προστάσει τῇ πρὸς τῷ
 Κεκροπίοι ἔδει
- 85 τὸς λίθος τὸς ὀροφιαίος τὸς
 ἐπὶ τὸν κορὸν ἐπεργάσα-
- III σθαι ἄνοθεν μῆκος τριὼν
 καὶ δέκα ποδὸν, πλάτος π[έ]ντε
 ποδὸν.
- 90 τὰς κάλχας τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπι-
 στυλίοις ἐχσεργάσασθαι
 ἔδει.
 [λ]ίθινα παντελὸς ἐχσεργ[α]σμέ[να]
 ἡὰ χαμαί.
- 95 πλίνθοι τετράποδες μῆκος,
 πλάτος δίποδες, πάχος
- ΔI τριὼν ἡμιποδίων, ἀριθμὸ[s].
 μασχαλιαία, μῆκος τετρά-
- I πος, πλάτος τρίπος, πάχος
- 100 τριὼν ἡμιποδίων.

III

- -- -- --]α ελ
 -- -- --]ατι ἀριθμ[ὸς
 ἡμίεργ]α χαμαί.
 πλί]νθοι ἐπικρανίτ[ιδες
 5 μῆ]κος τετράποδε[s], πλάτος
 τρ]ίποδες, πάχος τ[ριὼν
 ἡμιποδίο[v]. μ[ι]ᾶς ἄτμετοι
 πόδες : III ἀσ[τραγάλο.
 ἡετέρας ἀσ[τραγάλο τέτ-
 10 ταρες πόδε[s] ἄτμετοι καὶ

- 75 On that towards the image
 [six ?] tetrapodies.
 In the Porch
 before the Doorway
 the altar of the Thyechoüs
- 80 not placed.
 The rafters and cross-pieces
 of the roof not placed.
 On the Porch adjoining the Cecropium
 the upper surfaces
- 85 of three of the ceiling blocks
 over the maidens,
 thirteen feet long,
 five feet wide,
 needed to be dressed.
- 90 The rosettes
 on the epistyle
 needed to be carved.
 Blocks of stone completely worked,
 on the ground:
- 95 Wall-blocks four feet long,
 two feet wide, one foot and a half thick,
 eleven in number.
 One *maschaliäia*
 four feet long, three feet wide,
- 100 one foot and a half thick.

.

III

— — — — —

— — — — — number.

Blocks of stone partially worked, on the ground:

Blocks of the wall-capital,

- 5 four feet long,
 three feet wide,
 one foot and a half thick;
 of one four feet
 of the astragalus were uncut;
- 10 of another four feet and a half

ἡμιπόδιον.

ἐπικρ[ανίτιδες

δα — — — — —

μ — — — — —

.

II, col. II

- τούτον *ἡεκάστο* οὐκ ἐχσέργα-
 σται *ἡο* *ἡαρμὸς* *ἡο* *ἡέτερος* οὐδὲ
 10 *ἡοι* ὅπισθεν *ἡαρμοί*.
μέκος *ἡέκποδες*, π[λ]άτος δίπο-
 ΔII *δες*, πάχος ποδιαῖοι.
 τούτον *ἡεκάστο* οὐ[κ] ἐχσέργα-
 σται *ἡο* *ἡαρμὸς* *ἡο* *ἡέτερος* οὐδὲ
 15 *ἡοι* ὅπισθεν *ἡαρμοί*.
τετράποδες μέ[κ]ος, πλάτος δίπο-
 Γ *δες*, πάχος ποδιαῖοι.
 τούτον *ἡεκάστο* οὐκ ἐχσέργα-
 σται *ἡο* *ἡαρμὸς* *ἡο* *ἡέτερος* οὐδὲ
 20 *ἡοι* ὅπισθεν *ἡαρμοί*.
πεντέπος μέκος, πλάτος δίπος,
 I πάχος ποδιαῖος.
 τούτο ἀργὸς *ἡο* *ἡαρμὸς* *ἡο* *ἡέτε-*
ρος καὶ *ἡοι* ὅπισθεν *ἡαρμοί*.
 25 γείσα μέκος *τετράποδα*, πλάτος
τρίποδα, πάχος *πεντεπάλαστα*,
 ΓII *λεῖ[α]* ἐκπεποιεμένα ἄνευ κατα-
τομές.
 Γ *ἡέτερομ* μέγεθος τὸ αὐτὸν.
 30 *κυματίο* καὶ *ἀστραγάλο* *ἡεκατέρο*
ἄτμετοι ἔσαν *τέτταρες* πόδες
ἡεκάστο.
 II *ἡετέροι*
ἄτμετοι ἔσαν τῷ *κυματίο* *τέτταρες*
 35 *πόδες*, τῷ δὲ *ἀστραγάλο* ὀκτὸ πόδες.
 I *ἡετέρο*
 τῷ *κυματίο* *τρία* *ἡεμιπόδια* ἄτμετα,
ἀστραγάλο *τέτταρες* πόδες.
 I *ἡέτερον*

of the astragalus were uncut.

Blocks of the wall-capital

II, COL. II

8 Of each of these
 one of the end joints and the rear joints
 10 are not finished.

Twelve blocks six feet long,
 two feet wide, one foot thick;
 of each of these
 one of the end joints and the rear joints
 15 are not finished.

Five blocks four feet long,
 two feet wide, one foot thick;
 of each of these
 one of the end joints and the rear joints
 20 are not finished.

One block five feet long,
 two feet wide, one foot thick;
 of this one of the end joints
 and the rear joints are unworked.

25 Seven cornice blocks
 four feet long, three feet wide,
 one foot and a quarter thick,
 blocked out smooth, but not carved.

Of five others of the same dimensions
 30 four feet of the astragalus
 and cymatium of each
 were uncut.

Of two others
 four feet of the cymatium,
 35 eight feet of the astragalus were uncut.

Of another
 one foot and a half of the cymatium,
 four feet of the astragalus were uncut.

Of another

- 40 τὲμ μὲν λείαν ἐργασίαν ἔργαστο,
τῷ δὲ κυματίῳ ἀργοὶ πόδες ἔσαν ἡὲς
καὶ ἡμιπόδιον, ἀστραγάλο ἀργοὶ
πόδες ὀκτό.
- I ἡετέρο
- 45 κυματίῳ ἔς πόδες ἀργοί,
ἀστραγάλο ὀκτὸ πόδες.
- I ἡέτερον
ἡμίεργον τὲς λείας ἐργασίας.
τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς μῆκος τετράπο-
- 50 IIII δα, πλάτος τρίποδα, πάχος πεντε-
πάλαστα, λεία ἐκπεποιεμένα
ἄνευ κατατομῆς.
- γονιαία ἐπὶ τὴν πρόστασιν τὴν
πρὸς ἡέο, μῆκος ἡέκποδε, πλάτος
- 55 II τετάρτο ἡμιποδίο, πάχος
πεντεπάλαστα·
τούτον τῷ ἡετέρο ἡε λεία μὲν ἐργα-
σία ἐχσέργαστο, τὸ δὲ κυμάτιον
ἀργὸν ἡόλον καὶ ἡο ἀστράγ[α]λος·
- 60 τῷ δὲ ἡετέρο ἀργο(ι) κυματ[ί]ο τ]ρῆς
πόδες καὶ ἡμιπόδιον, τῷ δὲ ἀστρα-
γάλο ἀργοὶ πόδες πέντε.
ἐπὶ τὸν τοῖχον τὸν πρὸς τῷ Πανδροσε(ί)ο
- I μῆκος ἡεπτὰ ποδὸν καὶ ἡμιποδίο,
65 πλάτος τριὸν ποδὸν καὶ ἡμιποδίο,
ἡμίεργον τὲς λείας ἐργασίας·
μῆκος ἡέκποδον, πλάτος τριὸν
- I ποδὸν καὶ παλαστῆς, πάχος πεντε-
πάλαστον ἐπὶ τὸν τοῖχον τὸν πρὸς
70 τῷ Πανδροσείο·
τούτο ἀστραγάλο ἄτμετοι πόδες
πέντε.
- αἰετιαῖοι τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς μῆκο[s]
- ΓI ἡεπτάποδες, πλάτος τριὸν ποδὸν
75 καὶ ἡμιποδίο, πάχος ποδιαῖοι,
ἡοῦτοι ἡμίεργοι.
ἡετέρο μῆκος πεντέποδε, π[λάτος
- II τριὸν ποδὸν καὶ ἡμιποδί[ο, πάχος

40 the smooth part was finished,
but six feet and a half of the cymatium,
eight feet of the astragalus
were unworked.

Of another

45 six feet of the cymatium,
eight feet of the astragalus were unworked.

Another

incompletely worked as regards the smooth part.

Four blocks, from the stoa,

50 four feet long, three feet wide,
one foot and a quarter thick,
blocked out smooth, but not carved.

Two angle blocks

to be placed upon the East Portico,

55 six feet long, three feet and a half wide,
one foot and a quarter thick;
one of these had the smooth part worked,
but the entire cymatium
and astragalus were unworked;

60 of the other

three feet and a half of the cymatium,
five feet of the astragalus were unworked.

To be placed upon the wall towards the Pandroseum:

one (angle) block seven feet and a half long,

65 three feet and a half wide,
incompletely worked as regards the smooth part;
one (angle) block six feet long,
three feet and a quarter wide,
one foot and a quarter thick,

70 to be placed upon the wall towards the Pandroseum;
of this five feet of the astragalus
were uncut.

Six pediment blocks, from the stoa,
seven feet long,

75 three feet and a half wide, one foot thick;
these incompletely worked.

Two others five feet long,
three feet and a half wide, one foot thick,

- ποδιαῖοι, ἡμέιρ[γ]οι.
 80 γέῤῥα ἐπὶ τὸς αἰετὸς π[λάτος
 πέντε ἡμιποδίου, μέ[κος τεττά-
 ρον ποδὸν καὶ ἡμιπο[δίο, πάχος
 ποδιαῖα· τὲν λείαν ἐρ[γασίαν
 | ἐκπεποιεμένον·
 85 ἥτερον ἡμέιργον τῆς
 | λείας ἐργασίας.
 θύραι λίθιναι μέκος ὀκτὸ ποδὸν
 καὶ παλαστῆς, πλάτος πέντε
 ||| ἡμιποδίου·
 90 τούτον τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐχσεπεποί-
 ετο, ἐς τὰ ζυγὰ δὲ ἔδει τὸς λίθος
 τὸς μέλανας ἐνθῆναι.
 ὅς τῳ ἡνπερθύροι τῳ πρὸς ἔο
 | ἡμέιργον.
 95 τῳ βομῳ [τῷ]ι τῷ θυεχῷ λίθοι Πεν-
 τελεικο[ι] μέκος τετράποδες
 ||| ἡύφσος [δ]υοῖν ποδοῖν καὶ παλαστῆ[s,
 πάχος ποδιαῖοι.
 ἥτερ[ο]s τρίπος [μέ]κος ἡ[ύφσος
 100 | δυοῖν] ποδοῖν καὶ παλαστῆς
 [πάχος ποδιαῖος.]

VI

— — —] ον ἐπὶ πλατε[
]ον

IV AND VA

- — — — —]as
 — — — — —
 [1] ἐπικρανίτις μέκος τε[τράπος,
 πλάτος δυοῖν ποδοῖν] καὶ ἡμι-
 5 ποδίο, πάχος τριῶν] ἡμιποδίου.
 γέῤῥα ἐπὶ τὸς αἰετ]ὸς πλάτος
 πέντε ἡμιποδίου]ν, μέκος τετ-
 τάρων ποδὸν καὶ] ἡμιποδίο,
 πάχος ποδιαῖ]α.

incompletely worked.

- 80 Blocks of the raking cornice,
 two feet and a half wide,
 four feet and a half long,
 one foot thick;
 one block had the smooth part worked;
 85 another incompletely worked
 as regards the smooth part.

- Four stone doors,
 eight feet and a quarter long,
 two feet and a half wide;
 90 these were complete in other respects,
 but the black stones needed to be set
 in their cross-pieces.

 One console for a lintel at the east end
 incompletely worked.

- 95 Blocks of Pentelic marble
 for the altar of the Thyechoüs;
 three blocks four feet long,
 two feet and a quarter high, one foot thick;
 another block three feet long,
 100 two feet and a quarter high,
 one foot thick.

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IV AND VA

- One block of the wall-capital
 four feet long, two feet and a half wide,
 5 one foot and a half thick.

 Blocks of the raking cornice
 two feet and a half wide,
 four feet and a half long,
 one foot thick.

- 10 ἀντίμορος τ]οῖς ἐπιστυλίοις
 [1] μῆκος τετρ]άπος, πλάτος
 δίπος, πάχ]ος πεντεπάλαστος.
 — — — — —]οι περιόντες
 — — — — — κ]ατὰ τοῖχον.
- 15 μῆκος ὀκτ]όποδες.
 [1] ἥτερος μ]ῆκος τετράπος.
 [1] αἰετιαῖος (?) κ]αὶ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος
 τετράπο]ς καμπύλος.
 [1] — — — — —]μῆκος καὶ πλάτος ἥεκπος.
 20 — — — — —]οι μῆκος τετράποδες.
 [1] ἥτερος μ]ῆκος τρίπος.
 [1] — — — — — μῆ]κος πεντέπος.
 [1] — — — — —]α μῆκος πεντέπος.
 'Ελευσινιακ]ός λίθος μῆκος ὀκτόπος,
 25 [1] πλάτος δί]πος, πάχος τριπάλαστο(ς).
 [11] 'Ελευσι]νιακὸ [μ]ῆκος ἥεκποδε,
 πλάτ]ος τρίποδε.

COMMENTARY

The heading of this inscription contains important evidence in regard to the date of the Erechtheum and the purpose for which it was built. The fact that there was a special decree of the people ordering the commissioners to prepare a detailed report on the state of the building as they found it at the beginning of the year 409/8 B.C., and that this report was recorded on a stele, points clearly to a resumption of building operations after a considerable interruption. No definite information exists as to the length of the period of inactivity, nor as to the date when the temple was begun.¹ Even more important is the designation of the Erechtheum in line 1 as *ὁ νεὸς ὃ ἐμ Πόλει ἐν ἡδὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα*.² This statue was evidently the sacred xoanon of Athena Polias. In the opinion of most scholars it stood (or was to stand) in the East Cella, a theory which is supported by a passage in the account of 409/8 B.C. (XI, col. III, ll. 42–46 and the commentary, p. 364). The phrase *ἐν ἡδὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα* suggests that the image was actually in place in the unfinished temple, though it is also possible to understand it in a proleptic sense.³ The former interpretation,

¹ On this date, see Ch. V, pp. 452 ff.

² This phrase has been restored in an inscription found in 1921, *I.G.*, I², 88, l. 20. Cf. *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.*, 1922, pp. 187–192; Pogorelski, *A.J.A.*, XXVII, 1923, pp. 314 ff.; Dinsmoor, *ibid.*, pp. 318 ff. But a new examination of the stone by B. H. Hill has shown that the restoration is impossible; see Ch. V, p. 454, note 1.

³ Cf. II, col. I, l. 41: *ὁ 'Ελευσινιακὸς λίθος πρὸς ἡδὶ τὰ ζῶα*. The reliefs (ζῶα) were not executed till the following year. Cf. below, p. 413.

- 10 One block ranging with the epistyle
four feet long, two feet wide,
one foot and a quarter thick.
— — — — left over
— — — — — along the wall.
- 15 Blocks eight feet long.
Another (?) four feet long.
One tympanum block (?) with broken outline,
length and width four feet.
One block, length and width six feet.
- 20 Blocks four feet long.
Another (?) three feet long.
Another (?) five feet long.
— — — — — five feet long.
One block of Eleusinian stone eight feet long,
- 25 two feet wide, three-quarters of a foot thick.
Two blocks of Eleusinian stone six feet long,
three feet wide.

however, is the more natural, and it is borne out by the passage just referred to — *γραφεῖ καλύμματα γράφσαντι ΔΙΙΙΙ ἐπὶ τὸν ὀροφὸν, ἐπὶ τὰς σελίδας τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγάλματος*. For it is improbable that the position of these ceiling-coffers (*καλύμματα*) would be thus described unless the image were actually below them. These two passages taken together are strong arguments in favor of the theory that the image had always stood in this position, and was left as far as possible undisturbed while the temple was being built.¹

The *ἐπιστάται* mentioned in the heading are the commissioners appointed to have charge of the operations during the year 409/8 B.C., not a board appointed simply to draw up the report. This may be inferred from the fact that they had already begun their activities by setting in place three blocks of the frieze before making the report (col. I, l. 42). The custom of entrusting public works at Athens to such boards appointed annually is attested, for the Periclean age at least, by a number of inscriptions. The boards varied in size according to the magnitude of the undertaking. Probably six commissioners, with a secretary, had charge of the work on the Parthenon (*I.G.*, I, 304; I², 348), though the number of names to be restored is uncertain. Five *ἐπιστάται* supervised the building of the Propylaea (*I.G.*, I, 314, 315; I², 363, 366). Three men, with whom Kallikrates was associated as architect, were appointed to draw up the plans for the construction of the temple of Athena Nike (*I. G.*, I², 24, l. 16), and presumably a similar board was entrusted with the

¹ For a fuller discussion of this question, see Ch. V, pp. 456 ff.

execution of the project. The present inscription shows that the work on the Erechtheum in 409/8 B.C. was under the direction of three commissioners, with whom were associated an architect and a secretary. That such *ἐπιστάται* were chosen annually is shown by the inscriptions relating to the building of the Propylaea, which contain different sets of names for the years 437/6 and 434/3 B.C. The superintending architect was also elected annually (see below). How long the custom of creating special commissions for the direction of important public works continued is not known. At the end of the fourth century *οἱ πωληταὶ καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* are found fulfilling the functions of the *ἐπιστάται*.¹

Line 1. *Βροσυν[ιδ]ες*. Kirchhoff suggested that *Θρασυμέδες* was the correct form. Heermance proposed *Βρυσονίδες* comparing *I.G.*, II, 1446 *Ἀντίφιλος Βρυσωνίδου Θριάσιος*.

Line 2. *Χαριάδες Ἀγρυλῆθεν*. *Χαριάδες Χαρίου Ἀγρυλῆθεν* was Hellenotamias in 408/7 (*I.G.*, I, 140, l. 25; *I*², 255, l. 328).

Διόνδης Κεφισιεύς. The emendation is due to Kirchhoff.

Ἀρχιτέκτον Φιλοκλῆς Ἀχαρνεύς. A different architect, *Ἀρχίλοχος Ἀγρυλῆθεν*, is mentioned in the account of the next year, 408/7 B.C.² Fabricius and Michaelis, who assigned this account to the year 409/8 B.C., made Philokles the head architect and Archilochos a subordinate.³ But now that the account is known to belong to the following year it is plain that Archilochos was the successor of Philokles in the same office. Neither was the designer of the building, but merely the superintending architect. On the salary — a drachma a day, — and on the status of the architect in general, see Richardson in *The Argive Heraeum*, vol. I, pp. 219 ff.

Line 7. *Κατὰ τὸ φσέφισμα τὸ δέμο ἡδ' Ἐπιγένης εἶπεν*. A fragment of this decree is perhaps preserved in inscription I.

The remainder of the slab, beginning with line 8, contains the report, or inventory, arranged in two parallel columns, the letters being slightly smaller than those of the heading. Numerals are placed in the margin to the left of each column.

The report falls into two main parts: (A) a description of the state of the building itself at the time of the resumption of work, noting the height which the walls had reached all around, and stating what final details, such as the fluting of columns, the carving of mouldings, the smoothing of wall surfaces, remained to be done. This part takes up lines 8–92 of column I, and is introduced by the heading *τὸ νεὸν τὰδε κατελάβομεν ἡμέτεργα*. (B) An inventory of the blocks on the site, arranged in three series: (1) those which were fully worked and ready to be hoisted into place, — *λίθινα παντελὸς ἐξεργασμένα ἡδ' χαμαὶ* (II, col. I, ll. 93–100; continued after a break on III, l. 2). (2) Those on which some work re-

¹ In the inscription relating to the repairs of the walls of Athens in 306 B.C., *I.G.*, II, 167; *II*², 463. Cf. Frickenhaus, *Athens Mauern im IV Jahrhundert*, pp. 37 ff., and on the whole subject of *ἐπιστάται*, Fabricius, *De architectura graeca*, pp. 17 ff.

² In the heading, XV, l. 3, and twice with the statement of his salary for a prytany, XIII, col. I, l. 56; XVII, col. II, l. 9.

³ Fabricius, *De architectura graeca*, p. 18, note 3; Michaelis, *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, p. 356.

mained to be done, — *ἡμιέργα χαμαί* (III, ll. 3 ff.; continued after a break on II, col. II, ll. 8–99). (3) Blocks which were still in the rough, as they had come from the quarries (the heading in the part missing between II, col. II, and IV, continued on IV and VA to the end).

The first part (A) may be subdivided as follows:

(1) State of the building at the southwest corner, col. I, ll. 9–43. This section has a special heading: *ἐπὶ τῇ γονίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τῷ Κεκροπίῳ* (l. 9).

(2) Ornamental details not finished, ll. 44–53.

(3) List of walls that are unsmoothed and of columns and bases that have not been fluted, ll. 54–76.

(4) State of the North Portico, ll. 77–82.

(5) State of the Porch of the Maidens, ll. 83–92.

(1) STATE OF THE BUILDING AT THE SOUTHWEST CORNER. LINES 9–43

The corner of the temple described as “towards the Cecropium” is clearly the southwest corner, since the Porch of the Maidens, which is built against the west end of the south wall, is called *ἐπρόστασις ἐπὸς τοῦ Κεκροπίου* (col. I, ll. 58, 63, 83). Here the walls had not reached the same height as in the rest of the building. What this general level was is explained in the last four lines of the passage: “All the rest of the work round about begins with the Eleusinian stone against which the figures (are to be fastened), and three blocks of it have been set in place under the present commissioners.” That is, at the time of the report, the walls were complete up to and including the epistyle, except for a number of blocks, chiefly in the vicinity of the southwest corner; and the commissioners had already begun their activities by setting in place three blocks of the frieze.¹

The particular blocks noted as missing at the southwest corner can be identified with certainty. The first attempts were made by Wilkins and by Boeckh, who was followed by Newton.² The former failed because he misinterpreted the terms *πλίνθος*, *μασχαλιαία*, *ἐπικρανίτις*, supposing them to designate roof-tiles of various shapes. Boeckh was more nearly successful, but was unable to give a convincing explanation of the obscure terms *μασχαλιαία* and *μέτωπον*. The solution of the problem here presented is due to B. H. Hill.³

The blocks mentioned fall into three groups — *πλίνθοι*, *ἐπικρανίδες*, *ἐπιστύλια* — cor-

¹ Most of the earlier commentators, misled by the form of the verb *ἐτέθε*, made the numeral III refer to *ζδια*. Michaelis, *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1898, p. 357, and Frickenhaus, *A.J.A.*, X, 1906, p. 14, understood the sentence correctly. The form *ἐτέθε* was evidently written instead of *ἐτέθεσαν* because ὁ Ἐλευσινιακὸς λίθος, used in a collective sense immediately above, had more effect upon the verb than the numeral III in the margin, which was really its subject.

² Wilkins, *Atheniensiā*, p. 202; also in Walpole, *Memoirs*, p. 591; and in *Prolus. Archit.*, p. 20. Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, I, pp. 273 ff., and figs. V, VI, p. 267. Newton, *Br. Mus., Gr. Inscr.*, I, pp. 89 ff., and figs. V, VI.

³ Cf. Caskey and Hill, *A.J.A.*, XII, 1908, pp. 184 ff., from which the discussion of this passage in the inscription is in great part repeated. The investigation of this problem, as well as of many others raised by these inscriptions, was put on a new basis by Dörpfeld's determination of the length of the Attic foot. Comparing the recorded dimensions with the remains of the Erechtheum, he found that the foot was between 0.326 m. and 0.328 m. in length, and that this result was confirmed by numerous measurements on Periclean and later buildings. See *Ath. Mitt.*, XV, 1890, pp. 167 ff., and above, Ch. II, p. 222.

responding to three courses of the wall. Πλινθος (or πλινθίς) is the term regularly used in building inscriptions to denote the ordinary blocks of a wall. Ἐπικρανίδες, with which the noun πλινθοὶ must be supplied,¹ are the blocks of the crowning course of the wall, the "wall-capital," upon which the epistyle (ἐπιστύλια) rested.

The first group comprises four ordinary wall-blocks (l. 10) and a μασχαλιαία (sc. πλινθος) of equal length and height, but of different width (l. 13).² Its position in the list suggests that it belonged in the same course with the πλινθοὶ. In the ἐπικρανίτις course are noted first five blocks of the normal length, 4 ft., then a corner block 7 ft. long, and then a γογγύλος λίθος ἀντίμορος ταῖς ἐπικρανίτισιν, which may be translated "profiled stone ranging with the epicranitis blocks." The mouldings which adorned this course were identical in profile on both faces of the wall, but differed in the character of their decoration. On the outer face this decoration (egg-and-dart, honeysuckle, etc.) was carved in relief; on the inner face the mouldings were left smooth, the designs being painted on them.³ The block containing these smooth, "rounded" mouldings was called γογγύλος λίθος. The word ἀντίμορος, which occurs only in this inscription as an architectural term, must mean "ranging with," "corresponding to," "on a level with." Somewhere on the south wall (or possibly on another wall in the vicinity) for a distance of ten feet, the epicranitis was composed of two rows of blocks set back to back. In the same way the epistyle was composed of two rows of blocks for a space of eight feet — ἀντιμόρο τοῖς ἐπιστυλίοις (l. 26).⁴ These ἀντίμοροι of the epistyle are mentioned with the ἀντίμοροι of the epicranitis, although logically they should have been put at the end of the list. Finally there is noted as missing one capital, κικόκρανον (l. 29), which is in some way to be brought into connection with a "metopon in the interior." In the epistyle course five blocks are mentioned as missing (l. 33), and three others already in position lacked the final smoothing of their top surface.

The list is here repeated in tabular form (p. 303), the ἀντίμοροι of the epistyle being transferred to the third group where they rightly belong.

In the attempt to identify these missing blocks it will be well to begin with the epistyle as presenting the fewest difficulties. Boeckh assigned the five missing epistyle blocks to the western part of the south wall. The three blocks described as ἄνο ὄντα he places next to them to the East, reaching to the block still *in situ* over the southeast anta and column. The actual distance, however, from this block to the end of the wall is fifty-seven Attic

¹ Cf. πλινθοὶ ἐπικρανίδες, III, l. 4.

² In the inscriptions four terms are used to designate the three dimensions of the blocks, — μέκος, πλάτος, πάχος, ὕψος. The first two, translated by the words "length," "width," generally refer to horizontal dimensions, the remaining two, "thickness," "height," to the vertical dimension. Μέκος (length) is usually the horizontal dimension of a block visible after it has been set up. The width (πλάτος) is usually that horizontal dimension which is not visible after the block has been placed. But in the lists of frieze blocks, which were thin slabs set on end, the height is called πλάτος.

³ The mouldings on the inner face are preserved only on one block, the capital of the anta at the south end of the west wall. This has its mouldings sculptured on the west and north faces, smooth on the east face (p. 175; Fig. 109). The epistyle similarly had its crowning member carved where it was exposed to the weather, while in the interior of the building it was left smooth and painted. Cf. XIII, col. II, l. 12, and Commentary, p. 410.

⁴ In the Roman repairs ἀντίμοροι were employed behind both epicranitis and epistyle; see Ch. I, pp. 52, 53.

feet, which gives room for only seven of the eight blocks placed here by Boeckh. The eighth cannot be the block *in situ* at the east end, since that is eleven feet long instead of eight feet. It must have been the southernmost epistyle block of the west wall, which

Line	Number of blocks	Designation	Length	Width	Height
10	4	πλίνθοι ἄθετοι	4	2	1½
13	1	μασχαλιαία (πλίνθος)	4	3	1½
16	5	ἐπικρανίτιδες	4	3	1½
19	1	γωνία (ἐπικρανίτις)	7	4	1½
22	1	γογγύλος λίθος ἀντίμορος ταῖς ἐπικρανίτισιν	10	—	1½
29	1	κρόκρονον ἄθετον — — μέτοπον τὸ ἔσο	—	1½	1½
33	5	ἐπιστύλια ἄθετα	8	2¼	2
36	3	ἐπιστύλια ἀνο ὄντα	8	2¼	2
26	2	(γογγύλο λίθο) ἀντιμόρο τοῖς ἐπιστυλίοις	4	1¼	—

was of the length required and could not have been in position at the time, since the angle block of the epicranitis, upon which its south end rested, was still missing (l. 19). The eight epistyle blocks of the inscription were then as indicated in Figure 180.¹

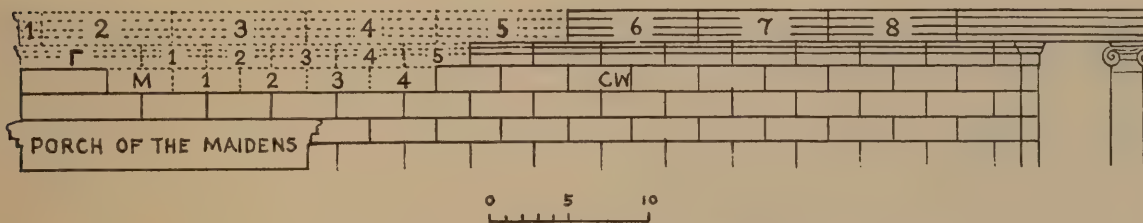


FIGURE 180. SOUTH WALL, SHOWING POSITION OF BLOCKS MISSING IN 409 B.C.

The missing stones of the course below are, as Boeckh saw, the corner block, *γωνία ἐπικρανίτις πλίνθος* (marked Γ in Figure 180) and the five blocks next to the corner.²

Leaving out for the present the *κρόκρονον* of line 29 and the two less important items regarding backing stones, we have left four ordinary wall-blocks and one *μασχαλιαία πλίνθος*

¹ As finally set up, block 2, on the indication of a dowel hole in the top of the course below (p. 175; Fig. 110), was only seven feet long. The discrepancy is to be explained by a change in plan, due to the peculiar features of this angle of the building. See below, p. 307.

² The regular epicranitides, of which many are preserved, are four feet long and one foot and a half high, as specified in the inventory; their width, — none has its inner face preserved, — appears to have been slightly more than two feet and three-quarters, that is, the thickness of the wall, two feet, increased by the projection of the crowning moulding, three-eighths of a foot on each side; this projection was reckoned at half a foot, making the total width three feet, as stated in the inscription.

The western portion of the corner block has remained *in situ*; and the rest of it has been identified in several fragments, which were replaced in the course of the reconstruction in 1908 (Fig. 33). Its width, measured on the west face, approximates that given in the inscription. Its length is seven feet, measured along the face, not including the moulding at the west end. See also Ch. I, p. 51.

differing from the others in one of its dimensions: it is three instead of two feet wide. The word *μασχαλιαία* does not occur elsewhere. The etymology (from *μασχάλη* = armpit) suggests a stone of angular shape. Boeckh therefore made it an angle block, and placed it at the southwest corner of the building, with the four *πλίνθοι* next to it to the East. But the angle block of this course is still *in situ*, and has different dimensions (5×3 , instead of 4×3 ft.). A stone of the required dimensions and of this shape  was in all proba-

bility used at the beginning of the eastern cross-wall (the block marked CW in Figure 180), but it cannot have been the *μασχαλιαία* of the inscription, since on this part of the wall the courses next above were already in position. Let us assume that the *μασχαλιαία* was one of the five *πλίνθοι* next to the southwest corner as indicated in Figure 180. It is evident that if these five blocks were lacking, the corner epicranitis block and the five blocks next to it could not have been in place. And, again, if these six blocks were missing, the five epistyle blocks belonging above them could not have been laid. These facts help to confirm the proposed identification of the missing blocks in each course.

In Figure 180 the *μασχαλιαία* (M) has been placed next to the corner block. The reason for this will appear upon an examination of the inner face of the wall at this point. A detailed description of the peculiar features of this corner of the building has already been given.¹ It is sufficient here to call attention again to the following points: (1) In the north face of the corner block of the eighth course from the top is a cutting into which a horizontal slab projecting from the face of the wall was fitted (PLATE XII; Fig. 43). (2) The anta above this slab, i.e., in its eight upper courses, is only one foot and a quarter thick (PLATE XII). Similarly the south wall for a distance of five feet from the anta is only one foot thick (PLATE X), whereas the regular thickness of both wall and anta is two feet. (3) The niche thus formed was bounded at its east end by a pilaster three-quarters of a foot wide, as is clear from cuttings for blocks intended to project from the face of the wall (PLATE XII; Figs. 109, 111). How far the pilaster projected cannot be determined from the remains. Fortunately the inscription here comes to our aid.

So far in the attempt to locate the missing blocks we have neglected the item *κικόκρανον ἄθετον* [— —] *μέτοπον τὸ ἔσο*. The interpretation of the word *μέτοπον* has caused difficulty. Müller's view that it designated the west wall with the windows must be rejected now that it is known that this wall is a reconstruction made in Roman times, and that originally the intercolumniations were closed by a wooden grille.² Boeckh, followed by Newton, Choisy, and Hiller (*I.G.*, I², 372), restored *καὶ* in the short lacuna after *ἄθετον*, and considered the block to be the capital of the southernmost column on the west wall, composed of an Ionic capital, *κικόκρανον*, on its outer face, and a pilaster capital, *μέτοπον*, on its inner face. But *κικόκρανον καὶ μέτοπον τὸ ἔσο* is a clumsy designation for this composite capital; and the dimensions (width, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft., height, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft.) cannot be made to fit.

¹ Ch. I, pp. 171–178.

² See Ch. I, pp. 64–66.

An examination of the other occurrences of the word in building inscriptions throws some light on the problem. The specifications for the construction of the naval arsenal at the Piraeus contain the following directions (*I.G.*, II, 1054; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², 537, II. 23 ff.): *καὶ οἰκοδομήσει μέτωπον ἐκατέρωθεν ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τῶν θυρῶν, πλάτος δίπουν, εἰς δὲ τὸ εἴσω δεκάπουν, καὶ περικάμψει τὸν τοῖχον μέχρι τῶν πρώτων κίωνων πρὸς οὗ ἀνοίξεται ἡ θύρα ἐκατέρα*. The arrangement is shown in the accompanying plan (Fig. 181). Between the doors a μέτωπον, or partition (M), two feet wide, and extending inward ten feet, is to be built. Corresponding partitions (M', M'') are to bound the doorways on their outer sides. According to Fabricius¹ and Dörpfeld² the word is here used nearly in its etymological sense. Originally it denoted the forehead, i.e., the space between the eyes (*μετά, ὀπή*). So here it is used of a pillar between two openings. But this interpretation does not take account of the fact that the word in this inscription is apparently applied to the two lateral partitions (M', M'') as well as to the central one. In line 59 we read: *καὶ*

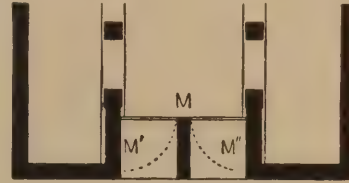


FIGURE 181. METOPON IN ARSENAL AT PIRAEUS

ἐπιθήσει ὑπὲρ τῶν θυρῶν ἐπὶ τὰ μέτωπα ἐκ τοῦ ἐντὸς ὀροφὴν λιθίνην λίθου Ὑμηττίου. It may be argued that the μέτωπα are only the central partitions, of which there was one at each end of the arsenal. But the stone ceilings rested on the lateral partitions as well, and it is probable that the term is applied also to them. The occurrences in other inscriptions show that the term was used with a rather indefinite meaning. Originally denoting "forehead" it came to be applied to any limited flat, vertical surface. So in an inscription from Oropos (*I.G.*, VII, 4255; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², 542, l. 20) the μέτωπα, or visible surfaces of blocks of stone, are distinguished from the ἔδραι, or soffits, and the ἀρμοί, or vertical surfaces of contact. In an inscription from the Piraeus (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1900, p. 94, l. 46, col. II) the faces of the steps of a staircase are called μέτωπα.³

In the inscription relating to the Piraeic arsenal, as we have seen, the word designates a flat partition projecting into the interior from the external wall. It seems reasonable therefore to explain the "metopon in the interior" of the Erechtheum as a similar projection, and to identify it with the pilaster which bounded the niche to the East. The greater width of the *μασχαλιαία πλίνθος* can then be accounted for. The block was of the shape shown in Figure 182. The projection, one foot in length and three palms in width, formed one course of the pilaster, or *metopon*. East of the projection the block had the regular thickness of the wall, two feet; on the west it had the thickness of the south wall of the niche, one foot. It could appropriately be termed an "arm-pit stone." The position tentatively assigned to it in Figure 180, next to the corner block of course 2, proves to be correct.

¹ *Hermes*, XVII, 1882, p. 573.

² *Ath. Mitt.*, VIII, 1883, p. 157.

³ Cf. also *I.G.*, II, 167, l. 66; *B.C.H.*, XX, 1896, p. 324, l. 65. In *I.G.*, II, 5, 830 c (p. 197), ἀπὸ τοῦ σημείου ἀρξάμενον μέχρι τοῦ μετώπου τῶν πυλῶν, the word may designate a pillar between two doors, but Foucart's translation, "au front de la porte" is also possible.

The *κρόκρανον* [ἐπὶ τὸ] *μέτοπον* — adopting Müller's restoration of line 29 — also ceases to be a mystery. It was a block of the form shown in Figure 182, and was placed above the projecting portion of the *μασχαλιαία*. The width given in the inscription is suitable, since the *μέτοπον* was three-quarters of a foot wide, and with the projections of the mouldings on both sides ($\frac{3}{8} + \frac{3}{8}$) the block would be one foot and a half wide. The height, one foot and a

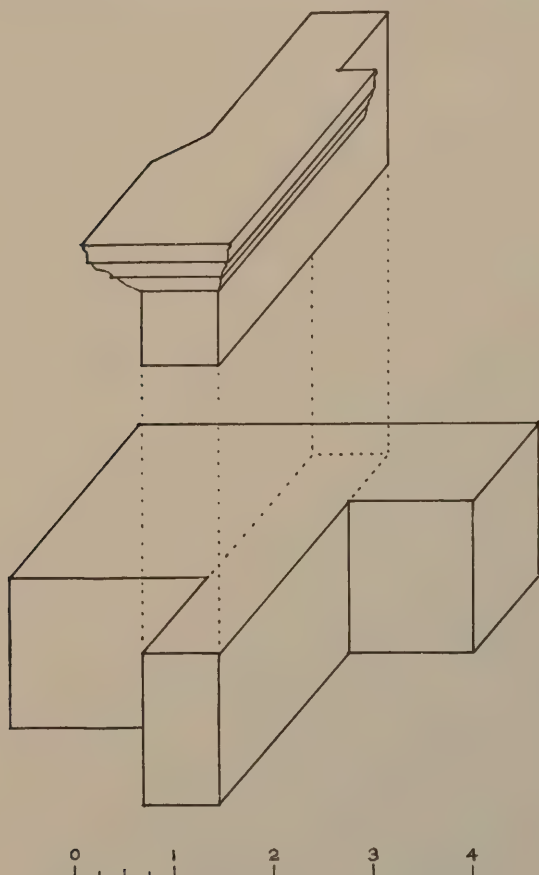


FIGURE 182. MASCHALIAIA AND KROKRANON

half, is the height of the epicranitis course. The length, — *τρίπουν*, — has to be restored, but the letters fit the space satisfactorily, and a cutting in the preserved corner block of the epicranitis, into which the *κρόκρανον* fitted, proves that it actually had this length, if the pilaster projected one foot, as has been proposed. The plan of the epicranitis course is given in Figure 183. A section through the wall below (represented by hatching) shows that the *metopon* projected the same distance from the wall as does the anta. The appearance of the niche as a whole is suggested in PLATE XV and Figure 111.

The thinning of the walls can only have been for the purpose of decreasing their weight, for which a good reason existed. The southwest corner of the Erechtheum had no solid

¹ For a fuller description of the remains of the niche, see Ch. I, pp. 171 ff.

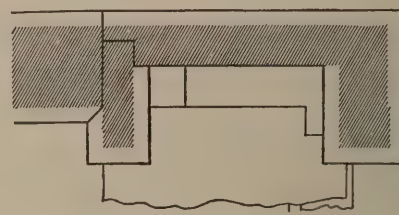


FIGURE 183. PLAN OF EPICRANITIS IN NICHE

The reason for having such a pilaster here is plain. It was designed to mask the transition from the thin wall of the niche to the normal wall east of it. In the same way the marble slab forming a platform in front of the niche masked the transition from the normal wall and anta below to the thin wall and anta above. The surface of this slab was inclined towards the west. This can only have been for the purpose of shedding rain water, and shows that the slab was not simply a narrow shelf, but that it must have projected some distance. In the drawings (PLATE XV; Fig. 111) it has been assumed that it reached as far as the first column.¹

foundation, but was supported by the huge block spanning the Cecropium, an earlier structure which the architect of the new temple was not permitted to remove (pp. 127 ff.). The modifications did not end with the walls. There is evidence that the weight of the epistyle, frieze, and tympanum at this corner was also decreased, and that the plan of the cornice was altered correspondingly. The arrangement of the frieze, cornice, and tympanum will be discussed below in the commentary on the account of 409/8 B.C. (pp. 347 ff.). The inscriptions yield no direct evidence in regard to the epistyle. Its arrangement, therefore, may conveniently be discussed here.

The normal plan of the epistyle at the corner is shown in Figure 184 (left), the joint between blocks 1 and 2 being bevelled, and block 2 being of the normal length, eight feet. As

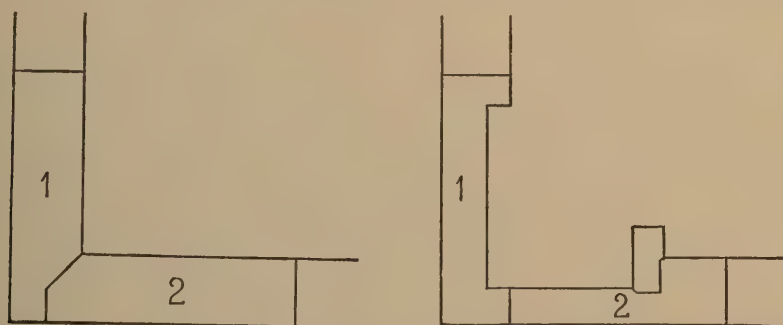


FIGURE 184. PLANS OF EPISTYLE AT SOUTHWEST CORNER

actually constructed, the south end of block 1 was of the form indicated in Figure 110, as is proved by two dowel holes in the upper surface of the corner block of the epicranitis (p. 176). The northern end of this epistyle block, we may safely assume, followed the lines of the capital beneath it, and had the normal width. The rest of the block was cut down to about one foot and a quarter. Similarly block 2 was cut down to half its width over the niche, and at its eastern end may have had the shape shown in Figure 184 (right); for it is reasonable to assume that its form followed the lines of the metopon. Otherwise the capital of the metopon would have appeared as an awkward and meaningless projection from the wall. A confirmation of the correctness of this restoration is perhaps furnished by the figures for the painting of the cymatium on the inner epistyle, as will be shown below (pp. 410 ff.).

The *ἀντίμοροι*, blocks “ranging with” the epicranitis and epistyle (lines 22, 26) are difficult to identify. It might be supposed that for some distance along the south wall these two courses were composed of two rows of blocks set back to back. But it is not easy to find a probable position for backing stones of the dimensions given anywhere on the south wall. A plausible alternative has been suggested by L. B. Holland in connection with his theory as to the arrangement of the ceiling of the east cella. He would place the *ἀντίμοροι* on the east face of the eastern cross-wall. His reconstruction is described below, p. 351.

We should expect to find all the missing blocks, which have thus been identified, men-

tioned later in the report in the list of stones lying finished, half-worked, or unworked on the site. But unfortunately the inscription is here incomplete. Lines 93–100 of column I give a part of the list of finished blocks, including the *μασχαλιαία* (l. 98) and eleven *πλίνθοι* instead of four. Since these blocks of standard size would be ordered in bulk, it is not surprising to find that seven *πλίνθοι* were left over after the completion of the walls. Inscription III contains the continuation of column I. Under the heading *ἡμίεργα χαμαί* are listed several unfinished blocks of the epicranitis. Probably the remaining blocks of the epicranitis and the five epistyle blocks followed on the missing part of the slab. One of the epicranitis blocks is mentioned in the list of unworked stones, IV, line 3. One of the *ἀντίμοροι* of the epistyle is perhaps mentioned in IV, lines 10–12.

(2) ORNAMENTAL DETAILS NOT FINISHED. LINES 44–53

Lines 44–49. — The four columns referred to are those upon the west wall of the temple, which is regularly described as “the wall towards the Pandroseum.”¹ They were already in place at the time (*κειμένον* is of course used here as the passive of *τίθημι*), and the channels had been carved (l. 67). The engaged columns now standing on the wall date from the time of the Roman repairs. The upper part of the original columns stood free, with wooden grilles between them; and the item regarding one foot and a half of anthemion on their necking may indicate that the inner faces were different from the outer. The length, one foot and a half, can easily be explained if the inner faces were pilasters a foot wide and projecting a quarter of a foot.²

Lines 50–53. — The setting in of a separate block containing the crowning moulding of the inner face of the epistyle was an exceptional case, due probably to an injury. On the preserved blocks of the Erechtheum there are several places where sections of mouldings have been thus set in.³

(3) LIST OF SURFACES THAT ARE UNSMOOTHED AND OF BASES AND
COLUMN SHAFTS THAT ARE UNFLUTED. LINES 54–76

- (a) The south wall unsmoothed, except in the Porch of the Maidens.
- (b) The orthostates unsmoothed all around the building, except in the Porch of the Maidens.
- (c) The upper parts of the tori of all the bases unfluted.
- (d) The columns unfluted, except those on the west wall.

¹ II, col. II, ll. 63, 70; VIII A, l. 43; X, col. I, l. 19; col. II, ll. 27, 41; XI, col. III, l. 33.

² See also Ch. I, pp. 64–66 and PLATE XV, where half-columns are restored on the inside. The upper radius of these columns is 0.26 m. (Fig. 44) and consequently the length of the anthemion is 0.817 m. This includes, however, the part directly below the volutes (0.165 m. on each side), where the carving must have been completed before the capital was set in place above. If the length of this finished carving (0.33 m.) is deducted from the total length of the anthemion (0.817 m.), there remains a space of 0.487 m. (1½ At. ft.) in which the pattern was probably merely blocked out (Ch. II, p. 201).

³ On inserted pieces in general, see Ch. II, pp. 207–213.

(e) The substructure unsmoothed.

(f) Portions of the mouldings on some of the inner walls unsmoothed.

Of the two operations referred to in the heading of this section, — *τάδε ἀκατάχσεστα καὶ ἀράβδοτα*, — the former is the final chiselling down of the visible surfaces of masonry, a refinement the technique of which is well illustrated by some of the walls of the Propylaea in which this final operation was never carried out. The term is used both for the smoothing of flat surfaces and for the smoothing of mouldings, as in lines 69 ff. The vertical surfaces of masonry which received this treatment are divided into three parts: *ὁ τοῖχος* (l. 56), *οἱ ὀρθοστάται* (l. 60), *ἐκρεπίς* (l. 67). The term *τοῖχος* is here limited to the main part of the wall, that composed of *πλίνθοι* of the normal height, one foot and a half. The lowest course, *οἱ ὀρθοστάται*, which was composed of blocks three feet high and projecting slightly from the line of *πλίνθοι* above, is considered as a separate member. *Ἐκρεπίς* designates, as usually in building inscriptions, that part of the substructure which was above ground and visible, i. e., in the case of the Erechtheum, the steps and the stylobate. The moulded course immediately below the orthostates sometimes receives a special name. Here it is probably included under the term *σπεῖρα* (see below). The report shows, by what it leaves unsaid no less than by what it says, that the surfaces which were least exposed to injury were smoothed first. Except for the south wall, which was not all in place, the interior walls in general had evidently received their final dressing; on the outside the work was complete down to the orthostates on the east, north, and west walls, and on that part of the south wall which was enclosed by the Porch of the Maidens. As regards the course of orthostates, the use of the phrase *ἐκ τῶ ἐξοθεν* shows that those in the interior had been smoothed, but not those on the exterior except in the Porch of the Maidens. The statement is not, however, absolutely accurate, for the inner orthostates of the north and south walls were never completely finished.¹ The whole substructure was unfinished. It is interesting to note that the walls were smoothed before the frieze and cornice blocks had been hoisted.

The second operation referred to by the term *ἀράβδοτα* causes no difficulty. *Ῥάβδωσις* is the regular term for the fluting or channelling of columns, and is applied also to the reeding of the tori of Ionic bases (*σπεῖραι*). Here the word includes not only the bases of the columns, but probably also the corresponding moulded course which formed the base of the walls. This member, like the bases of the columns of the East Portico, had its upper torus fluted. The flutings on the lower part of such a torus were necessarily carved before the blocks were set in place; those on the upper part were left until the end to lessen the risk of injury.

The last item (f) referring to work in the interior of the building furnishes the most difficult problem in the inscription, because the terms used to designate the various walls are obscure. Two facts, however, which have not been grasped by all commentators, may be stated with certainty: First, four distinct walls are mentioned, viz.:

¹ See Ch. I, pp. 148, 152.

- (1) ὁ τοῖχος ὁ ἐντός.
- (2) ὁ (τοῖχος ὁ) ἐν τῷ Προστομαίῳ.
- (3) ἐ παραστάς.
- (4) ὁ (τοῖχος ὁ) πρὸς τὸ ἀγάλματος.

Second, the work to be done on each wall is the smoothing of a moulded course (γογγύλος λίθος). This is stated in regard to the first section of wall, and the phrase must be supplied with the other items, since the amount of work to be done in each case is measured by tetrapodies. Petersen, who attempts a solution of the problem,¹ supposes that τοῦ τοίχου τοῦ ἐντὸς ἀκατάξεστα is the heading of the passage, and not used of a definite wall. The eight tetrapodies of moulded stone of line 70 may therefore be located anywhere on the interior walls, of which, according to him, there are but three. Also, since γογγύλος λίθος in general is the first item, the work referred to in the following items must be different, i. e., the smoothing of flat wall surfaces. It is, however, improbable that when the inner and outer surfaces of the main walls (except the unfinished south wall) were smoothed, the inner partitions should still be unsmoothed. Moreover, the amount of unsmoothed wall surface could not be satisfactorily measured by tetrapodies, especially as the interior walls were of varying heights. And, since according to Petersen's interpretation practically the whole of each wall was unsmoothed, there was no need of giving figures at all, let alone such meaningless figures as these would be. Finally, the mention of eight tetrapodies of γογγύλος λίθος unsmoothed, without any statement of their location, is contrary to the usage of the inscription, which is definite and specific throughout. We may therefore regard the two propositions stated above as correct.

A further difficulty is caused by the illegibility of some of the numerals as a result of the worn condition of the stone. The numerals ΓΙΙΙ and either ΔΙΙ or ΔΙΙΙ, as read by B. H. Hill, in lines 70 and 72 are clear, but those in lines 74 and 76 cannot be read with certainty. As to the reading in line 74, Newton writes "after τετραποδίας we find a vertical stroke and part of another vertical stroke." O. M. Washburn, who examined the inscription at my request, read ΔΙΑΞ·Ι·Ι'. I later read ΔΙΑΞ·Ι·Ι' on the stone. These readings do not conflict with Newton's statement, but they do not permit the restoration Ι[ΙΙ] adopted by Petersen and in *I.G.*, I², 372. The second stroke is at such a distance from the first that we must read ΓΙΙ, or at least seven tetrapodies instead of three. As to the reading in line 76, Newton says "after τετραποδίας are traces of a numeral which can hardly be any other than Δ. Then follows Ι." This was also the opinion of Dr. G. F. Hill, who examined the stone for Petersen (*op. cit.*, p. 113). Washburn read ΔΙΑΞ·Ι·Ι' with the comment "one is certain; two are probable." My notes made before the stone give ΔΙΑΞ·Ι·Ι'. On an excellent photograph of this portion of the inscription I can see no trace of Δ. I therefore prefer the reading ΓΙ, while admitting its uncertainty.

¹ *Burgtempel*, pp. 113 ff.

If the image of Athena is assumed to have stood in the East Cella, the wall "towards the image" is certainly the rear wall of that cella; and it is possible that the statement refers to its east face only. The second and third walls must then be sought in the western part of the building, since we have no reason for supposing that the East Cella was subdivided. It follows that the first wall must also be sought in the western part; and it can only have been the main cross-wall, the "interior wall" par excellence, i.e., the west face of the wall whose east face is described below as "towards the image." The length, 32 feet, suits the interpretation, since the wall was 30 feet long, and the dimensions are given in round numbers of tetrapodies. It may be objected that the number of tetrapodies of unfinished moulding on both faces of the wall would be included in one item. It is, of course, true, as Petersen remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 114), that in the case of the external walls τοῖχος designates not one or the other surface, but the whole wall with its two surfaces. The statement in lines 57 ff., τὸν τοῖχον τὸν πρὸς νότο ἀνέμο ἀκατάχσεστον, refers to both faces of the wall; and where only one face was referred to, the fact could be made clear by the addition of ἐς τὸ ἔσο (line 52) or ἐκ τῶ ἔχσοθεν (line 61). The cross-wall, however, had no inner and outer faces; it was the end wall of the East Cella or of the western compartment according to where one happened to be. It would therefore be natural for the commissioners, when they were noting the state of the two low partition walls in the western part (see below), to include the west face of the cross-wall which was in sight, and then, going around to the East Cella, to note the state of its east face as a separate item. And, if one accepts the four items as referring to four wall surfaces, the equation ὁ τοῖχος ὁ ἐντός = ὁ πρὸς τῷ ἀγάλματος seems unavoidable, for a fourth interior wall cannot easily be imagined. The work to be done on both surfaces of the cross-wall was the smoothing of the epicranitis course, or of the crowning moulding of the epistyle, more probably the former.

The western part of the temple was subdivided by a screen wall about twelve feet high, running north and south, and probably pierced by two openings. The inner compartment thus formed seems in the original construction, though perhaps not in the Roman restoration, to have been further subdivided into two rooms by a central partition, of the same height, running east and west. The evidence afforded by the remains in favor of two such inner rooms has already been given (pp. 151 ff.). To this is to be added the evidence of the four marble doors (θύραι λίθιναι) mentioned in column II, ll. 87 ff. These doors cannot be placed anywhere in the external walls of the temple; their dimensions fit neither the door from the Porch of the Maidens, nor the small door in the west wall, nor the small door leading from the North Portico into the Pandroseum. Their width, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, makes it clear that there were two doors, each with two valves. Their height, $8\frac{1}{4}$ feet, suits the height of the screen wall. It is a reasonable assumption that these two doors were in the screen wall running north and south, and that they afforded access to the two inner rooms. It remains to determine which of the two screen walls is the "wall in the Prostomiaion" and which the "Parastas."

Παραστάς occurs in building inscriptions with the following meanings: (1) door-jamb, (2) anta, (3) pilaster, (4) wall decorated with pilasters. The first three of these meanings do not concern us here since the moulding on the Parastas was at least twelve feet, and probably twenty-four or more feet long. But the fourth meaning may throw some light on the problem. In the building accounts of the temple of Apollo at Didyma repeated mention is made of ἡ μύχιος παραστάς, ἡ βόρειος παραστάς, ἡ νότιος παραστάς and ἡ προήνεμος παραστάς, and these terms are evidently used to designate the interior faces of the cella walls, which were decorated with pilasters; ἡ μύχιος παραστάς is the name for the west wall, ἡ προήνεμος παραστάς for the east wall.¹ On the evidence of these inscriptions the Parastas in the Erechtheum seems more likely to have been the cross-wall pierced by two doors — perhaps with elaborate jambs and pilasters — than the wall dividing the two interior chambers, which, so far as we know, was plain.² On the other hand the length of moulded stone unfinished on the “wall in the Prostomiaion,” 48 feet, can more easily be brought into connection with the cross-wall which was 30 feet long than with the inner partition which was only 18 feet long.³

The name Προστομιαῖον, which occurs only here, has been variously explained, but there is now almost a consensus of opinion that it designates one of the interior divisions of the western part of the building. The earlier theories, which are noted by Newton (*l.c.*, p. 93), no longer need to be considered, since they are generally based on the incorrect reading, ἐκτός, in line 69. Michaelis (*Ath. Mitt.*, II, 1877, p. 29) and Petersen (*ibid.*, X, 1885, pp. 4, 5) identified it with the westernmost of the three divisions of the Erechtheum, Furtwängler (*Meisterwerke*, p. 196) with the central division. Michaelis supposed the name to be due to the several entrances (στόμια) into this room. It was, in fact, a sort of vestibule or ante-chamber; but the explanation is improbable, and was later given up by its author (*Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, pp. 18, 63, 81 ff.). Petersen, with greater probability, explained it as the room in front of that containing the στόμιον, i.e., the mouth or opening into the θάλασσα of Poseidon. Furtwängler, improving on this, proposed to derive Προστομιαῖον from προστόμιον on the analogy of προπύλαιον from πρόπυλον. The word προστόμιον is not unknown. Aeschylus, *Suppliants*, 3, calls the mouths of the Nile προστόμια Νείλου, and the scholia explain the term as equivalent to στόμια, — “ἄμεινον τὰ στόμια ἀκούειν.” In Pollux, II, 90, it is defined as “the joining of the lips,” — ἡ εἰς ἄλληλα τῶν χειλῶν συμβολή προστόμιον. The προστόμιον in the Erechtheum would thus be the opening in the floor above the θάλασσα, and the Προστομιαῖον (οἶκημα) would be the room containing the opening. In his latest

¹ Cf. Haussoullier, *Revue de Philologie*, XXIX, 1905, p. 258.

² Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1887, p. 197, explained it as “die niedrige Pfeilerstellung, welche den ganzen Westraum in zwei Teile zerlegte”; but in *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, p. 17, he proposes to interpret παραστάς as “aisle” or “passage,” and refers it to the entire western room, the Prostomiaion of PLATE I. For a discussion of this view, see Ch. V, p. 470, note 1.

³ It must be kept in mind that the two low partitions, unlike the east cross-wall, did not have the two sets of mouldings on epieranitis and epistyle, but were in all probability crowned only by a single course with mouldings, such as was used on the west wall below the columns. See Ch. I, pp. 60, 152, 158; PLATE XV.

discussion of the question (*Burgtempel*, p. 101) Petersen accepts the derivation from *προστόμιον*, and identifies the Prostomiaion with the inner (undivided) chamber, which he believes contained the *θάλασσα* or *χάσμα* of Erechtheus.¹

The foregoing discussion of lines 69 to 76 has led to no positive result. While the passage must be taken into account in any attempt to explain the inner arrangement of the western part of the Erechtheum,² it does not, considered separately, yield any clear answer to the problem.

The inquiry, however, may be carried somewhat farther, and the varying conclusions, which follow logically according to the different interpretations given to the terms used in the inscription, tested by the other available evidence. Even if this examination does not remove all difficulties, it may at least serve to define more closely the limits within which a solution must be sought. If the "wall in the Prostomiaion" was the wall running east and west in the central division, and if, furthermore, the Prostomiaion was the room containing the opening above the *θάλασσα*, it follows of necessity that the central division was the Prostomiaion and that the *θάλασσα* was beneath one of its two rooms. This conclusion is open to the objection that, as has been already pointed out (pp. 169 ff.), the evidence from the existing remains, although admittedly scanty, is all against such a position for the *θάλασσα*, which is much more likely to have been in the western room and not improbably in its southwest corner (PLATES I, XV). If, however, the *θάλασσα* has been correctly placed — and in view of the evidence already adduced this assumption can only be overthrown by definite counter-evidence,³ — it is clear that the Prostomiaion cannot be merely the two central rooms. It must be either the western room alone — on the whole the more probable view and the one adopted in Chapter I, — or else the collective name for the entire western division, which might well be considered as a unit, since the walls between the rooms were merely low partitions (PLATE XV). On the former hypothesis the "wall in the Prostomiaion" must, of course, be the west cross-wall, the other wall having no connection with the western room; and the same interpretation holds good if the Prostomiaion is given the more inclusive definition, since the phrase naturally denotes the principal wall in this part of the building and indeed the only one contiguous to all three rooms. This view also agrees with the order followed by the Commissioners, who naturally recorded these three walls according to their relative importance; — first, the western face of the high east cross-wall, then, the lower west cross-wall, and finally, the partition in the central division. But can this latter wall be called a Parastas? There is certainly no reason to suppose that it was decorated with pilasters, and the name alone is hardly sufficient

¹ Elderkin, *Problems in Periclean Buildings*, pp. 19 ff., shares the dislike of the scholiast quoted above for the form *προστόμιον*; he therefore coins the word *Στομιαῖον* as a name for the chamber with the well, and makes *Προ-στομιαῖον* the room before the *Στομιαῖον* (a derivation analogous to that formerly proposed by Petersen), thus getting a name for each of the two chambers running east and west which he restores in this part of the building.

² For the evidence afforded by the existing remains see Ch. I, pp. 151–171.

³ The testimony of Pausanias (I, 26, 5) is ambiguous and can be interpreted to support either position of the *θάλασσα*; see Ch. V, pp. 487, 491 f.

reason for assuming their presence. The explanation is rather to be sought in the use of the word to denote not merely the antae but also the prolongation of the side walls flanking the portico of a temple *in antis* (ῥαὸς ἐν παραστάσι),¹ whence it seems a natural extension to apply the name, παραστάς, to any relatively short stretch of wall jutting out, like a pilaster, from a main wall. It is true that this use cannot be proved by any unquestionable epigraphical evidence, for in the not infrequent cases where a public document is to be inscribed ἐν τῇ παραστάδι the question must generally be left open whether an anta alone is meant or a projecting wall, though when the παραστάς is in a stoa, as sometimes happens, the latter meaning seems preferable.²

(4) THE STATE OF THE NORTH PORTICO. LINES 77-82

Little remained to be done here. The ridge beam was apparently already in place, but the rafters (σφεικίσκοι) and cross-pieces (ἱμάντες) were still to be laid. With the addition of the marble tiles the structure would be complete. It is probable that the marble reliefs of the frieze were still to be executed, as well as the acroteria of the north gable. And, as had been noted earlier in the inscription, the columns were not channeled and the bases were not finished. The altar of the Thyechoüs had not been placed. Four stones belonging to it are mentioned in column II, lines 95-100, among the blocks lying half-worked on the site. The position and restoration of this altar are discussed in Ch. I, pp. 105-110 and below, p. 318.

(5) THE STATE OF THE PORCH OF THE MAIDENS. LINES 83-92

This porch was practically finished, and one of the two pieces of work noted as remaining to be done was never carried out: the rosettes (κάλχαι) on the epistyle still remain flat, raised discs.³

With line 93 begins the second part (B) of the report — the list of stones lying on the site. As has already been remarked, these fall into three groups, as follows: —

(1) Blocks which were fully worked, and ready to be hoisted into place — λίθινα παντελὸς ἐχσεργασμένα ἡὰ χαμαί. II, col. I, ll. 93-100; continuation, after a break of about thirty lines, in III, ll. 1, 2.

¹ Vitruvius, III, 2, 1. Euripides, *Iph. Taur.*, 1159, ἀναξ, ἔχ' αὐτοῦ πόδα σὸν ἐν παραστάσιν; *Phoen.*, 415, νῆξ ἦν, Ἀδράστον δ' ἦλθον εἰς παραστάδας. In both these passages the word indicates the space between the side walls. See also Bötticher, *Tektonik der Hellenen*², I, 198; Petersen, *Burgtempel*, p. 117.

² Ἐν τῇ παραστάδι, *C.I.G.*, 2672, 2675, 2677, 2692. Ἐν τῇ παραστάδι τῆς στοᾶς, Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, I, 46 (Halicarnassus); Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inscriptionen von Priene*, 19, l. 45; cf. 49, l. 7, παρ' αὐτήν τὴν παραστάδα τῆς στοᾶς. The παραστάς in the precinct of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis would seem to have been inside the building, and so probably a wall, for gold ornaments would hardly have been hung on an external anta (*I.G.*, II, 758, A, col. III, ll. 32, 37); see the plan of the precinct with its two stoas, J.-M., *Atlas*, pl. XVI, 3; D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, p. 286, fig. 124.

³ See Ch. I, p. 113.

(2) Half-worked blocks — *ἡμιέργα χαμαί*, with a statement of the work remaining to be done on each — III, ll. 3 ff.; continuation after a break of about nine lines, in II, col. II, ll. 8–100; continued probably for a few lines in the break of about seventeen lines between II, col. II, and IV.

(3) Blocks still in the rough, as they came from the quarries. The heading of this group and the beginning of the list are to be placed in the break between II, col. II, and IV; the list is continued through IV and V A. The estimate of the number of lines missing in the three intervals is repeated from Dinsmoor, *l. c.*, p. 246. The existence of the third group is proved, as Dinsmoor has observed, by the fact that the blocks in IV and V A have simply their dimensions given without a statement of the work to be done.

Presumably all, or nearly all, of the blocks needed to complete the building were on hand. They include (1) the blocks noted as missing in part A, (2) the Eleusinian blocks for the frieze and their backers, (3) the blocks of the horizontal and raking cornices, (4) the tympanum blocks and their backers, (5) blocks for the east and west walls of the East Cella, corresponding to the frieze, cornice, and tympanum, (6) various details, such as the blocks of the altar in the North Portico, etc. Most of the first series were probably mentioned in the break below column I of inscription II, in the list of blocks completely worked. At least two of the epicranitis blocks, however, came under the second heading (III, ll. 4 ff.), and one under the third heading (IV, l. 3). Apparently, also, one of the *ἀντίμοροι* of the epistyle (cf. II, col. I, l. 26) is mentioned under the third heading (IV, l. 10). Under the first heading were included probably a number of the blocks of the frieze and cornice. More than half of these are listed in the second group, and one in the third group (IV, l. 24).

Column II, ll. 8–24. — A list of blocks whose length varies, but whose height (2 ft.) and thickness (1 ft.) remain constant. These two dimensions make it plain that the passage has to do with Eleusinian blocks of the frieze, for nowhere else were blocks of this size called for in such numbers. Those referred to in lines 8–10 were presumably eight feet long: blocks of this length are known to have been placed on the north wall (cf. VIIIA, l. 29). Four six-foot blocks of the east front are in existence (Fig. 12), and at least five more were placed on the south wall (cf. VIIIA, l. 4). The southeast corner block is about three feet and three-quarters long, and may therefore be one of the four-foot blocks mentioned in line 16. The block adjoining it on the south wall is now four feet and a half long; it may be one of the five-foot blocks cut down. The combined length of the frieze blocks here listed, excluding the eight-foot blocks whose number is not known, is 97 feet, or about half of the frieze. *Ἀρμός* (joint) is the term regularly used to denote vertical surfaces of contact. One of the ends and the back of each block are described as “not worked out” (ll. 8, 13, 18), or “blank” (l. 23). The work to be done was the preparation of these blank surfaces as surfaces of contact by smoothing a strip along the top and sides and hollowing out

the centre slightly, an operation which it is convenient to describe by the term *anathyrosis*, coined from the verb *ἀναθυροῦν*.¹

Lines 25–72, 80–86. — A list of half-worked cornice blocks, as follows:—

22 blocks of the normal dimensions, $4 \times 3 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ ft.

2 angle blocks at the east end, $6 \times 3\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ ft.

1 angle block at the west end (A), $7\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ ft.

1 angle block at the west end (B), $6 \times 3\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ ft.

2 blocks of the raking cornice, $2\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ ft.

The arrangement of the horizontal cornice is discussed below, in the commentary on X, col. I (p. 356). Other blocks of the raking cornice, of the same dimensions as those listed here, are mentioned below among the unworked stones (IV, l. 6). The half-worked blocks are in various stages of completion, the work remaining to be done being of two kinds:— (1) the smoothing of the visible surfaces, including those of the mouldings. This is called *ἡε λεία ἐργασία* (ll. 40, 48, 57, 66, 83, 85), and is also described by the formula *ἐκπεποιεμένα ἄνευ κατατομῆς* (l. 27), or *λεία ἐκπεποιεμένα ἄνευ κατατομῆς* (l. 51). (2) The carving in relief (*κατατομέ*, ll. 27, 51) of the mouldings which were left uncarved (*ἄτμετα*, ll. 30, 34, 37, 71) or blank (*ἀργά*, ll. 41, 42, 45, 59, 60, 62) after the first operation. Each block had a leaf-and-tongue moulding (*κυμάτιον*) and a bead-and-reel (*ἀστράγαλος*) at the bottom, and an egg-and-dart (*κυμάτιον*) and bead-and-reel at the top. This explains the fact that on some blocks the length of moulding to be carved is greater than the length of the block.

Line 49, *τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς*. That this phrase applies not only to the four normal blocks, but also to the remaining cornice blocks of the list, i.e., the four angle geisa, is shown by the fact that the angle blocks of the west end are so described in X, col. I, line 26. In view of the various interpretations of the phrase which have been proposed, it will be well to give here a list of all the blocks which are mentioned in the inscriptions as being “from the stoa”:

4 geisa, $4 \times 3 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ ft., II, col. II, l. 49.

6 geisa, $4 \times 3 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ ft., X, col. I, l. 22.

2 east angle geisa, $6 \times 3\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ ft., II, col. II, l. 53.

1 west angle geison, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ ft., II, col. II, l. 64; X, col. I, l. 29.

1 west angle geison, $6 \times 3\frac{1}{4} (3\frac{1}{2}) \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ ft., II, col. II, l. 67; X, col. I, l. 26.

6 tympanum blocks, $7 \times 3\frac{1}{2} \times 1$ ft., II, col. II, l. 73.

2 tympanum blocks, $5 \times 3\frac{1}{2} \times 1$ ft., II, col. II, l. 77.

2 marble frieze backers, $3\frac{3}{4} \times 2 \times \frac{3}{4}$ ft., VIIIA, l. 7.

4 marble frieze backers, $4 \times 2 \times \frac{3}{4}$ ft., VIIIA, ll. 24, 32.

16 Aeginetan frieze backers, $4 \times 2 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ ft., VIIIA, ll. 13, 37.

¹ On the preparation of surfaces of contact, see Ch. II, p. 184.

The phrase "from the stoa" is susceptible of two interpretations: (1) it describes the place where some of the building material was stored. Most of the earlier commentators held this view, Müller and Boeckh supposing the stoa to be the North Portico, Thiersch the East Portico, Schoene (*Hermes*, IV, 1869, p. 50) the Porch of the Maidens, Choisy (*Études*, p. 101) the Prostomiaion, or vestibule. (2) It may designate, as Leake was the first to suggest (*Topography of Athens*², p. 583), some separate building, perhaps in ruins, from which wrought stones were taken. This was accepted by Michaelis (*Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, p. 353, note 1). Dörpfeld (*ibid.*, XXII, 1897, p. 166) identified the stoa with the colonnade of the old temple of Athena, which, in his opinion, was taken down at this time. Michaelis (*Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, p. 13, note 11) thought that the stoa was an earlier building, perhaps the Pandroseum, which stood west of the Erechtheum. B. H. Hill has suggested that a fifth-century structure near the north wall of the Acropolis west of the Erechtheum, at the point marked "45" on J.-M., *Atlas*, pl. VII, which was completely changed in plan very early, probably in the fifth century, was the stoa of the inscriptions. Only the foundations of this building now exist. It may further be urged in favor of the second theory that there is no adequate reason why in inscriptions VIII and X blocks should be described as having been stored in a special place, whereas if they were old blocks re-used, the fact might well be noted.¹ The use of the phrase ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς in the report also seems curious if the blocks were then lying in the stoa. It would seem more natural to have listed the stones as ἐν τῇ στοᾷ, distinguishing them from those lying in the open—χαμαί. The only argument in favor of the first theory is the improbability that an earlier building should have possessed so many different members, including a cornice block of abnormal dimensions, suitable for a second use.

Line 73, ἀετιαῖοι. The laying of the blocks of the tympanum is recorded in the account of 409/8 B.C., inscription X, col. II, ll. 7-42, and the discussion of the problem will be found in the commentary on that passage (p. 359).

Line 87. θύραι λίθιναι. The position and probable restoration of these doors have been discussed in Ch. I, p. 158. Their material, Pentelic marble, is unusual, but not unparalleled. The doors of the Erechtheum, like those of the Hellenistic tombs already cited,² were evidently carved to imitate the forms of wooden doors with vertical stiles and horizontal rails (ζυγά) forming panels; and the rails were decorated with pieces of black stone (λίθος μέλας) set into them, probably in imitation of nail heads.

Line 93. ὅς τῳ ὑπερθύροι τῳ πρὸς ἔο. We have seen that the two windows in the east wall had marble consoles which were made separately and dowelled to the lintels, whereas the door probably had a metal framing.³ The console listed here must therefore be assigned to

¹ For the use of material from old buildings, see the inscriptions from Eleusis, where the blocks of the ἀρχαῖος νεώς are regularly included among the σκεύη at the disposal of the ἐπιστάται, Cavaignac, *Trésor d'Eleusis*, p. 8, no. 8, pls. II, III; *I.G.*, I², 313, 314.

² See Ch. I, p. 158, note 3.

³ Ch. I, pp. 35, 41, 44.

one of the windows, the word *ὑπέρθυρον* being applicable to the lintel of a window as well as to that of a door.

Line 95. *Τῶι βομῶι τ[ὸ] τῶ θυεχῶ.* This altar must be brought into connection with the openings in the roof and floor of the North Portico.¹ It is improbable that it stood entirely to the east or west of the opening in the floor. If it had stood north of the opening, where the space is sufficient, it would surely have left traces on the pavement, which is here in good preservation. There is not space for it to the south of the opening, though the unfinished course below the orthostates of the wall of the porch at this point suggests that something stood near it. The most probable hypothesis seems to be that the altar was placed

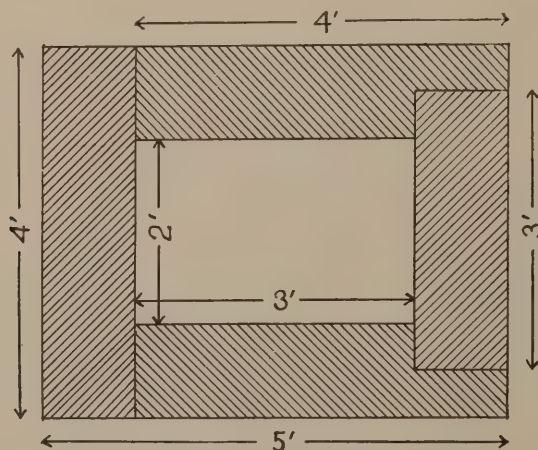


FIGURE 185. PLAN OF ALTAR OF THE THYECHOÏS

over, and enclosing, the orifice in the floor, and that its top had a corresponding opening cut in it. The four blocks listed in the inscription are presumably the walls of the altar.² They can be fitted together in various ways, one of the possible combinations being that shown in Figure 185. This gives the altar over-all dimensions of 4×5 ft., excluding the mouldings at the top and bottom. The opening would measure 2×3 ft. Such a structure would fit the available space satisfactorily. In size and general appearance it cannot have differed greatly from the altar of Athena Hygieia, still partially *in situ*, just east of the Propylaea.

The question whether this altar is to be identified with that of Zeus Hypatos, mentioned by Pausanias as being "before the entrance," is discussed in Ch. V, pp. 490 f.

The title of the officiating priest — *Θυηχόου* — is inscribed on one of the marble seats in the theatre of Dionysus (*I.G.*, III, 244). Newton notes (*l.c.*, p. 86) that *θυηχόος* "was perhaps the popular spelling, after the false analogy of *χρυσόχόος* and similar words: whereas *θυηκόος* is derived not from *χέω* but from *καίω*."

¹ On the crypt and altar, see also Ch. I, pp. 104–110; Figs. 66, 67.

² The traces of letters in ll. 99, 100 after *τρεπ-* are faint but fairly certain. They were first detected and interpreted by B. H. Hill in September, 1923.

The last twenty-five lines of the report, preserved on fragments IV and VA, contain a part of the list of unworked blocks lying on the site (cf. above, p. 315).

The restoration of lines 3-12 presents no difficulties. That of the first item, lines 3-5, was suggested by Dinsmoor, *l.c.*, p. 246, note 1.

Line 10. ἀντίμορος. Cf. the two blocks ἀντίμοροι τοῖς ἐπιστυλίοις and of the same dimensions, mentioned in II, col. I, l. 26.

Line 18. καμπύλος. The use of the adjective, which means "bent," suggests that the stone may have been the κορυφαῖος, or central block of a pediment. According to inscription X, col. II, l. 28, the κορυφαῖος of the west pediment was of these dimensions. The missing word at the beginning of line 17 may therefore be restored as αἰετιαῖος or κορυφαῖος.

Line 24. The Eleusinian blocks of the frieze are elsewhere given as one foot thick (II, col. II, ll. 13, 17, 22; VIII A, ll. 4, 22, 30). In VIII A, ll. 29 ff., the laying of four frieze blocks eight feet long on the north wall is recorded. The block here listed may therefore have been one of the blocks intended for this wall.

Line 26. The position of the two Eleusinian blocks measuring six by three feet remains obscure.

VB, VII. FRAGMENTS OF SPECIFICATIONS

V B. Height and style of letters and spacing of lines as in No. VII. The letters, 0.007 m. high, begin 0.047 m. from the left edge. Not *stoichedon*. The last line is 0.15 m. from the bottom of the stone. Dinsmoor, F.

Facsimile, PLATE XLVII.

VII. Fragment of white marble, 0.26 m. high, 0.29 m. wide, 0.11 m. thick. Original right edge preserved; broken at the other edges and at the back, where it fits III; cf. above, p. 281. The letters, 0.007 m. to 0.008 m. high, begin 0.065 m. from the present left edge. At the bottom a space 0.025 m. high, uninscribed. Not *stoichedon*. Found in 1835 in excavations on the Acropolis, east of the Propylaea. In the National Museum.

Boeckh, *Archaeologisches Intelligenzblatt der Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*, 1835, col. 283, No. 8, from a copy by Ross (also in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, VI, p. 447, No. 8). Pittakis, *L'ancienne Athènes*, p. 341. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., Nos. 232, 2259. Rangabé, *Ant. hellén.*, 88. *I.G.*, I., 282; I^o, 372. Choisy, *Études*, pp. 113 ff. J.-M., *App. Ep.*, 23. Washburn, *A.J.A.*, X, 1906, pl. I (new readings). Dinsmoor, E. Cf. Fabricius, *De architectura graeca*, p. 3.

Facsimile, PLATE XLVII.

Variant Readings. L. 1 om. Boeckh. L. 3. ξιδ . . . NTA Kirchhoff. L. 4. ΚΟΙ Boeckh. ΟΜΑΙΙΝΑΙ Rangabé. ΟΜΑΙΕΝΑΙ Pittakis. L. 6. ΕΓΙΤΑ Rangabé. L. 8. ΠΑΝΑΙ Kirchhoff. ΤΟΚC Pittakis. L. 10. ΚΟΙ Pittakis. ΚΟΙΙ Kirchhoff. L. 12. ΚΙΔ Rangabé. L. 13. >ΤΑ Rangabé. ΙΤΑ Pittakis. \ΤΑ Kirchhoff.

V B

πάντα ἐφα[ρμδσαι - - - - -
 καὶ συντελῆσαι[ι - - - - -
 Δρόμον ἐργάζ[ετο - - - - - τὸ πλαί-
 σιον τὸ μέγα [- - - - -
 5 Φανόστρατος [- - - - -
 ταύτες τὸς [- - - - - κολ-
 λῆσαι καὶ ἀποχσ[έσαι - - - - -

VII

Τὸν ἀ[στράγα]λον ἐ[πιγ]ο[μ]φδσαι παρ[αλαβόν]-
 τα τετορνε[υμ]ένον· τὰ πλαίσια τὰ ἐπ[ὶ τὰς
 κλιμακίδας [. .]δ[. . .]οντα ἀναχσέσαι[ι καὶ
 κο]λλῆσαι κα[ὶ ἡ]ομαλί[σ]αι πρὸς τὸν κανόν[α
 5 τ]ὸν λίθινον· τὸν ἀσ[τ]ράγαλον ἐπιγομφδ-
 σαι παραλαβόντα τε[τ]ορνευμένον ἐπὶ τ[ὰς
 κ]λιμακίδας· τὸ χσύλον τὸ γογγύλον
 - - - τε]τρῶναι καὶ προσκολλῆσαι· τὸ κ-
 - - - -]μα τὸ ἡνυπό γαστέρα ἐπὶ τὸ ἐ[-
 10 - - - - - κα]ὶ τὸν ὄνυχα ἀρμόσαντα κολ[λ]-
 ῆσαι καὶ ἀναχσέσαι καὶ λειᾶναι τὰ λοιπὰ
 -
 δας καὶ τὰ καλύμμ]ατα ἐκποιῆσαι καὶ τὰ λ-
 -
] καὶ χσυντελῆσαι.

COMMENTARY

The fragments V B and VII are from the inscription on the reverse of the Chandler stele. V B belongs near the bottom of the first column; VII contains the last fourteen lines of the second column. The inscription gave detailed specifications for the construction of a wooden, coffered ceiling, presumably the ceiling of the East Cella, the carrying out of which is recorded in the account of 409/8 B.C. Since the technical terms and formulae used are for the most part employed again in the account, no separate commentary need be given here.¹ The mention of two workmen, Dromon and Phanostratos, in lines 3 and 5 of V B is unexpected in an inscription of this nature. It is possible that they were employed

¹ See below, pp. 362-368.

V_B

To fit them all upon - - - - -
 and to complete - - - - -
 Dromon made - - - - -
 the large frame - - - - -
 5 Phanostratos - - - - -
 of this the - - - - -
 to glue and to smoothe - - - - -

VII

To dowel on the astragalus, having received it
 turned in the lathe. Having (put in place) the
 frames which go on the "ladders," to polish them
 and glue them and true them up, tested by the stone
 5 straight-edge. To dowel the astragalus on
 the "ladders," having received it turned
 in the lathe. The wooden moulding
 - - - - to bore and glue on. The
 - - - - that underneath the belly upon the
 10 - - - - and to fit the moulding and glue
 and polish and smoothe the remainder.
 - - - - the beam and the "ladders"
 and to finish the coffer-lids (?) and the
 - - - - and to complete.

to make models of the coffers. The text cannot be completely restored. In VII, line 3, Kirchhoff read *[hi]δ[ρύσ]αντα*, which is perhaps to be accepted. If so, the stone-cutter misspelled the word; for remains of the letter *o* are clear on the stone. The word *γαστήρ* (l. 9) occurs in a Delian inscription containing specifications for the construction of a wooden ceiling (*B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, p. 460, l. 7: *τὰ τρήματα τῶν γαστρῶν*), but the meaning of the term remains obscure.

PART II. THE ACCOUNTS OF 409/8 B.C.

Numbers	Nat. Mus.	Dinsmoor	J.-M.	Other publications
VIII A	6690	G	24	<i>I.G.</i> , I, 321 = I ² , 373
IX	6734 _a	H	25	<i>I.G.</i> , I, Suppl., 321, 1, p. 148 = I ² , 373
X	6734	I	26	<i>I.G.</i> , I, Suppl., 321, 2, p. 150 = I ² , 373
VIII B	6690	G	..	<i>A.J.A.</i> , X, 1906, p. 2, pl. III
XI	6734 _β	J	27	<i>I.G.</i> , I, Suppl., 321, p. 75 = I ² , 373
XII	12563	..	..	Unpublished

The five fragments of stelae, Nos. VIII–XII, are shown to be parts of one inscription by the similarity of the marble and the uniformity of the letters in size, spacing, and style. The inscriptions on the obverse of VIII and on IX, X, and XI have long been known, and repeatedly published. The existence of letters on the reverse of VIII was first discovered in 1905 by Professor Heberdey, Dr. Heermance, and Professor Washburn, and a facsimile was published by the latter in *A.J.A.*, X, 1906, pl. III. The small fragment XII was discovered in 1912 by Dr. Kurt Müller, and identified by him as a part of this account. It is here published for the first time.

From their contents Michaelis (*Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, pp. 359 ff.) was able to establish convincingly the order of the four fragments known to him. VIII A, which deals with the setting in place of the frieze blocks, is to be placed first. The work here recorded must belong to one of the earliest prytanies of the year, for we know that at the time of the resumption of operations in 409 B.C. the walls were complete up to and including the epistyle, except for some blocks near the southwest corner, and that at the time of the writing of the report the commissioners had already caused three blocks of the frieze to be set in place.¹ The contents of IX show that it comes next, and that the lacuna between the two fragments is a short one (ten to twenty lines). It contains the accounts for the placing of the frieze on the west wall and a summary of the work done on all four walls. The fact that the left edge of IX very closely resembles that of VIII in its treatment as a surface of contact helps to prove that it is to be placed below VIII, as a continuation of the same column. Fragment X, which deals with the setting in place of the cornice (col. I) and the blocks of the east and west pediments (col. II), is to be placed after IX. The series ends with XI, which is concerned chiefly with work on the ceiling and roof. The scanty remains on VIII B and XII give no clear indication as to the places to be assigned to them in the account.

While the order of the more important fragments was established by Michaelis, the number of stelae, their original dimensions, and the number of columns of writing on each remained uncertain. Frickenhaus (*A.J.A.*, X, 1906, p. 14) assumed that each stone had three columns. But in X the space from the left-hand margin of the third column to the right-hand edge of the stone is considerably greater than the width of one column, so that for this stone at least, and probably for the others, at least four columns must be assumed. In *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, p. 319, fig. 1, I suggested that there were originally four

¹ Cf. II, col. I, l. 40, and the remarks above, p. 301.

stelae, each with four columns, VIII and IX belonging to the second stele, X to the third, and XI to the fourth. The existence of the first stele, though no fragments of it were known, seemed to be proved by the anathyrosis cuttings on the left edges of VIII and IX. This theory has, however, been disproved by Dinsmoor (*A.J.A.*, XVII, 1913, pp. 247 ff., fig. 2). He gives good reasons for believing that VIII A and IX are from the first column of the account, that there were only two stelae, and that each had five columns of writing.¹

That the stelae had five columns follows from the fact that VIII, IX, and X unquestionably belong together. As has already been observed, IX is to be placed below VIII. Heberdey, quoted by Washburn, *l.c.*, thought that IX and X "are parts of a single inscription and may be fitted together." The second part of this statement is incorrect, as I showed, *Ath. Mitt.*, *l.c.* But Dinsmoor justly defends the first part, which is amplified by Washburn as follows: "From the line of direction of the top of the fragments, from their thickness, and from their nature at the back, there can be no doubt, to one who examines the actual stones, that they belong together." The relation of the three fragments can hardly have been other than that indicated in Dinsmoor's drawing (*l.c.*, p. 249, fig. 2) here reproduced (Fig. 186).

For the problems raised by the anathyrosis cuttings on the left edges of VIII and IX, and by the fact that VIII is opisthographic, while XI is not, Dinsmoor proposes the following solution: "As in all previous building accounts, e.g., those of the Parthenon, the Propylaea, and probably also the original work on the Erechtheum, it was intended that the accounts should be inscribed on the obverse and reverse of a single slab; with the gradual lengthening of the prytany accounts, however, both obverse and reverse had been occupied while yet two prytanies, perhaps, remained to be inscribed. There was no alternative but to set up a second stele, to the left of the first with an anathyrosis joint between, and to continue on its reverse the accounts of the final prytanies, while the obverse remained blank. The reverse of G (VIII) was probably concerned with the stonework forming the beginning of the ninth prytany at the bottom of col. x, while J (XI) contains parts of cols. xiii-xv belonging to the tenth prytany." This reconstruction of the stelae must be accepted as the only one which accounts logically for the evidence. The fragment VIII is from the first column of the inscription. According to Dinsmoor's calculation there would be sufficient space in the missing upper part of the column for the recording of the minimum amount of work that must have preceded that described in VIII. He finds that it could have been written in 95 lines of text (*l.c.*, p. 250, note 1).

The date of the inscription is fixed with certainty. Its contents show that it is earlier than the account preserved in Nos. XIII ff., which is that of the year 408/7 B.C., and later than the report of the commission, which is dated in the first prytany of 409/8 B.C. It follows that it must be the account of this same year, 409/8 B.C.

¹ Dinsmoor, *l.c.*, p. 248, note 1, observes that Bannier, *Rh. Mus.*, 1906, p. 226, had already restored the stele with five columns, though on incorrect reasoning.

VIII. Marble slab, 0.555 m. high, 0.275 m. wide, 0.154 m. thick, broken at the top, bottom, and one side. The left edge (of face A) is dressed as a surface of contact. Inscribed on both faces. Bought in 1865 by the Athenian Archaeological Society of G. Philippides. In the National Museum.

Face A. Schöne, *Hermes*, IV, 1869, pp. 37-55 (cf. p. 140), with the use of a copy by Koumanoudes and notes by Koehler. *I.G.*, I, 321; I², 373. Choisy, *Études*, pp. 100 ff. J.-M., *App. Ep.*, 24. Roberts-Gardner, *Greek Epigraphy*, II, 118. Washburn-Frickenhau, *A.J.A.*, X, 1906, pp. 4 ff., pl. II. Caskey, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, pp. 320 ff. Dinsmoor, G.

Face B. Washburn, *l.c.*, p. 2, pl. III.

Facsimiles, PLATE XLVIII.

Variant Readings. Face A. L. 2 $\wedge$ Δ $\wedge$ N Schöne. L. 3 Δ Δ Δ Δ Schöne. Δ Δ Δ Δ Washburn. L. 4 KO Ξ Schöne, Washburn. L. 5 OI Γ Δ Δ Washburn. L. 7 TA O Ξ T. Δ C Schöne. TA Δ O Ξ TO Δ Washburn. L. 8 MC I Schöne. L. 9 Δ I Γ O Δ Schöne. L. 10 IIOBO Schöne, Washburn. L. 11 Δ N Δ Schöne, Washburn. Δ : Ξ IMC I Δ Schöne. L. 12 Δ I Γ I-ET Schöne. Δ I Γ I-FT Washburn. L. 14 HYI Schöne. HY Washburn. L. 15 AYO Δ Washburn. L. 16 Δ ONT Washburn. L. 17 H Δ I Δ : Schöne. H Δ I Δ : Washburn. E Δ Δ Δ A Schöne. E Δ Δ Δ A Washburn. L. 19 Δ Δ M Schöne, Washburn. L. 20 Δ O Δ Schöne, Washburn. Δ Δ Δ Δ Δ I Γ I Γ I Γ E Γ Washburn. L. 21 KO Δ I Schöne. KO Δ Washburn. L. 22 AH/ Δ Washburn. L. 23 I Δ I Δ Schöne. I Δ :AN Kirchhoff. I Δ IIIIANTIOE Washburn. L. 24 IO Δ Δ OITON Δ I Δ Schöne. O Δ OITON. Δ I Δ Δ Δ Δ IOYM Kirchhoff. O Δ Δ OITON Δ Δ E Δ Δ TO Δ Washburn. L. 26 TI Δ : Ξ Schöne, Washburn. L. 28 ONKAI Washburn. L. 29 TOI Δ Schöne. KO Ξ OK Schöne. KO OK Washburn. L. 32 Δ TA----- Δ Schöne. Δ TA Δ :----- Δ Kirchhoff. Δ TA Δ Δ Δ O Γ Washburn. Δ ENTEI Kirchhoff, Washburn. L. 33 T Δ Δ Washburn. TP/ Δ Schöne, Washburn. L. 35 OI Γ I Schöne. OI Δ . Washburn. L. 36 I Δ IOEMAT Washburn. Δ I Δ Δ Schöne. Δ I Δ Ξ Δ Washburn. L. 37 Δ Γ OIE Δ Washburn. L. 38 O Δ A Schöne. L. 39 Δ ONT Δ Schöne. OB-----ONT Δ I Washburn. L. 40 Δ Δ : Δ I Δ A Schöne. Δ Δ I Δ I Δ A Washburn. L. 41 Δ ENOI Washburn. L. 42 NIEIK/ Washburn. L. 43 TOIXO Schöne, Washburn.

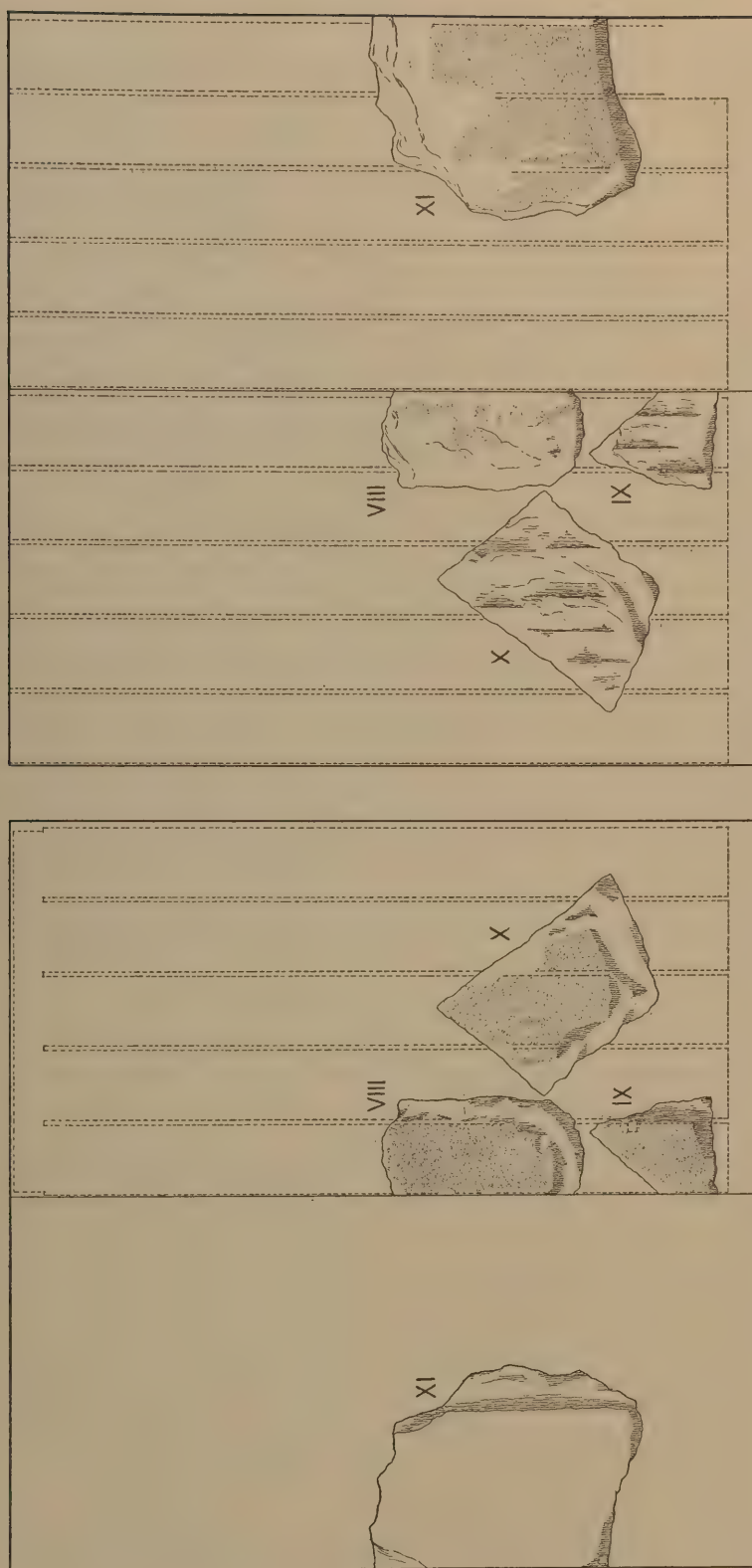
Face B. Washburn's readings are as follows: L. 2 A Γ . L. 7 OI I/. L. 8 I Δ IIII. L. 13 I Δ PO E Δ . L. 14 Δ EN Δ Δ TO. L. 17 N Δ : Γ . L. 21 O I Γ I. L. 22 Δ T. L. 23 Δ . L. 24 IIKO. L. 26 TO. L. 42 I Δ IO. L. 46 I Γ .

IX. Marble slab, 0.35 m. high, 0.27 m. wide, 0.09 m. thick (back not preserved). Broken all round, except for the lower part of the left edge, which is dressed as a surface of contact. Found in 1888 built into the "Bastion of Odysseus" at the northwest corner of the Acropolis. In the National Museum.

Lolling, *Δελτίον Ἀρχ.*, 1888, p. 87. Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.*, XIII, 1888, p. 229, from Lolling's copy. Baumgarten, *Berl. phil. W.*, 1888, p. 1257. *I.G.*, I, Suppl. 321, 1 (p. 148); I², 373. J.-M., *App. Ep.*, 25. Washburn, *A.J.A.*, X, 1906, pl. I (new readings). Frickenhaus, *ibid.*, pp. 11 ff. Caskey, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, pp. 322 ff. Dinsmoor, H.

Facsimile, PLATE XLVIII.

Variant Readings. L. 1 Δ I Δ Lolling. L. 7 Δ I Δ I Δ : Δ I Lolling. L. 9 I Δ IIA Δ I Lolling. L. 11 Δ POIN Lolling. L. 14 I Δ MO Ξ Lolling. L. 15 I Δ I Δ : Δ Lolling. L. 17 KO Δ Lolling. L. 18 TP Lolling. L. 19 OI Δ I Δ E Washburn. L. 20 Δ OX Lolling. L. 28 N Δ : Δ Δ Washburn.



Reverse

Obverse

FIGURE 186. DIAGRAM SHOWING RELATIVE POSITION OF INSCRIPTIONS VIII-XI

X. Marble slab, 0.61 m. high, 0.62 m. wide, 0.12 m. thick, broken on all sides and at the back. Found together with No. IX. In the National Museum.

Lolling, *Δελτίον Ἀρχ.*, 1888, p. 87. Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.*, XIII, 1888, p. 229. Baumgarten, *Berl. phil. W.*, 1888, p. 1257. Michaelis, *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, pp. 349 ff. *I.G.*, I, Suppl. 321, 2 (p. 149); I², 373. J.-M., *App. Ep.*, 26. Washburn, *A.J.A.*, X, 1906, pl. I (new readings). Frickenhaus, *ibid.*, pp. 9 ff. Caskey, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, pp. 334 ff. Dinsmoor, I.

On a bit of mortar adhering to the stone near its right edge is the impression of some letters, made, as Kirchhoff observed, by a fragment of the same inscription, belonging at the beginning of lines 36–41 of the second column, and now lost. On the facsimile (PLATE XLVIII) these letters are shown twice: (a) where their impression is preserved in the mortar, (b) in dotted lines where they actually belong.

Facsimile, PLATE XLVIII.

Variant Readings. Col. I. L. 31. | Lolling.

Col. II. L. 1 AN Lolling. L. 3 NEI Lolling. L. 12 TEI:OI Lolling. L. 15 Γ ΔON Lolling. L. 18 :ΔΓ†.: Washburn. L. 29 ΓΟΔΙΟΝ: Lolling. L. 34 ΜΑΛΛΑΘ: Lolling. L. 38 ΝΙΑΛΛΑΚ Lolling. L. 45 Ι,Τ. Lolling.

Col. III. L. 19 Υ Washburn. L. 26 ΝΥ Washburn. L. 28 Α Lolling. L. 29 Λ Lolling. ··Χ< Washburn. L. 32 Γ Lolling. ΙΓΛ Washburn. ΑΙΤΑΚΑΛΥ Lolling. L. 33 / ΤΙΛΛΑΝ Lolling. /Γ.. ΛΛΑΝ Washburn.

XI. Marble slab, 0.72 m. high, 0.555 m. wide, 0.154 m. thick. The original right edge and the back are preserved, and are dressed smooth. Found in the quarter of Athens called Γύφτικα, and bought by the Archaeological Society. In the National Museum.

VIII A

- [— — — λιθοργικῶ· θέσεος καὶ ἐπερ-]
 [γασίας τῶ Ἐλευσινιακῶ λίθῳ πρὸς ἡδὺ]
 [τὰ ζῶδια καὶ ἀντιθεμάτων· ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς]
 1 [νότο τοίχοι· μὲ]κος [ὀκτόποδας, ἡ]ύφσος
 δίποδας, θέντι] Γ:τὲν τετρ[απο]δ[ία]ν ἡεκ-
 άστέν, Σίμ]ονι Ἀγρυλ. [ο]ί:ΙΙΙΔΔΔ: [ἡέκπο]δα-
 s μῆ]κος, ἡύφ[σ]ος δίπο[δ]ας, πάχος ποδια[ιο-
 5 s], θέντι, Σίμο]νι Ἀγρυ[λ.] οἰ., [Γ]ΔΔΔΓ†††(Ι) ἡ[ύφ-
 σ]ος δίποδ(α, πάχ)ος (ποδιαῖον), μῆκος (δίποδα, θέντι) [Σίμονι Ἀγ]ρυ[λ.] οἰ.:†††††
 ἀντιθέματα τούτο[ις, ΙΙ, τὸν ἀπ]ὸ τ[ῆ(ς)] στο-
 ἀ]ς, Πεντελεικὰ, μὲ[κος παλ]α[στ]ῆς δεό-
 ν]τον τεττάρομ· ποδῶ[ν, ἡύφσο]ς δ[ί]ποδ-
 10 α], πάχος τριπάλαστα, θέν[τι δυο]ῖν ὀβο-
 λοῖ]ν δεόσον [τρ]ιὸν ἡέκασ[το]ν, Σίμ[ον]ι

Koumanoudes, *Ἀθήναιον*, VII, 1878, pp. 483 ff. Choisy, *Études*, pp. 105 ff. *I.G.*, I, Suppl. 321 (p. 75); I², 373. J.-M., *App. Ep.*, 27. Washburn, *A.J.A.*, X, 1906, pl. I (new readings). Dinsmoor, J.

Facsimile, PLATE XLVIII.

Variant Readings. Col. I. L. 20 ΙΞΛ Koumanoudes, Kirchhoff. ΙΞ' Washburn. L. 21 ΓΕΓ Washburn. L. 22 ΧΑΡ Koumanoudes, Kirchhoff. <ΑΝ Washburn. L. 27 ΤΑΥΤ Koumanoudes, Kirchhoff. ΤΑΥ— Washburn. L. 29 \ΤΙ Koumanoudes, Kirchhoff. \ΤΓ,ιΡ/ Washburn. L. 31 ραλαβον Koumanoudes. L. 32 ΙΕ.Τ; ιαν/ Koumanoudes. Ε.ΤΙΑ'C Washburn. L. 33 α; ν κατασκ Koumanoudes. L. 34 τα(ὐτ)α πάντα Ε; Koumanoudes. L. 35 σαντι κα(ι .) σ. ν Koumanoudes. ΝΤΙΚΑΙ Kirchhoff. ΝΤΙΚΑΙ,Ξ Washburn. L. 37 ν:ΗΡΔ Koumanoudes. L. 38 ΙΕΜΜΙ Washburn. L. 41 πέντε Koumanoudes. ΤΕΑΝΤΑ Kirchhoff. L. 42 αγ(α)λον Koumanoudes. L. 44 τ . . . ο τες Koumanoudes. L. 46 ἐπιθ Koumanoudes. L. 47 (κο)λ; εσα Koumanoudes, Kirchhoff. L. 48 εσελιδ Koumanoudes.

Col. II. L. 16 ΔΥ under ΝΙ Koumanoudes, Kirchhoff. L. 17 ΓΡΟΞ Kirchhoff. Γ.ΟΞ Washburn. L. 20 σαν(τι π)α Koumanoudes. L. 21 (Ε)ύαιν Koumanoudes. L. 23 Τ.ΑΙ..ΑΙΞ Washburn. L. 25 ΦΟΞΑΝΤΙ Kirchhoff. L. 37 λ(ἐ)σαν(τι) και Koumanoudes.

Col. III. L. 3 Τ under Ξ Koumanoudes, Kirchhoff. L. 5 ΧΡΕΞΕΝ Koumanoudes. L. 6 ΤΟΜΓΟΔΑ Koumanoudes, Kirchhoff. L. 8 ενος:ι. Koumanoudes. L. 12 ΧΗ Koumanoudes, Kirchhoff. L. 15 ΤΕΝ Koumanoudes, Kirchhoff. L. 20 ΔΓ††: Koumanoudes. L. 21 ΔΔΔΔΓ|| Koumanoudes, Washburn.

XII. Fragment of white marble, 0.145 m. high, 0.11 m. wide, broken on all sides and at the back. Acquired in Athens in 1912 by Dr. Kurt Müller, and presented by him to the National Museum. Here published for the first time, with the help of squeezes, a photograph, and a transcription of the text furnished by Dr. Müller.

Facsimile, PLATE XLVIII.

VIII A

- [— — — Stone-work. Payments for the setting in place and the dressing of the top surface of the blocks of Eleusinian stone against which the figures (are to be placed) and their
- 1 backing-stones. On the south wall:] for placing blocks eight feet long, two feet high, at 5 drachmae a tetrapody, to Simon living in Agryle, 3 blocks, 30 drachmae. For placing blocks six feet long, two feet high, one foot thick, to Simon
 - 5 living in Agryle, 5 blocks, 37 drachmae, 3 obols. For placing a block two feet high, one foot thick, two feet long, to Simon living in Agryle, 1 block, 2 drachmae, 3 obols. For placing backing-stones for these, 2 blocks of Pentelic marble, from the stoa, three feet and three-quarters long,
 - 10 two feet high, three-quarters of a foot thick, at two drachmae, four obols a block, to Simon living in Agryle,

- 2 blocks, 5 drachmae, 2 obols. For placing other backing-stones between the wooden beams, of Aeginetan stone, from the stoa, four feet long, two feet
- 15 wide, one foot and a half thick, at two drachmae, five obols a block, to Simon living in Agryle, 8 blocks, 22 drachmae, 4 obols. For dressing the top surface of these, 14 tetrapodies, at three drachmae and a half a
- 20 tetrapody, to — — kros living in Ko — —, 49 drachmae. On the east wall, that towards the altar: For placing a block six feet long, two feet high, one foot thick, to Simias living in Alopeke, 1 block, 7 drachmae, 3 obols. For placing backing-stones for this,
- 25 from the stoa, four feet long, two feet wide, three quarters of a foot thick, to Simias living in Alopeke, 2 blocks, 6 drachmae. For dressing the top surface of these, one tetrapody and a half, to Simias living in Alopeke, 7 drachmae. On the north wall: For placing blocks
- 30 eight feet long, two feet high, one foot thick, to Phalakros of Paiania, 4 blocks, 40 drachmae. For placing backing-stones for these, 2 blocks of Pentelic marble, from the stoa, four feet long, two feet high, three quarters of a foot thick, at three drachmae each,
- 35 to Phalakros of Paiania, 2 blocks, 6 drachmae. For placing other backing-stones between the wooden beams, of Aeginetan stone, from the stoa, four feet long, two feet wide, one foot and a half thick, at two drachmae, five obols each,
- 40 to Phalakros of Paiania, 8 blocks, 22 drachmae 4 obols. For dressing the top surface of these, 14 tetrapodies, to Phalakros of Paiania and his assistant, 49 drachmae. On the wall towards the Pandroseum: — — — — —

IX

- — — — — width
- — — — — length
- — — — — thickness one
- foot — — — — — of each stone
- 5 — — — — — 4 drachmae. To Phalakros

- ροι Παιανιεῖ, — — θέσει]s ἀργυρ[ί]ο καὶ ἐπ-
 εργασίας κεφάλαιον] ΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΓΓ[ΓΙ]Ι: λί-
 θον ἀριθμὸς :ΔΓΙΙΙ:] ἀντιθ[έμ]ατα
 Πεντελεικὰ :ΓΙ: Δι]γιναι[α — — —] ΙΙ.
 10 Μισθόματα. πρίσ]ταις καθ' ἐ[μέ]ραν ἐρ-
 γαζομένοις, ἀν]δρο[ί]ν δυοῖν, [ἡ]κατέρ-
 οι δραχμῆς, ἡ]μερὼν :ΔΙΙ:, Ραιδίοι: ἐγ Κ-
 ολ: οἱ: καὶ συνέρ]γο[ι]s :ΔΔΓΓΓΓ: χσύλα δια-
 πρίσαντι, ῥυ]μὸς ὁκτόποδας :ΔΙΙΙ:, το-
 15 μᾶς ΞΔΔΔΙ]ΙΙΙ:, δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν τῇ]ν το[μ]έν
 ἡεκάστε]ν: Ραιδίοι ἐγ Κολλυτ. οἱ., ΔΔΓΓ
 ΓΓ: πρίσ]τε]ι διαπρίσαντι χσύλον μέκο-
 s τετρα]καιέικοσι ποδῶν, τομᾶς:Γ:, τῇ]ν
 τομῇ]ν ἡεκάσταν :Γ: Ραιδίοι : ἐγ Κολλ : οἱ., Γ. ἐ-
 20 s τῷ]s ὀχετὸς πρίσαντι χσύλον: Ραιδίο-
 ι] ἐγ Κολλυ: οἱ :ΓΓ. τέκτοσιν καθ' ἡμέραν
 ὀχετὸν ἐκποιέσαντι καὶ ἡυποθέντι, ἡε-
 μερὼν :ΓΙΙΙ: Κροῖσοι Φιλοκλέος :ΓΓΓΓΓΓ: κ-
 ανόνας ἀναχσέσαντι καὶ ἐργα[ζ]ομ-
 25 ἔνοι κατ' ἡμέραν, ἡεμερὼν :Δ: Γέ]ρουι :Δ:
 καθ' ἡμέραν κανόνα διαρρυ[θ]μίσαντι
 δυοῖν ἡεμέραιν Μικίωνι [:ΓΓ: μισθομάτον ἀ-
 ργυρίο κε]φάλαιον :ΞΔ[ΔΓΓΓΓΓΓΓ — — — —
 — — — — —] σσεπ [— — — — — — — — — —

X, col. 1

- — — — — ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ τ]ῷ πρὸς τ-
 20 ὁ Πανδροσεῖο· μέκος τετράπο]δα, πλάτο-
 s τρίποδα, πάχος πεντεπάλα]στα, θέντ-
 ι, τὼν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς, Ἀμεινιάδ]ει: ἐγ Κοί.: οἱ.,
 ΓΓ: —: μέκος πεντέπον, πλάτο]s τρίπον,
 πάχος πεντεπάλαστον, θέν]τι, Ἀμεινι-
 25 ἀδει: ἐγ Κοί. οἱ. :ΓΓ: —: ἡέτερα, γο]γναιᾶ, τὼν
 ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς, μέκος ἡέκπον,] πλάτος τε-
 τάρτο ἡεμιποδίο, πάχος πεντε]πάλαστ-
 ον, ἐκποιέσαντι, Ἀμεινιάδ]ει: ἐγ Κοί. οἱ.,
 ΓΓ: —: μέκος ἡεπτὰ ποδῶν κ]αὶ ἡμιπ-
 30 οδίο, πλάτος τριῶν ποδῶν καὶ ἡμι]ποδίο,
 πάχος πεντεπάλαστον, ἐκποιέσαν]τ[ι,
 [Ἀμεινιάδει: ἐγ Κοί. οἱ. :ΓΓ: —: — — — —]

- of Paiania -- Total expenditures for placing the blocks and dressing their top surfaces, 347 drachmae, 2 obols. Number of blocks, 18. Pentelic backing-stones, 6. Aeginetan backing-stones, —.
- 10 Wages. To sawyers working by the day, to two men, each receiving a drachma a day, 12 days, to Rhadios living in Kollytos and his assistants, 24 drachmae. For sawing 14 eight-foot timbers, 84
- 15 cuts, at two obols a cut, to Rhadios living in Kollytos, 28 drachmae. To a sawyer for sawing a timber twenty-four feet long, 5 cuts, at 1 drachma a cut, to Rhadios living in Kollytos, 5 drachmae.
- 20 For sawing a timber for the struts (?), to Rhadios living in Kollytos, 1 drachma, 2 obols. To carpenters working by the day, for making a strut (?) and placing it under, 9 days, to Kroisos, son of Philokles, 9 drachmae. For making and trimming straight-edges,
- 25 work by the day, 10 days, to Gerys, 10 drachmae. For truing up a straight-edge, work by the day, two days, to Mikion, 2 drachmae. Total expenditures for wages, 79 drachmae, 2 obols. — — — — —

X, col. 1

- — — — — On the wall towards the
- 20 Pandroseum. For placing (cornice blocks) four feet long, three feet wide, one foot and a quarter thick, from the stoa, to Ameiniades living in Koile, 6 blocks, — drachmae. For placing a block five feet long, three feet wide, one foot and a quarter thick, to
- 25 Ameiniades living in Koile, 1 block, — drachmae. Others, for the angles, from the stoa; for shaping a block six feet long, three feet and a half wide, one foot and a quarter thick, to Ameiniades, living in Koile, 1 block, — drachmae. For shaping a block seven
- 30 feet and a half long, three feet and a half wide, one foot and a quarter thick, to Ameiniades living in Koile, 1 block, — drachmae. — — — — —

X, col. II

- — — — —] αρ [— — — — —
 — — — τὸ α]ὕτὸν [— — — — —
 — — —] πρυτανε[υόσες — — — — —
 λέμματ]α παρὰ ταμ[ίον τῆς θεῶ — — —
 5 — — —] καὶ χσυναρχ[όντων — — — — —
 — — —] κεφάλαιον λεμμ[άτον — — — — —
 — — —] ἀναδόματα ἐργ[α]σ[ίας. αἰετια-
 ζοι] ἐπὶ τὸμ πρὸς ἔο [αἰετ]όν· [κορυφαίο
 καὶ] ἀντιθέματ[ο]ς, μέκ[ο]ς πέν[τε ποδ-
 10 ὶ]ν, πλάτος τρι[δὺν π]οδῶ[ν] καὶ ἡε[μιποδί-
 ο], πάχος ποδιαίο[ν, τῶ] ἑλλ[οι]π[ὶ] ἔργο, Ἀ[χσι-
 ο]πείθει ἐμ Μελ[ίτε]ι οἰ[κ.], ἐνὸς καὶ ἀ[ν-
 τ]ιθέματος :ΔΔ [τ]δὺν πρ[ὸ]ς τῶι κορυ[φα-
 ῖ]οι καὶ ἀντιθεμάτο[ν], μέ[κ]ος ἑπταπόδ-
 15 ο]ν, πλάτος τριπ[ὸ]δ[ον], πάχος ποδιαίων, τ-
 ῶ ἑλλοιπῶ ἔργο, Ἀχσιοπείθει ἐμ Μελίτει ο-
 ἰκ. : ἐνὸς καὶ ἀντιθέματος :ΔΓ : Φανοκλε-
 ῖ ἐγ Κοίλει οἰκ., ἡενὸς ΔΓΓ. Κεφισοδόροι
 ἐ Σκαμβονί. οἰκ., [ἀν]τιθέματος τούτοι
 20 Δ : κερκιδιαίου κ[αὶ] ἀντιθεμάτον μέκο-
 ς πεντεπόδον, π[λά]τος τριεμιποδίου,
 πάχος ποδιαίο[ν, Λυ]σίαι Ἀλκίππο Κεφισ.,
 ἡενὸς καὶ ἀντι[θέμ]ατος :Δ : Εὐδίοι Ἀγ[ρ-
 υ]λῆ. οἰκ., ἡενὸς κ[αὶ] ἀ[ν]τιθέματος :ΓΓΓΓ.
 25 λίθον ἀριθμος : [Γ : ἀν]τιθέματα :Γ : ἐργασ-
 ῖας τῶ πρὸς ἔο α[ἰετ]ῶ, ἀργυρίο κεφ[ά]λαιον
 ΓΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓΓ : ἐπὶ τὸ[μ] πρ[ὸ]ς τῶ Πανδροσείο
 αἰετὸν· κορυφαῖ[ον] μ[έ]κος καὶ πλάτος
 τετράποδα, π[ά]χος τ[ρι]εμι[πό]διον, ἐκπ-
 30 οέσαντι, Ἀμει[νιάδε]ι ἐγ Κοίλει :οἰκο., ἡε-
 νὸς :ΔΔΔΔ· τῶ ὑπ[ὸ] τ[ῶ]ι κορυφαίο(ι) καὶ ἀ-
 ντ[ιθ]έματος μ[έ]κος ἑπταπόδον, πλάτ-
 ος τ[ρι]πόδον, π[ά]χο[ς] ποδιαίων, ἐκποιέσ-
 αντι . . Δ ε]μαγάθ[οι Χσ]υπεταιῶ : ἐνὸς κα-
 35 ῖ ἀντιθέμ]ατο[ς] Δ [.]. κερκιδιαίο καὶ ἀν-
 τ[ιθ]έματος μ[έ]κο[ς] πεντέποδος, πλά-
 τος τ[ρι]εμιποδ[ί]ο, π[ά]χος ποδιαίο, ἐκπο-

X, col. II

- - - - -
 - - - - the same - - - - -
 - - - holding the prytany - -
 Receipts from the treasurers of the goddess - - -
 5 - - - - and his colleagues - - - - -
 - - - - total receipts - - - - -
 - - - - Expenditures for work. Pediment
 blocks for the east gable: for the remaining
 work on the central block and its backer,
 10 five feet long, three feet and a half wide,
 one foot thick, to Axiopeithes living in
 Melite, one block and its backer, 20
 drachmae. For the remaining work on the
 blocks next to the central block and their backers, seven
 15 feet long, three feet wide, one foot thick,
 to Axiopeithes living in Melite, for one block
 and its backer, 15 drachmae; to Phanokles living
 in Koile, for one block, 16 drachmae; to
 Kephisodoros living in Skambonidai for the backer
 20 for this block, 10 drachmae. For the two wedge-shaped blocks
 and their backers, five feet long, one foot and a half
 wide, one foot thick, to Lysias, son of Alkippos, of
 Kephisia, for one block and its backer, 10 drachmae.
 To Eudikos living in Agryle, for one block and its
 25 backer, 8 drachmae. Number of blocks, 5. Backers, 5.
 Total expenditures for work on the east gable,
 79 drachmae. On the gable towards the Pandroseum:
 for shaping the central block, four feet long
 and wide, one foot and a half thick,
 30 to Ameiniades living in Koile, one block,
 40 drachmae. For shaping the block next to
 the central block and its backer, seven feet long,
 three feet wide, one foot thick,
 to Demagathos of Xypete, for one block
 35 and its backer, 20 (?) drachmae. For shaping
 a wedge-shaped block and its backer, five feet
 long, one foot and a half wide, one foot

ι]έσαν[τι Λυσανί]α[ι ἐ]γ Κυδαθε.ῖ οἰκ.ῖ ἡεν-
 ὶς] καὶ ἀντι[θέμ]ατ[ο]ς : ΓΤΤΤ : λίθον ἀρι-
 40 θμὸ]ς ΙΙΙ, ἀν[τιθέ]μα[τα : Ι]Ι : ἐργασίας τὸ
 πρὸς] τὸ Πα[νδροσεῖο αἰ]ετὸ, ἀργ[υρ]ίο κ-
 εφάλαιον : ΠΔ - - - -] κατὰ [- - - - -
 - - - - - - - - - τ]ῆς Δι[όνες - - - - -
 - - - - - - - - -] οναιπ [- - - - - - - - -

X, col. III

δ - - - - -
 τ - - - - -
 20 κ - - - - -
 ν - - - - -
 δ - - - - -
 τ - - - - -
 συ - - - - -
 25 ἡῖ - - - - -
 ν - - - - -
 - - - - -
 - - - σ - - - - -
 - - - χ - - - - -
 30 σαν - οχ - - - - τας - - - - -
 εμο[- - ἀ]ποχσύσ[αντι - - - - -
 - - - - - κα]ὶ τὰ καλ[ύμματα ἐκποέσ-
 α[ν]τ[ι] - -]ιαν[ο] πάντα τ α ν [- - - - -
 τ[ὸ]ς σφεκίσκος διῆαρ[μόσαντι - - κ-
 35 υμ]ατίο ἐπ[ι]κολλέσαντ[ι] καὶ [ἀποχσύσα-
 ντι ἡεκάτερον πέντε [δραχμὸν : Δ : - -
 ες Μᾶνις ἐχσεποίησ[ε - - - ἀργυρ-
 ῖο κεφάλαιον : ΗΔΔΤ' [- - - - - Χσ-
 υπεταιὸν ἐργάζε[το
 40 ιαι Δρόμονο]ς - - - - -
 - ἀποχσ[ύσαντι - - - - -
 - - - - -

thick, to Lysanias living in Kydathenaion,
 for one block and its backer, 8 drachmae. Number
 40 of blocks, 3. Backers, 2. Total expenditures
 for work on the gable towards the Pandroseum,
 60 (?) drachmae. — — — — —

X, col. III

— — — — — for smoothing — — — —
 — — — — — and making the coffer-lids
 — — — — — all the — — — — —
 for fitting the “rafters” — — — — —
 35 for gluing on the two cymatia and smoothing
 them, at five drachmae each, 10 drachmae. — —
 Manis made — — — — —
 Sum total 122 (?) drachmae — — —
 of Xypete made
 40 to ---ias, son of Dromon — — — — —
 for smoothing — — — — —

XI, col. 1

20

25

- - - - - for smoothing this
 - - - - - and for polishing - -
 - - - - - each - - -
 30 for making and dowelling on
 the astragalus, having received it
 turned in the lathe - - for setting in place, to A-
 - - - - -
 - - - - - all these - - - -
 35 - - - - - for making and smoothing
 - - - - - Euthydomos living in Semachidai
 - - - - - sum total 150 (+) drachmae.
 - - - - - living in Melite made
 one ladder. For smoothing this
 40 - - - - - and polishing
 and fashioning the - - five in number
 and dowelling on the astragalus,
 having received it turned in the lathe
 - - - made of the beam - - - -
 45 - - - - -
 - - - - - for setting in place
 - - - - - smoothing
 - - - - -

XI, col. II

- - - - -
 - - - - - For gluing in
 15 the moulding of the square frames,
 five in number (?), and truing them up,
 tested by the stone straight-edge,
 at three drachmae each frame, 15 drachmae (?).

- ἀσ[τράγ]αλον ἐπ[ι]γομφόσαντ[ι] ἐ[πὶ τ-
 20 ἐν κλιμ]ακ[ίδα π]αραλαβόντι τετορν-
 ευμένον : -- : Εὐ]αινέτοι Ἄλοπεκῆθεν
 ἐς ταύτην τὲ]ν σελίδα κλιμακίδα ἐ-
 κποιέσαντι κ]αὶ [π]λαισίο μικρὸ δύο τδ-
 ν πυχσί]ν[ον] : ΔΔΔ : τὸν ἀσ[τράγ]αλον
 25 ἐπιγομφ]όσαντι παραλαβόντι τετορν-
 ευμένον ἐ]πὶ τ[α]ύτην τὲν κ[λ]ιμακίδα
 : -- : ταύτην] ἐ[ρ]γάζετο Σελιδὸς καὶ Φ-
 ανόστρατο]s [κ]αὶ Εὐαίνετος. ἀργυρίο
 κεφάλαιον : Η]ΡΔΔΔΠΤΤΤΤ :
 30 -- ἐμ Με]λί. : οἰκ. : ἐργάζετο τε . εσ
 -- -- τα]ύτες τὸ πυχσίνο π[λ]αισί-
 ο, δύο ὄντε, ἀ]ναχσέσαντι καὶ κολλέσ-
 α[ντι, ἐκάτ]ερον ἔχs δραχμ[ὸ]ν : ΔΤΤ : τδ-
 ν [ἀσ[τράγ]αλ]ον ἐπιγομφό[σ]αντι παρα-
 35 λ[αβ]ό[ντι τε]τορνευμένον, ΔΔΔΠΤΤΤ : κλ-
 ιμακίδο]ιν δυοῖν τὸς ὄνυχας ἐγκολ-
 λ[έ]σαν[τι κ]αὶ ἐχσομαλίσαντι πρὸς τὸ γ
 κ[α]νόν[α τδ]ν λίθ[ιν]ον, ἑκατέρας δέκα
 δρ]αχμ[ὸν : Δ]Δ : τὸν πλαισίον τὸν τετρα-
 40 γό]νον, [τετ]τάρων ὄντων, τὸς ὄνυχας ἐ-
 γ]κολλέ[σαν]τι καὶ ἐχσομαλίσαντι πρ-
 ὸς] τὸ γ [κανό]να τὸλ λίθινον, ἑκάστον
 τρ]ιδὺν δ[ραχ]μὸν : ΔΤΤ : τὰ κυμάτια τὰ
 μι]κρά, [δέκ]α ὄντα, κολλέσαντι καὶ ἀν-
 45 αχ]σέ[σαν]τι πρὸς τὸ γ κανόνα τὸλ λίθι-
 νο]ν, ἡ[έκασ]τον τριδὺν δραχμὸν : ΔΔΔ : τ-
 ὸν] ἀσ[τράγ]αλον ἐπιγομφόσαντ[ι παρ-
 αλα]βό[ντι] τετορνευμένο]ν : -- : -- --
 -- ο -- τ -- -- -- -- --

XI, col. III

- -- -- -- -- κολ[λ]- -- -- -- --
 ἐσαντι -- -- -- πλαι]σιο[-- -- -- -- --
 -- -- -- -- --
 -- -- -- -- -- ἡ]τέρα -- -- -- -- --
 5 -- -- -- -- --] σι [-- --] ρεσεν -- -- -- -- --
 -- -- -- -- --] πλαισ[ί]οι τὸμ πό[δ]α ἑκαστ- -- --
 ον πέντε δραχ]μὸν, Θεοδότοι [Ἀχ]αρνεῖ : ἐ-

- For dowelling the astragalus upon the ladder,
 20 having received it turned in the lathe, -- drachmae.
 To Euainetos of Alopeke,
 for making a ladder for this section
 and two of the small box-wood frames, 30 drachmae.
 For dowelling the astragalus
 25 upon this ladder, having received it
 turned in the lathe, -- drachmae.
 This section was made by Selidous
 and Phanostratos and Euainetos.
 Sum total, 189 drachmae.
 30 -- -- -- living in Melite made -- -- --
 For smoothing the two box-wood frames of this,
 and gluing them,
 at six drachmae each, 12 drachmae.
 For dowelling on the astragalus, having
 35 received it turned in the lathe, 37 drachmae.
 For gluing in the mouldings of two ladders,
 and truing them up, tested by the stone straight-edge,
 at ten drachmae each, 20 drachmae.
 For gluing in the mouldings
 40 of the square frames, four in number,
 and for truing them up,
 tested by the stone straight-edge,
 at three drachmae each, 12 drachmae.
 For gluing in the small cymatia, ten in number
 45 and smoothing them, tested by the stone straight-edge,
 at three drachmae each, 30 drachmae.
 For dowelling on the astragalus,
 having received it turned in the lathe, -- --
 - - - - -

XI, col. III

5

-- -- -- to the frame, at five drachmae each foot,
 to Theodotos of Acharnai, for one frame, 20 drachmae

- To Kroisos, son of Philokles, for one frame, 20 drachmae.
 To — — —, son of Herakleides, for one frame, 20 drachmae.
 10 To A — —, living in — — —, for one frame, 20 drachmae.
 Number of frames, 4.
 Sum total for the carving
 of the smaller frames, — — — drachmae.
 Sum total for the carving
 15 of all the frames, 1100 (+) drachmae.
 To carpenters for planing cross-pieces
 for the roof, seven palms long,
 ten dactyls wide, at one obol and a half each,
 45 drachmae to Komon living in Melite, for 180 cross-pieces;
 20 17 drachmae to Timomachos of Acharnai, for 68 cross-pieces;
 11 drachmae, $4\frac{1}{2}$ obols to Tlesias of Kettos, for 47 cross-pieces;
 21 drachmae to Mikion living in Melite, for 84 cross-pieces;
 2 drachmae, $1\frac{1}{2}$ obols to Euthydomos of Melite, for 9 cross-pieces.
 Sum total for work on the cross-pieces for the roof, 97 drachmae.
 25 Payments to artisans for piece-work and day labor.
 For laying tiles above the ceiling upon the temple,
 to Kteson of Lakiadai, 24 drachmae.
 For laying the rafters and the cross-pieces, by day labor,
 to Gerys, for 6 days' work, 6 drachmae;
 30 to Mikion, for 3 days' work, 3 drachmae;
 to Kroisos, for 5 days' work, 5 drachmae.
 For placing grilles in the intercolumniations,
 four in number, towards the Pandroseum,
 to Komon, living in Melite, 40 drachmae.
 35 For turning bosses for the coffer-lids,
 to Mikion, living in Kollytos, 3 drachmae, 1 obol.
 To a sawyer, for sawing up a rafter into coffer-lids,
 to Rhadios, living in Kollytos, 5 drachmae.
 For building up the wall of the workshop
 40 after the beams had been carried out,
 to Mikion, living in Melite, 5 drachmae, 3 obols.
 Sum total of payments to artisans, 91 drachmae, 4 obols.
 To a painter, for painting 14 coffer-lids
 upon the ceiling, upon the beams above the image,
 45 at 4 drachmae each coffer-lid,
 to — — — — — 56 drachmae.
 — — — — —

VIII B

In view of the scanty remains no minuscule text or translation is attempted. The following restorations are suggested by Washburn.

Line 4. [τε]τράνα[ντι]. Cf. VII, l. 8. The word is also perhaps to be restored in line 2: [τετρ]άνα[ντι].

Line 5. [δραχμ]ὸν [ἡεκάτ]ερον : ΓΙΙ.

Line 6. Κλέον. A stone-cutter of this name occurs in the account of 408/7 B.C., XVII, col. I, l. 51.

Line 7. [ἐργασ]ία[s] κεφ[άλαιον].

XII

	-----]οις :Γ†	α ῥ ο
	-----]σομενοι μ-	ι ο μ
	-----]τι ἐμερὸν εἴκ-	ι α
5	οσι -----] ἐμέρας ἐκάστ-	π
	ες -----] †: πρίσταις καὶ τ-	τ
	έκτοσι (?) ἀργυρίο κεφάλ]αιο[ν:] Ρ†	ν δ
	----- τ]ὰς σελίδας	ἡ ε
	----- τετ]τάρον ὀβόλον τὸ-	ο ι
10	μ πόδα (?) -----]τος τὸ ἀστραγά-	ο σ

COMMENTARY

VIII A, IX, ll. 1-9. *Work on the Frieze.* Inscription VIII A contains a part of the account of sums paid in one prytany for stone-work. This consists in the setting in place (θέσις) and the dressing of the top surface (ἐπεργασία) of certain blocks on the four walls of the building. Lines 21-28 describe the work done on the east front (ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς ἔο τοίχῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸ βορρῶ), lines 28-43 that on the north wall (ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς βορρῶ τοίχῳ). The heading to be supplied above lines 1-20 is "upon the south wall" (ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς νότο τοίχῳ), as is evident from the similarity of the items to those of the north wall. The heading in line 43 must then be restored ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ[οι τῷ πρὸς τὸ Πανδροσεῖο], which is the regular designation of the west wall (cf. II, col. I, l. 44, and p. 308, note 1). The inscription ends here; but there are several indications that part of the account of work on the west wall is preserved in lines 1-9 of inscription IX. These are, as Michaelis observed (*Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, p. 359), the mention of the dimension, "one foot" (l. 3), of backing-stones (l. 8), and of the mason Phalakros (l. 5). Lolling (*Δελτικὸν Ἀρχ.*, 1888, p. 87) and Frickenhaus (*A.J.A.*, X, 1906, p. 12) added another piece of evidence by reading [Αἰ]γιναῖο in line 9. Frickenhaus was wrong, however, in making IX the continuation of X, column I, and consequently failed

Line 11. $\tau\delta\beta\omicron[\mu\delta]$. This may be the altar of the Thyechoüs, in the North Portico, II, col. II, l. 95; XVII, col. I, l. 62; or the altar of Dione, X, col. II, l. 43; XIV, col. I, l. 8; XVII, col. I, ll. 37, 65; col. II, ll. 49, 64; or it may be a part of the designation of the east front, which is elsewhere described as "towards the altar," VIII, l. 21; XVII, col. I, ll. 36, 65; col. II, l. 48.

Line 39. $\xi\omicron\xi$. The inscriptions contain three names beginning with these letters: $\Sigma\delta\sigma\alpha\nu\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$, XIV, col. I, l. 7; XVII, col. I, ll. 47, 84; col. II, l. 62; $\Sigma\omicron\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma$, XIII, col. I, l. 2; $\Sigma\delta\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, XVII, col. II, l. 40. Sosandros was, like Kleon, a stone-cutter.

XII

	----- 6 dr.

	----- twenty days
5	----- each day
	----- 1 dr. To sawyers and
	carpenters (?) sum total: 51 dr.
	----- the ceiling beams
	----- four obols the
10	foot ----- of the astragalus

to see the significance of lines 7–9 of IX, which contain a summary of the stone-work done during the prytany. To the evidence from the contents is to be added the similarity of the left edges of the two fragments: both were surfaces of contact, with corresponding anathyrosis.

The blocks listed are of two kinds: (1) a series of blocks which are not given a name, but two of whose dimensions (height, 2 ft.; thickness, 1 ft.) are the same throughout; (2) blocks described as $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$, — "backing-stones," varying in dimensions and material (Pentelic marble, ll. 8, 32; Aeginetan limestone, ll. 13, 37).¹

The position of these blocks was first correctly determined by Choisy (*Études*, p. 100). $\Upsilon\psi\omicron\varsigma$ invariably means height; and there were only two courses of the building which had

¹ That the $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ are not to be thought of as forming the face of a wall, "Verkleidungssteine," as Schoene understood the word (*Hermes*, IV, 1869, p. 44), is clear from the fact that they were in part of an inferior material, and therefore not intended to be visible. And the other occurrences of the word in inscriptions support the interpretation accepted above. So in X, col. II, l. 9 $\kappa\omicron\rho\upsilon\varphi\alpha\iota\omicron$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (cf. also ll. 14, 19, 20, 25, 32, 35, 36) the "backers" of the pediment blocks are meant. In an inscription from Troezen (*I.G.*, IV, 823, l. 69) the $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\tau\hat{\eta}$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\hat{\eta}$ $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$ —, were clearly not meant to be seen. And in an inscription relating to the temple at Didyma (Haussoullier, *Études sur l'histoire de Milet*, p. 162) δ $\tau\epsilon$ $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varphi\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\omicron$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\mu\alpha$ means the frieze and its backing. Cf. also *I.G.*, II, 834b, l. 21, $\lambda\iota\theta\omicron\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\iota\omicron\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\tau\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$. The wall at Eleusis, here referred to, is still standing, and shows an outer face of poros, an inner of conglomerate ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\lambda\iota\theta\omicron\varsigma$).

The spelling of the word is uncertain. In classical Greek a long penult would be expected, as in $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\mu\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\theta\eta\mu\alpha$. Cf. Kühner-Blass, I, 2, p. 286, § 331, 2, and I, 1, p. 307, § 75, 5. The epigraphical evidence favors the spelling $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\mu\alpha$.

the height required — the epistyle and the frieze. The former is to be excluded, since the blocks composing it were, except for those over the columns, regularly eight feet long and two feet and a quarter thick (cf. II, col. I, l. 36). The passage therefore records the laying of the frieze blocks of Eleusinian stone. These blocks are also listed in the report as two feet high and one foot thick (II, col. II, ll. 11 ff.). The designation and material of the blocks were doubtless given once for all at the top of the account somewhat as follows: *λιθοργικὸς θέσεος καὶ ἐπεργασίας τὸ Ἐλευσινιακὸ λίθο πρὸς ἡδὶ τὰ ζῶδια καὶ ἀντιθεμάτων.*

The first of the two operations for which the payments are made, the *θέσις* (*θέντι*, ll. 5, 10, etc.), means here more than the mere hoisting and setting in place of the stones. It includes any final chiselling that might be found necessary after the block had been hoisted, to secure perfect jointing. The workmen employed were skilled stonecutters, as appears from the fact that we find them later carving the channels on the columns of the East Portico. (Simon, XVII, col. I, l. 51; Simias, *ibid.*, col. I, ll. 42, 78, col. II, l. 60; XIV, col. I, l. 2; Phalakros, XVII, col. I, l. 70, col. II, l. 53.) The work includes further the cutting of the holes for the clamps and dowels, the insertion of these, and the fastening of them by means of molten lead. In an inscription from Eleusis, *I.G.*, II, 5, 1054*b*, ll. 38 ff., the details are described more fully: — [μετ]όπια ἐργάσασθαι — —] καὶ ἄρα[ι καὶ] καθαρμόσαι — — — καὶ δ[ῆσαι] καὶ γομφῶ[σαι καὶ μόλυβδον περιχέαι καὶ ἐπεργ]άσαι[σθαι].

The second operation, the *ἐπεργασία* (*ἐπεργασάμενοι*, ll. 17, 27, 41) takes place after all the blocks have been laid, and the payments are made on the basis of units of four feet. The preposition *ἐπὶ* shows that it was the top surface which received this dressing. The operation is therefore to be distinguished from the final chiselling of the visible faces of the walls, which was called by a different name (see the note on *ἀκατάξετος*, p. 309). As Schoene saw (*Hermes*, IV, 1869, p. 38), the object of the *ἐπεργασία* was to secure a perfectly level and even bed for the next course to be laid.¹

Before attempting to ascertain the position on the building of the various blocks listed, it is necessary to discuss some textual difficulties, due chiefly to the bad preservation of the stone, and to justify the adoption of readings differing from those of the previous editors.

¹ The operation is repeatedly referred to in building inscriptions. So in *I.G.*, II, 5, 1054*b*, l. 43 (the passage quoted above); *ibid.*, l. 60; 1054*c*, l. 14; *ibid.*, l. 59 [ἐπεργ]άξεσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὸν στοῖχον ἕκαστον διανεκῆ; 1054*d*, l. 10 (the same formula); 1054*e*, l. 65, καὶ ἐπεργασ[άμενον εὐτενέει] πρὸς τὴν περιτένειαν ἣν ἂν δῶ ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων, δῆσαι καὶ μόλυβδον περιχέαι. Ἐπικοπή (*ἐπικόπτειν*, *προεπικόπτειν*) is used in the same sense. So of the dressing of the top of a foundation, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXI, 1906, p. 134, l. 6, καὶ ἐπικόψει ὀρθὸν κατὰ κεφαλὴν, and of the dressing of the top of a line of stelae upon which a coping was to be placed, *I.G.*, VII, 3073, ll. 67 ff., ἐπιθήσει δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς ὑπαρχούσας θριγκοὺς ἑνδεκα, προεπικόψας τὰς στήλας. Cf. also *ibid.*, ll. 71, 145, 149. Ἐπιζοά seems to be used in the same sense at Epidaurus, *I.G.*, IV, 1484, l. 70, ἐπιζοὰν τοῦ στρώματος τοῦ ἑνδοῦ; 1485, l. 19, στοιβᾶς ἐπιζοᾶς. Both ἐπεργάξεσθαι and ἐπικόπτειν are also used of a surface which was to remain exposed. So inscription II, col. I, l. 86, the roof of the Porch of the Maidens; *I.G.*, II, 1054, l. 63, the pavement of the Arsenal of Philon, καὶ ἐπεργάσεται ὀρθὸν καὶ ὁμαλὲς ἄνωθεν; and *I.G.*, VII, 3073, l. 183, the pavement of the temple of Zeus at Lebadeia, ἐπικοψάτω κατὰ κεφαλὴν. This last passage gives an idea of the details of the process. A long straight-edge (*μακρὸς κανὼν*, 20 ft. long, as appears from l. 135 and from an inscription from Delos, *Hermes*, XVII, 1882, p. 4, l. 2) was used in connection with a level (*διαβήτης*) to get a perfectly horizontal surface. The stones were tested for smaller unevennesses by the application of a straight-edge smeared with red lead (*μίλτος*). Cf. on these processes Fabricius, *De architectura graeca*, pp. 66, 72, 88 and fig. 4, Lattemann, *Klio*, VI, p. 151, and Fowler and Wheeler, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, p. 102.

Line 1. The first item records work on three blocks of the south wall. From the fact that the price paid is reckoned in tetrapodies Frickenhaus (*l.c.*, p. 6, note 1), following Schoene (*Hermes*, IV, 1869, p. 48), inferred that the work was not the *θέσις*, but the *ἐπεργασία* of blocks laid in an earlier prytany. He suggested that they belonged to the epistyle course, but restored the passage incorrectly, as has been shown in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, p. 323. Accepting his suggestion I there proposed to identify the blocks with the three epistylia, eight feet long, which were noted in the report of 409 B.C. as lacking the dressing of their top surface (II, col. i, l. 36). I restored *ὀκτώποδα* in line 1, *δυοῖν ποδοῖν* or *δίποδα, τρία* in line 2, and [*ἡέκπο*]δα[s at the end of line 3, instead of the unintelligible numerals suggested by Frickenhaus. But in *A.J.A.*, XVII, 1913, p. 252, Dinsmoor has pointed out some flaws in this solution. The rate of payment for *ἐπεργασία* of the frieze is not 3 dr. 3 ob. on the north and south walls and 4 dr. 4 ob. on the east wall, as I gave it, but 3 dr. 3 ob. on all three walls. According to Dinsmoor it applies only to the Eleusinian blocks which were one foot wide. The rate, 5 dr., therefore seems too low for the dressing of the epistyle which was two feet and a quarter wide. The restoration *δυοῖν ποδοῖν* in line 2 instead of *δίποδα* is unsatisfactory, as is the alternative *δίποδα, τρία*, since the number is given again in the line below. Dinsmoor has also noted that the rate, 5 dr. per tetrapody, is that paid for the *θέσις* of the blocks of the frieze. He suggests, therefore, that the item records the laying of three frieze blocks eight feet long on the south wall, the rate per tetrapody being here given once for all, and restores *ὀκτώποδας* in line 1. Against this theory is the fact that there is no mention of backing-stones, as for all the other frieze blocks listed. His restoration is, however, accepted here as being the more probable one.

Line 4. The second item has to do with the laying of frieze blocks, as is clear from the dimensions, height two feet, thickness one foot. The length can be calculated from the price paid. Five blocks cost 37 dr. 2 ob. One block, therefore, would cost 7 dr. 3 ob.¹ This is the price paid for the *θέσις* of a block six feet long on the east front (l. 21). The restoration *ἡέκποδας* at the end of line 3 fits the traces on the stone satisfactorily.

Line 6. The price paid is one-third of that paid for a six-foot block. We may therefore follow Frickenhaus in his ingenious correction of the text which is here manifestly confused.

Line 7. Schoene read after *ἀντιθέματα* the letters .ΟΞΤ . . . ~. Washburn gives ~ΟΞΤ ~ here, and ~< ~ΟΓ in line 32 where the same formula occurs. On this basis Frickenhaus restored in both places *ἀντιθέματα τῶ στοίχο*. But the third letter cannot be ξ. In both cases there are traces of γ. The correct reading is *ἀντιθέματα τούτοις*, as in line 24. After this there is space for one or at most two letters. Presumably the number of blocks, :||:, is to be restored here.

τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς. On this phrase see the commentary on II, col. ii, l. 73, p. 317.

Line 8. The material, Pentelic marble, is specified here and in line 32, because most of the *ἀντιθέματα* on the north and south walls were of a different material.

¹ The total was probably 37 dr. 3 ob., the figures || in l. 5 being an error for |||.

Line 12. The restoration *μεταχσú* here and in line 36 is due to Washburn. Frickenhaus restored *χσυλ[ινον]*. This is to be corrected to *χσúλ[ον]* to make room for the article *τὸ*, traces of which are visible before *Αἰγιναίο* in line 13.

Line 14. *πλά[τος]*. Schoene and Washburn read *ῥύ[φος]*. But the letters Γ Λ Α are clear. The word is more naturally used of blocks which are approximately square in section, *ῥψος* being generally used in describing thin slabs set on end. The use of *πλάτος* in line 25 is also significant, as will appear below.

Line 21. *τῶι πρὸς τὸ βομόδ.* The columns of the East Portico are described as *τὸν κατὰ τὸν βομόν* in XVII, col. I, ll. 36, 64, *τὸν παρὰ τὸν βομόν*, *ibid.*, col. II, l. 48. The altar has generally been identified with the great altar of Athena, northeast of the Parthenon.¹

ἐκποδα. There is no room for the aspirate, which is also lacking in *ἐκαστον* (l. 16, and probably l. 35), *ἐμιδράχμο* (l. 18), *ἐμισυ* (l. 28), as well as seven times in inscriptions IX–XII. In general this account shows care in the use of the aspirate, in contrast to the account of the following year.

Line 27. *[τε]τραποδί[αν μία]ν καὶ ἔμ[ι]σιν.* Washburn read ONKAI at the beginning of line 28. On the basis of this Frickenhaus restored *[τε]τραποδία[s II, τρι]δὲν καὶ ἔ[μι]σιν*, to which the following objections may be urged: (1) There is not room at the end of line 27 for the numeral II, nor for four letters before N in line 28. (2) We should expect *ἐμίσεος*, not *ἐμισυ*. (3) We should expect after *ἐμισυ* (*ἐμίσεος*) the words *τὲν τετραποδίαν ἐκάσταν* (cf. ll. 2, 19).

IX, lines 6, 7. The restoration seems certain. There are remains of the final letter of *θέσεος*, and *-εργασίας κεφάλαιον* exactly fills the space in line 7.

Line 7. Lolling read Γ††††; but the remains indicate rather Γ††††. The sum spent for work on all four walls was thus 347 dr. 2 ob. Of this 285 dr. 1 ob. were spent on the south, east, and north walls. The remaining 62 dr. 1 ob. were spent on the west wall; the items were recorded in the gap between VIII and IX.

Lines 8, 9. *λί[[θον ἀριθμὸς :ΔΓ†††:]*. This restoration, proposed by Dinsmoor (*l.c.*, p. 252), is to be preferred to *λί[θοι Ἑλευσινιακοὶ :-:]* suggested in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, p. 322, and adopted in *I.G.*, I², 373. The number, however, is not certain. Fourteen frieze blocks were laid on the south, east, and north walls; that some were laid on the west wall also can be inferred from the number of *ἀντιθέματα*.

Line 9. The number of Pentelic backers is six, two each on the south, east, and north walls, not four as given in *Ath. Mitt.*, *l.c.*, p. 322 and in *I.G.*, I², 373. The correction is due to Dinsmoor.

Frickenhaus restores *[— — λίθο Αἰ]γιναίο [. . .] II*. But there is not space for *λίθο*, and the final *ο* of *Αἰγιναίο* is not visible. We must read *Αἰ]γιναι̃[α — —] II*. Sixteen Aeginetan backing-stones were laid on the south, east, and north walls. The number given here was

¹ On the site of this altar, see also Ch. V, p. 442, note 1.

greater — at least twenty-two. Dinsmoor formerly read $\angle[\Delta]\Gamma\Pi$; he now (1926) reads $\angle\Gamma\Pi$; but I was unable to see the remains of Γ when I re-examined the inscription in 1921.

The contents of the inscription may be summed up as follows:

Θέσις

Line	Wall	Kind of block	Material	Number of		Dimensions				Price		Workman
				blocks	feet	μῆκος	ὕψος	πλάτος	πάχος	per block	total	
1	South	Frieze	Eleusinian	3	24	8	2	..	1	dr. ob. 10	dr. ob. 30	Simon
4	"	"	"	5	30	6	2	..	1	7, 3	37, 3	"
5	"	"	"	1	2	2	2	..	1	2, 3	2, 3	"
7	"	Backing	Pentelic	2	7½	3¾	2	..	¾	2, 4	5, 2	"
12	"	"	Aeginetan	8	32	4	..	2	1½	2, 5	22, 4	"
21	East	Frieze	Eleusinian	1	6	6	2	..	1	7, 3	7, 3	Simias
23	"	Backing	Pentelic	2	8	4	..	2	¾	3	6	"
29	North	Frieze	Eleusinian	4	32	8	2	..	1	10	40	Phalakros
31	"	Backing	Pentelic	2	8	4	2	..	¾	3	6	"
35	"	"	Aeginetan	8	32	4	..	2	1½	2, 5	22, 4	"
Total.....											180, 1	

Ἔπεργασία

Line	Wall	Number of tetrapodies	Number of feet	Price per tetrapody	Total	Workman employed
17	South, frieze	14	56	dr. ob. 3, 3	dr. ob. 49	—kros living in Ko— Simias Phalakros
27	East, frieze	1½	6	3, 3	5, 2	
41	North, frieze	14	56	3, 3	49	
Total.....						103, 2

It remains to determine the positions of these blocks on the three walls. The Aeginetan backing-stones "between the beams" are manifestly to be brought into connection with the wooden ceiling of the interior. Those of Pentelic marble must then be assigned to the East Portico the ceiling of which was of marble. Since the epistyle and the frieze are preserved on the east and south sides of the portico, and the positions of the ceiling beams are known from cuttings on the epistyle, it is possible to determine with certainty the positions of the backers. On the south and north sides there was exactly space for antithemata of the given thickness, three-quarters of a foot, between the frieze and the first ceiling beam. The length of the space to be filled is about eight feet, measuring from the inner face of the east frieze to the inner face of the front wall of the building. This is half a foot more than the combined length of the two antithemata on the south wall (a, b in Fig. 187). The cor-

responding marble antithemata on the north wall, **c**, **d**, are together eight feet long, and thus fill the space satisfactorily. These blocks were correctly located by Frickenhaus, *l.c.*, pl. IV.

On the East Façade the inscription records the laying of one frieze block six feet long and two marble antithemata identical in size with those on the north wall. There is, however, no room to place these slabs face to face with the frieze blocks. The space behind the frieze was, to the height of one foot and a quarter, taken up almost entirely by the ends of the ceiling beams and the interbeams, as is shown in PLATE XVII.¹ The space above these, however, was filled by a special course of stone, the height of which, three-quarters of a foot, exactly corresponds with one of the dimensions of the antithemata of the inscription. It is evident, therefore, that the backing-stones were laid horizontally as shown in Figure 188. Their ends fitted against the blocks of the frieze which were specially dressed to receive them. A confirmation of the correctness of this arrangement is afforded by the phraseology of the inscription. The dimension "two feet" is called *πλάτος* (l. 25), whereas in the case of the frieze blocks, which were placed vertically, it is called *ῥῆος* (ll. 4, 5, 22, 30). Figure 187 shows the antithemata restored (**e-l**). Seven of them (**e-k**) were four feet long; the remaining space at the north would be filled by a block two feet and a half long (l). This is proved conclusively by the cuttings in the frieze blocks for the clamps which held them to the backing (Fig. 12). Two further bits of evidence are to be noted. (1) As has been stated above, the inner faces of the frieze blocks are dressed to receive the ends of the backers. At a point 0.20 m. from the south end of block **D** there is a change in this dressing, indicating a joint between two backers. This point corresponds with the joint between blocks **f** and **g** of the backing. (2) One of the preserved interbeams has a dowel hole in its upper surface near the north end. The antithemata, which, like the frieze blocks, were laid from south to north, would also be dowelled at their north ends. The dowel in the interbeam thus corresponds with that in one of the blocks **f**, **h**, or **j**.

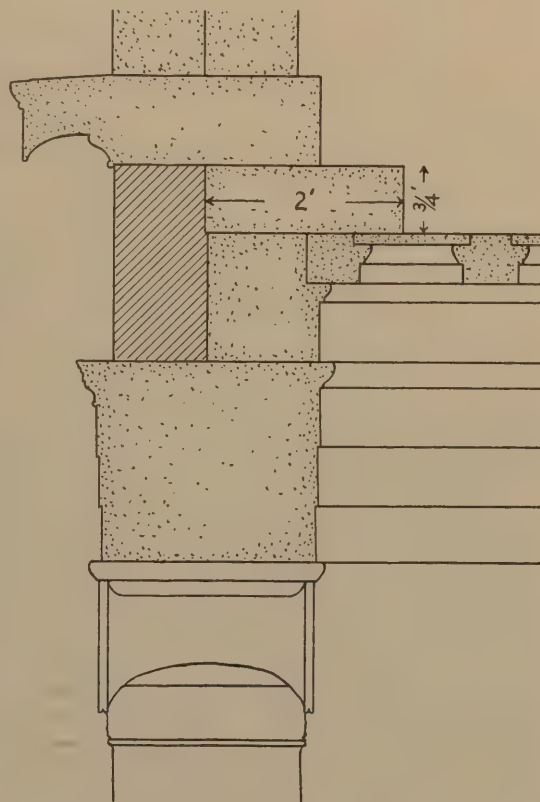


FIGURE 188. SECTION THROUGH EAST ENTABLATURE, SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE MARBLE ANTITHEMATA

¹ For a description of the ceiling of the East Portico, see Ch. I, pp. 27-30.

It is not possible to identify with absolute certainty the three blocks laid during the prytany. But if, as seems probable, they were the last stones laid on the east front the range of probabilities is limited. The frieze block at the southeast corner (A) was dowelled at both ends, showing that it was laid before the adjoining blocks on the east and south walls. Blocks C–F have dowel holes at their north ends, indicating that they were laid in order from south to north. Block G has dowel holes in both ends, but apparently only that in the north end was used, for the position of two pry-holes in the epistyle block in the British Museum shows that they were cut to aid in setting block F, to the south (p. 23, note 3). It seems probable, therefore, that block G was the last stone laid on the east front. In that case the two antithemata would be j and k, if the dimensions are stated exactly, or k and l, if the reduced length of the latter is disregarded in the inscription — the less probable alternative.¹

The position and shape of the “backers between the beams, of Aeginetan stone”² have to be determined without any help from the remains. According to the inscription the width of the frieze course, composed of the Eleusinian slabs and their Aeginetan backers, was two feet and a half. Frickenhaus, *l.c.*, p. 8, pl. IV, held that the Aeginetan backers belonged only to the western compartment, and that they were made wider in order to increase the bearing surface for the ends of the main ceiling beams, which he supposed here to have run north and south. The beams would rest in cuttings in the antithemata, which could then be described as *μεταξὺ τῶν ξύλων*. But this theory must be rejected since it is inconceivable that in the Erechtheum blocks of poros should have been placed where they would be visible. The phrase “between the beams” can be interpreted in two ways: (1) The backers were placed at intervals, with spaces left between them for the ends of the ceiling beams which were laid across the building from north to south. (2) The backers were placed in a continuous line, with cuttings in them to receive the ends of beams running north and south, or with a continuous cutting in the lower part of their inner face to give space for one beam running east and west (see Fig. 187). The choice between these alternatives depends upon the restoration of the wooden ceilings — a problem which admits of no certain solu-

¹ For further discussion of the east frieze, see Ch. I, pp. 23, 24.

² Aeginetan stone is mentioned in a number of inscriptions from Eleusis, — *I.G.*, I, Suppl. 288a, p. 145, l. 7 = I², 336, *λίθων τομῇ Αἰγιναιῶν καὶ Στειριάθεν*; 225c, p. 168, B, col. II, l. 23 = I², 313, col. II, l. 92, *Αἰγιναιῶι*; *I.G.*, II, 5, 834b, col. I, l. 98, *σφόνδυλοι Αἰγιναιῶι παλαιοί*; 1054b, l. 7, *λίθους τεμείν ἐξ Αἰγίνης [τῆς μαλακῆς πέτρας]*; *I.G.*, II, 834b, col. I, l. 52, *Αἰγιναιῶι λίθοι οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρουραίου κείμενοι*. This last passage is of importance for identifying the stone. The inner face of the wall referred to is built, in its lower courses, of conglomerate (*ἀρουραῖος λίθος*, cf. Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXI, 1906, p. 149); above, both faces are composed of blocks of poros seemingly identical with that quarried at the Piraeus, and called *Ἀκτίτης λίθος*. For the occurrence of this stone on Aegina, see Washington, *A Petrographical Sketch of Aegina and Methana*, p. 6, “This shoreland (North and Northwest), which is of late tertiary age, is composed of horizontal beds of marl and a soft, cream-colored limestone such as is known throughout Greece as ‘Poros stone’ (*πώριος λίθος*).” Cf. also Schoene, *Hermes*, IV, 1869, p. 140. The temple of Aphaia is built of this native stone; cf. Fiechter, in Furtwängler, *Aegina: das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, p. 21. A number of quarries are situated close to the water’s edge, and it would have been an easy matter to tumble the blocks into boats and float them to a point nearer to the Acropolis than the quarries of Piraeus. According to the testimony of an Athenian contractor, Aeginetan stone is lighter and softer than that from Akte, and therefore preferable for parts above the foundations.

tion. In this book the theory is accepted that the main ceiling beams of the western compartment ran east and west, with an intermediate support furnished by a great north and south girder placed at the level of the epistyle.¹ The antithemata could not here be placed literally "between the beams." In the East Cella the shorter span is from east to west. But L. B. Holland has proposed to restore the ceiling with the main beams running north and south in three bays, supported by two east and west girders at the level of the epistyle. His theory furnishes an explanation of three blocks mentioned in the report of 409 B.C. for which a position could not be found on the exterior walls. They are a block ranging with the epicranitis, ten feet long, one foot and a half high, and two blocks ranging with the epistyle, four feet long, one foot and a quarter wide (II, col. I, ll. 22-28). The length of the former is one-third of the inner width of the East Cella. It may have been placed in the centre of the rear wall of the cella, with the two four-foot blocks of the epistyle course centred above it, as shown in Figure 189, filling the space between the two girders.²

¹ For the construction of the western ceiling and roof, see Ch. I, pp. 76, 154; Figs. 49, 111.

² This restoration of the ceiling of the East Cella, although providing a place for the hitherto unplaced ἀντίμοροι, is yet open to certain objections which militate against its unqualified acceptance, without however, rendering it untenable as a possible solution of a troublesome problem.

(1) It is difficult to find any satisfactory architectural reason for the presence of the two large wooden beams, running east and west, at the level of the epistyle. Such a combination of wood and marble in the same course is stylistically objectionable, unless it can be justified by constructive requirements. This is the case in the western part of the building, where the great transverse beam was demanded as an intermediate support both by the length of the span (30 ft.) and by the weight of the marble roof. Here no such necessity existed. The span (22 ft.) was not excessive and the weight to be supported, being only that of a wooden ceiling, was slight. Under these circumstances such heavy beams — as large as the great western beam and larger than the ridge pole of the North Portico which bore a marble roof — seem uncalled for. We should rather expect a construction similar to that in the western division (Fig. 187) with smaller beams, running east and west, resting on the epistyle, although, of course, the spacing of these beams need not have been the same in the two divisions. Furthermore, as here restored, the central section of the ceiling is only eight feet wide, while the north and south sections are each nine feet — a curious anomaly, since, if the three sections were not equal in width, the central section, above the statue of the goddess and therefore of greater importance, would naturally have been the wider. But, against these objections, it may be remarked that the use of the two large beams would permit a *lighter* ceiling construction above them; and the ends of the beams would rest on the east wall between the door and each window, and thus be firmly supported.

The undesirable combination of wood and marble in the same course could be avoided by restoring marble architraves, resting on interior columns, in place of the heavy wooden beams, but this hypothesis seems excluded by the report of the Commissioners of 409 B.C. (II, col. I, ll. 40-43), which shows that any such columns and architraves, if they existed, were already in place, and that consequently the epicranitis beneath the architrave must also have already been laid and, therefore, could not have figured in the list of missing blocks.

(2) The introduction of a block ten feet long in the centre of the epicranitis is inconsistent with the normal system of jointing in the Erechtheum, whereby in the walls each course breaks joints symmetrically with the course below, and furthermore calls for blocks of three different lengths in the epicranitis itself (Fig. 189) — unless indeed we may suppose that this course was composed of three blocks each ten feet long. In the epistyle, although the two blocks four feet long apparently restore the regular jointing, there is no structural reason for their employment in place of a single eight-foot block, such as on the side walls corresponds to the two plinths in the course below the epicranitis (PLATE XIV).

(3) There is no obvious explanation for the use of ἀντίμοροι at all in the east cross-wall. The traces on the side walls show clearly that below the epicranitis the blocks in each course were the full width of the wall (Ch. I, p. 147), and it seems strange that this solid construction should have been abandoned in the centre of the two upper courses, where the weight of ceiling and of roof bore most heavily. So far as the evidence is preserved, it appears that, except in the case of the orthostates in the north and south walls, blocks less than the full thickness of the wall were used only where there was a distinct difference between the two faces of the wall (Ch. I, pp. 48, 50).

(4) Finally, it is not easy to reconcile the position here assigned to the ἀντίμοροι with the language of the report

Two possible arrangements of the ceiling beams are shown in Figures 187 and 189. In the southern bay five beams are restored, spaced four feet apart, allowing room for two rows of four coffers in each space. The spaces between the ends of the five beams are filled by four Aeginetan backers (**m, n, o, p**). The jointing of the cornice (indicated in dotted lines) shows that these four backers would furnish a secure bed for it. The remaining four Aeginetan blocks would follow west of the cross-wall (**q, r, s, t**). In Figure 187 one backer has been placed behind each of the six-foot frieze blocks, **N, O, P, Q**, and a fifth, **u**, behind the frieze block **R**, extending to the west face of the metopon. In the northern bay the ends of the beams are assumed to have been inserted in cuttings in the backers, which would then be laid in a continuous line. The eight Aeginetan blocks laid on the north wall may have occupied the positions marked **v, w, x, y, z, aa, bb, cc**.

In Figure 187 the three frieze blocks eight feet long, placed on the south wall during this prytany, are given the positions **K, L, M**, next to the two blocks *in situ* at the east end which have different dimensions (**A, B**). The five blocks six feet long, **N, O, P, Q, R**, follow to the west. The space remaining at the west end of the wall would be filled by the two-foot block, **S**, and a corner block, **T**, of about the same length as the corresponding block at the east end. **T**, like **A** and **B**, had presumably been placed in the first prytany. The two-foot block, **S**, may have been the last stone laid. It is noteworthy that the length of top surface dressed, fourteen tetrapodies, corresponds exactly with the combined lengths of blocks **K-S**.

The length of the block, or blocks, previously laid at the east end of the north wall is not known. In Figure 187 two blocks, **H, J**, similar to **A, B** on the south wall, are restored. Next to these may have come the four eight-foot blocks, **U, V, W, X**, whose placing is recorded in the inscription. The length of top surface dressed, fourteen tetrapodies, fifty-six instead of thirty-two feet, suggests that twenty-four feet of frieze had been placed in the previous prytany, but had not received its *ἐπεργασία*.

In Figure 187 Aeginetan backing-stones of the same dimensions have been assigned to the west wall on the evidence of IX, l. 9, where the total number of Aeginetan blocks laid during the prytany is recorded. The number cannot be restored with certainty; but it was higher than sixteen, and therefore must have included some blocks on the west wall as well

of 409 B.C. We have seen that all the other missing blocks (with the exception of the southern block in the west epistyle) can be assigned their places in regular succession at the west end of the south wall, and in view of the generally clear and systematic enumeration of the Commissioners, it is strange that they should here include three blocks from the centre of an inside wall without any intimation of their position. The natural inference from the later statement of the report (II, col. 1, ll. 40-43) is rather that, except near the southwest corner, the walls were complete, including the epistyle, and this inference is strengthened by the passage referring to the inner walls (ll. 69-76), which certainly leaves the impression that all that remained to be done was to smooth part of the mouldings. Yet the listing of these abnormal blocks shows that they were actually used in the building, and it must be admitted that the attempt to find a more probable position for them, whether in the unfinished part of the south wall or elsewhere, has encountered even greater difficulties and more serious objections than those which have been urged against the restoration suggested in the text; no satisfactory alternative has, in fact, yet been presented, and in our opinion the question here discussed must remain for the present without a definitive answer. [*J.M.P.*; *G.P.S.*]

as those on the north and south. In the drawing six blocks four feet long (**dd-ii**) are shown. The remainder of the frieze at the south end of the wall could not have had a backing, since the epistyle was here only one foot and a quarter wide. The total number of Aeginetan antithemata would thus be twenty-two. Dinsmoor formerly believed it to have been still greater, perhaps twenty-seven, and suggested that some Aeginetan stones may have been placed on the cross-wall in this prytany; he has now (1926) reduced the number to seventeen (p. 347).

IX, ll. 10–28. *Woodwork*. The second part of inscription IX, lines 10–28, records payments to sawyers and carpenters. The heading to be restored at the beginning of line 10 is probably *μισθόματα*. Cf. XI, col. III, l. 25, *τέκτοσι μισθόματα καὶ καθεμερίσια*. In line 13 [*καὶ συνέργ*]ο[ι]s is to be restored; cf. XIII, col. I, l. 33, *Ραιδίοι ἐν Κολλυτῶι οἰκῶντι καὶ συνέργοι*. The payments were made to two men only, the plural form, *συνέργοις*, implying that the assistant varied during the twelve days. Rhadios occurs as a sawyer also in XI, col. III, l. 37 and XIII, col. I, ll. 33, 40.

Lines 10–19. An attempt has been made by Frickenhaus, *A.J.A.*, X, 1906, pp. 12, 13, pl. IV, to use the timbers mentioned in lines 13–19 for the restoration of the ceiling of the East Cella. The restorations [ῥυ]μός, l. 14, [ΡΔΔΔΙ]ΙΙΙ, l. 15, ΔΔΓ†[††], l. 17, and [τετρα]καιείκοσι, l. 18, are due to him. The term *ῥυμός* seems to denote a beam of some special shape or variety, probably an unsquared log.¹ The restorations of the numbers 84 (l. 15) and 28 (ll. 16, 17) seem certain since they fit the space satisfactorily and are multiples of fourteen. In line 18 Kirchhoff restored [έννεα]καιείκοσι, Michaelis [τετταρα]καιείκοσι. A position can more easily be found on the building for a beam twenty-four feet long than for one twenty-nine feet long, but there is not space for seven letters before *καὶ*. Frickenhaus therefore writes [τετρα]καιείκοσι, which has been adopted in the text.

The East Cella was twenty-two feet deep. A beam twenty-four feet long would thus be of the right length to span this space, allowing a bearing surface of one foot at each end. The beam mentioned could therefore be one of the main beams of the roof (Michaelis, *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, p. 359), or one of the main beams of the ceiling, as Frickenhaus supposes. According to him the five cuts (*τομαί*) indicate that one large timber was sawn into five beams, which formed the main beams of the cella, running east and west, as shown in his drawing, *l.c.*, pl. IV. The eight-foot *ῥυμοί* would be of approximately the right length to serve as cross-beams. According to him fourteen *ῥυμοί* sawn six times would produce eighty-four cross-beams. But there are two flaws in this explanation: (1) Frickenhaus fails to show how the timber twenty-four feet long could be sawn five times to produce five beams, and how each of the fourteen *ῥυμοί* could be sawn six times

¹ Cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², 587, l. 307, *ξύλα πτελέινα μονόβολα ὧν παρελάβομεν κατεχρησάμεθα εἰς τὴν τροχιλείαν ΔΔΓ†*. *ἕτερα δίβολα ΙΙΙ†*. *ἕτερα ῥυμεία μελέινα μονόβολα ΔΔ*. *ἕτερον δίβολον Ι*. *ἕτεροι ῥυμοί δίβολα ΔΔΓ*. *ἕτερα ῥυμεία μονόβολα Γ†*. The word has among other meanings that of carriage pole. This suggests that the *ῥυμοί* of the inscription were round logs which had not yet been hewn or sawn into their final shape.

to produce eighty-four cross-beams. (2) There would be twenty-one or more cross-beams in each bay. As the depth of the cella was only twenty-two feet, this arrangement leaves no room for the coffers between the cross-beams, for the existence of which there is clear evidence (see p. 365). It seems impossible to bring the eight-foot $\rho\nu\mu\omicron\iota$ into connection with the ceiling of the East Cella, whereas, as will appear below, the beams into which they were sawn were of the length required for the rafters of the roof over that part of the temple. This roof appears to have been laid in 409/8 B.C. Its $\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, or cross-pieces, are mentioned in XI, col. III, ll. 16 ff., and the laying of tiles over at least a portion of it seems to be recorded *ibid.*, ll. 26 ff. We may therefore, with Michaelis, assign the twenty-four foot beam and the eight-foot $\rho\nu\mu\omicron\iota$ to this roof. The former may have been the ridge beam ($\kappa\omicron\rho\nu\phi\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$), which was of this length, and had its upper surface inclined in two directions. A round log, could be sawn five times to produce a beam of the required shape as shown in Figure 190 A.

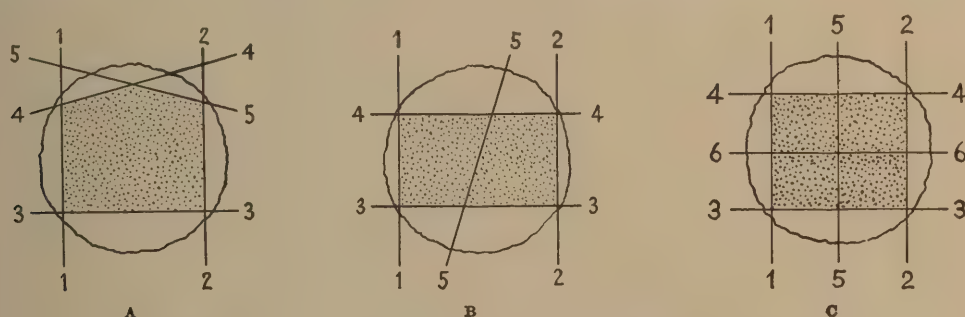


FIGURE 190. DIAGRAMS ILLUSTRATING THE SAWING OF TIMBERS

But another explanation of the five “cuts” is also possible. The distance from the ridge to the cornice on the north and south walls is great enough to warrant the restoration of a purlin on each side. The roof over the western compartment had such purlins, if a cutting in a preserved block of the west cornice has been correctly interpreted.¹ The cutting is situated, not, as would be expected, half way between the north wall and the apex of the roof, but considerably nearer to the wall. This was due to the complicated construction of the ceiling and roof over the western compartment, with its great girder at the level of the epistyle, supported by a strut at each side.² The purlins were probably placed above the junction of the struts with the girder (Fig. 49). The East Cella required no such north and south girder, and it is reasonable to assume that the purlins were in the normal position—half way between the ridge beam and the cornice (PLATE XVII). There would then be on each side two rows of rafters eight feet long, i.e., of the length of the $\rho\nu\mu\omicron\iota$ in the inscription. The twenty-four foot timber could be sawn five times to produce the two purlins as shown in Figure 190 B. Since the eight-foot timbers are one-third as long as the twenty-four foot timbers, and the cost of each cut of the former is one-third that of the latter, it is likely that the shorter logs were of the same diameter as the twenty-four foot log.

¹ See Ch. I, pp. 74f.

² See Ch. I, pp. 76, 154.

They could be sawn six times to produce rafters of reasonable thickness in the manner shown in Figure 190 c. The fourteen ῥυμοί would produce fifty-six eight-foot rafters, or enough for fourteen rows on each side of the roof. The spacing of the rafters will be discussed below in the commentary on XI, col. III, which contains further evidence as to the construction of the roof over the East Cella (pp. 368 f.).

Lines 19–23 deal with the construction of ὀχετοί. They are mentioned also in XXVIII, lines 38 and 43; and the word is perhaps to be restored in X, col. III, l. 30. They seem to have been of some extent, as in XXVIII they are measured in lengths of twenty feet. The word ὀχετός usually designates a water channel. But it is difficult to imagine a use for long water channels of wood in connection with the Erechtheum. A different explanation is proposed by Ebert, *Fachausdrücke des griechischen Bauhandwerks*, p. 50. He refers to an Eleusinian inscription which records the delivery of Macedonian wood εἰς τοὺς ὀχετοὺς τῶν πύ[ργων] καὶ τὰ ὑπερτόνια τοῖς ὀχετοῖς.¹ These ὀχετοί are evidently supports for horizontal beams. He supposes that the horizontal beams formed a gallery around the tower, and that the ὀχετοί were oblique struts with their lower ends fastened into the wall and their upper ends supporting the gallery. As he can find no place in the Erechtheum for such struts, he assumes that they were consoles, or modillions, projecting horizontally from the wall, and supporting the ends of ceiling beams. This explanation is improbable. But the Eleusinian inscription suggests that the ὀχετοί may have been the two struts which supported the heavy girder running north and south in the western compartment. There is, however, the objection that the ὀχετοί are referred to in the plural, whereas there seem to have been but two struts. This interpretation, also, does not account for the measurement in lengths of twenty feet. The problem, therefore, cannot be regarded as solved.

Lines 23–28. Payments for planing (ἀναξέσαντι) and “truing up” (διαρρυθμίσαντι) straight-edges. These were evidently of wood and longer than the stone ones mentioned in VII, line 4, and elsewhere. They are probably similar to those mentioned frequently in the building inscriptions from Lebadeia, *I.G.*, VII, 3073, ll. 107–110, 133–136, 154–155, and especially ll. 182–186.²

X, col. I. *Work on the cornice.* — The restoration of the missing portions is in part due to Frickenhaus (*l.c.*, p. 11). The text given above differs from his in the substitution of πεντέπον for τετράπον (l. 23), of ἑτέρα for γείσα (l. 25), and in the addition of the numerals in lines 23, 25, 29, 32. The inscription contains the account of sums expended for work on the cornice. The blocks recorded are: (1) A certain number, presumably of the normal dimensions, $4 \times 3 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ ft. (2) One block which, from the fact of its being mentioned separately, must have differed in some respect from the others. (3) An angle block measuring $6 \times 3\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ ft. (4) An angle block measuring $7\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ ft. The dimensions of the various cornice blocks are known from II, col. II, ll. 53–72. They are as follows:

¹ Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², 587, ll. 305 ff.

² Cf. above, p. 344, note 1.

	μῆκος	πλάτος	πάχος
Ordinary blocks	4	3	$1\frac{1}{4}$
Angle blocks at east end	6	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$
Angle blocks at west end { A	$7\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$
	B	$3\frac{1}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$

The block referred to in lines 29–32 of the inscription under discussion is evidently identical with block A, and belonged to the west cornice. The heading in lines 19–20 has therefore been correctly restored as ἐπὶ τοῖ τοίχοι τοῖ πρὸς τὸ Πανδροσεῖο, since there is no space below line 20 for a new heading. It follows that all the blocks recorded belong to the west cornice. The angle block mentioned in lines 26–29 cannot, therefore, have been one of the blocks at the east end, as Frickenhaus supposes. It must be identical with block B in the above table, in spite of the discrepancy in width.

The arrangement of the cornice blocks is shown in Figure 191. The angle blocks at the east end were laid with their long sides to the east.¹ Between them there was space for six blocks of the normal length. The arrangement at the west end was different, but like that on the North Portico (PLATES XIII, XIV). The explanation of the abnormal length of block A and the reason for assigning it to the southwest angle with its long face to the south have already been suggested above (p. 307) in the discussion of the niche. As a result of the thinning of the walls at this corner the top surface of the frieze was here only one foot instead of two feet and a half wide, and formed a weak support for the heavy angle cornice. At a point seven feet and a quarter from the west face of the cornice the wall began again to have its regular width. By making the angle block seven feet and a half long it was possible to give it a bearing surface a quarter of a foot wide at its east end on the frieze and its backing. In Figure 191 block B has been placed, like A, with its short face to the west, for the following reasons. If it had been placed with its long face to the west, the space between the two corner blocks would have been twenty-six feet and a half long. This space would be filled by six blocks of the normal length and one block two feet and a half long, or by five normal blocks and one block six feet and a half long. With the other arrangement the space would be twenty-nine feet long, calling for six four-foot blocks and one five-foot block. In both cases one irregular block was necessary. Returning to the inscription we find that a certain number of four-foot blocks are recorded (the number is probably to be restored as six), and one block which differed in some way. The difference must have been in its length, which was, as we have just seen, either $2\frac{1}{2}$, $6\frac{1}{2}$, or 5 feet. There can be

¹ This is proved by dowel cuttings in the frieze, see Ch. I, p. 24; Fig. 12.

its north end on the first Aeginetan backing-stone (cf. above, p. 352, and Fig. 187), thus considerably increasing its stability.

The work on the two angle blocks seems not to have been the *θείσις*, since *θέντι* does not fill the space in lines 28 and 31. The blocks were noted in the report (II, col. II, ll. 66, 71) as being in an unfinished state. The work here recorded was probably the final carving of the mouldings. We may therefore restore, with Frickenhaus, *ἐκποιέσαντι* in both cases, on the analogy of X, col. II, ll. 29, 33, 37.

The only remaining difficulty is caused by the varying widths given for block B. The plan of the cornice on paper calls for a block three feet and a half wide. But, as executed, the stone may have been somewhat narrower, in which case the width, three feet and a quarter, given in the report would be justified.

Dinsmoor's differing restoration of the west cornice is discussed below, p. 361.

X, col. II. *Work on the pediments*.—The first five lines contain the end of the account of one prytany and the beginning of that of the succeeding one. These would be the third and fourth or the fourth and fifth, according as one assumes inscription VIII A to belong to the second or the third prytany. The name to be restored in lines 4, 5 is perhaps *Ἀμεινιάδο*, the treasurer of the funds of Athena in 408/7 B.C., as is known from *I.G.*, I, 138, l. 1 (*I*², 253, l. 265). But, as in the following year, the member of the board who had special charge of the funds used for the Erechtheum need not have been its chairman. The restoration is therefore not certain.

The account records work on the pediment blocks of the east and west gables of the main building and their backing-stones. The terms used to designate the various blocks are easily intelligible, though they are not found elsewhere with these special meanings. The *κορυφαῖος* is evidently the central block.¹ The blocks next to it on either side were described as *πρὸς* (l. 13) or *ὑπὸ* (l. 31) *τῷ κορυφαίῳ*. The pediments ended with two wedge-shaped blocks, *κερκιδιαῖοι*. The work done during the prytany, referred to as *τὸ ἔλλοιπὸν ἔργον*, lines 11, 16, and described by the participle *ἐκποιέσαντι*, lines 29, 33, 37, must have been the chiselling down and finishing of the visible and contact surfaces of the stones which had been only roughly blocked out at the quarries.

Line 34. Lolling gives here [*Ἐρ*]μαγ[*όραι*] *Ἀθ*[*μ*]: [*τ*]: *υπεταῖο*. Michaelis (J.-M., *App. Ep.*, p. 103) writes [*·*]μαγαθ . . . : *υπεταῖο*. Formerly (*Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, p. 350) he restored [*Ἐρ*]μαγ. *Ἀθ*[*μ. οἰκ.*] *ὑπεταῖον*, explaining *ὑπεταῖος* as the equivalent of *ὁ πρὸς* (*ὑπὸ*) *τῷ κορυφαίῳ*. Fabricius (quoted *ibid.*, p. 352, note 1) derived the word from an unknown root, *ὑπέτη*, which he interpreted as the name for a beam parallel to the ridge beam, and situated between it and the side walls, i.e., a purlin. The ends of such a beam would be let into the *ὑπεταῖοι* as the *κορυφαῖον* was let into the *κορυφαῖοι*. But this explanation is far-fetched. Kirchhoff's reading, . . μαγαθ[*οι* Χσ]*υπεταῖο* gives a simple and satisfactory solution of the

¹ Cf. the use of *κορυφαῖον* to denote the ridge beam of a roof, *I.G.*, II, 1054, ll. 49, 52.

problem. The deme name is, of course, in the dative, the final syllable (*νι*) having been omitted by the stonecutter.¹

Line 35. There is room after the numeral Δ for another letter. Whether the number was ΔΔ or ΔΓ or Δ† must remain uncertain.

Line 43. The restoration [τ]ῆς Δι[όνες] is due to Lolling. Michaelis (*Ath. Mitt.*, *l.c.*) restored these lines as follows:

[ἐπὶ τοῖς] κατὰ [τὸν βωμὸν κίοσιν· τὸν πρὸς τοῦ βωμοῦ τ]ῆς Δι[ώνης] — — — κί]ονα ΙΓ. But this gives too many letters to line 43.

The facts gained from the inscription may be conveniently summarized as follows:

Gable	Designation of blocks	Number of blocks	Number of backers	Dimensions		
				μῆκος	πλάτος	πάχος
East	κορυφαῖος	1	1	5	3½	1
“	οἱ πρὸς τῷ κορυφαῖοι	2	2	7	3	1
“	κερκιδιαῖοι	2	2	5	1½	1
West	κορυφαῖος	1	..	4	4	1½
“	οἱ ὑπὸ τῷ κορυφαῖοι	1	1	7	3	1
“	κερκιδιαῖοι	1	1	5	1½	1

Some αἰετιαῖοι are also mentioned in the report, II, col. II, ll. 73–79, as half-worked. They are as follows:

6 blocks. μῆκος 7, πλάτος 3½, πάχος 1
 2 “ “ 5, “ 3½, “ 1

The two five-foot blocks are evidently the κορυφαῖος and its backer of the east gable. Similarly the six seven-foot blocks must be identical with the six blocks πρὸς (ὑπὸ) τῷ κορυφαῖοι in the preceding table, in spite of the discrepancy in height. The heights of the κορυφαῖοι on the east and west gables are given as three feet and a half and four feet respectively. These variations are due to the fact that the dimensions are given in round numbers. PLATE XXI and Figure 191 show the two gables restored. The slope of the gable is assumed to have been 1:4, like that of the North Portico; confirmation of this is furnished by a preserved tympanum block belonging to the Roman rebuilding of the West Façade.² The apex of the gable would thus be about three feet and three-quarters high, or halfway between the heights given for the κορυφαῖοι. The greatest height of the adjoining blocks would then be a little more than three feet in the east gable, and nearly three feet and a quarter in the west, so that again both dimensions given would be approximately correct. The height of the κερκιδιαῖοι in both gables would be almost exactly one foot and a half.

¹ A workman from Xypete, [—Χσ]υπεταίων, is mentioned in X, col. III, ll. 38, 39.

² See Ch. I, p. 75.

Dowel holes in preserved portions of the horizontal cornice of the east front confirm the restoration of the east tympanum shown in PLATE XXI.¹

The outer angles of the tympanum were half a foot beyond the ends of the *κερκidiaiōi* in the east gable, one foot in the west. The small, wedge-shaped spaces remaining would be filled by special stones, or, as in the Parthenon, by projections left on the angle blocks of the raking cornice.

The *κορυφαῖος* of the west gable differed from that of the east in three particulars: (1) it was four instead of five feet long; (2) it was one foot and a half instead of one foot thick; (3) it had no backing. A reasonable explanation of these differences is as follows: With a five-foot block the joints of the *αἰετιαῖοι* would have coincided with those of the cornice in four places (marked *a, b, c, d* in Fig. 191). By using a four-foot block this fault was avoided in every case. The thickness of the *κορυφαῖος* and the absence of a backing are probably due to an effort to reduce the weight carried by the epistyle in the southern half of the West Façade. As can be seen in the restored elevation (PLATE XIII) the door in the west wall came under the second column from the south, which carried half the weight of the second and third epistyle blocks. The reduction of the thickness of the *κορυφαῖος* from two feet to one foot and a half would decrease the weight borne by the third epistyle. Similarly the reduction of the block *ὑπὸ τῷ κορυφαίῳ* would lessen the weight borne by the second epistyle. A still stronger reason existed for lightening the *κερκidiaῖος* at the south end of the pediment, since it was above the first epistyle block which, as has been shown above, was of only half the normal width. It seems likely, therefore, that the two blocks south of the *κορυφαῖος* resembled it in being one foot and a half thick and in not having backing-stones. This accounts for the fact that only six of the normal blocks *ὑπὸ τῷ κορυφαίῳ* and six normal *κερκidiaῖοι* instead of eight are mentioned in the inscription. The work on the two missing blocks was probably left to be done in a later prytany.

The restoration of the west cornice and tympanum given above was published in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, pp. 334 ff., and has been criticized by W. B. Dinsmoor (*A.J.A.*, *l.c.*, pp. 253 ff.). He there proposes a different solution of the problem. He accepts the location of the southwest angle block of the cornice with its long face to the south, but prefers to place the northwest angle block in the normal position, with its long face to the west. This leaves room between the two angle blocks for five blocks of the normal length, four feet, and one block six feet and a half long, next to the southwest corner. This latter block might be listed as seven feet long; and the word *ἑπτάπουν* fits the space in inscription X, col. I, l. 23, as well as *πεντέπον*. The combined length of the cornice blocks according to this arrangement would be $6 + (5 \times 4) + 7 + 3\frac{1}{2}$, or $36\frac{1}{2}$ feet, whereas the total length of the east cornice ($6 + (6 \times 4) + 6$) is 36 feet. To account for this discrepancy Dinsmoor resorts unnecessarily to a complicated calculation of the length of the foot used by the

¹ On the restoration of the east pediment from the evidence furnished by the existing cornice blocks, see Ch. I, pp. 24-27.

architect and the theoretical and actual lengths of the blocks. The theoretical length of the west cornice, thirty-six feet, can be more simply arrived at by assuming that the west face of the southwest corner block was actually only three feet and a quarter long, and that the adjoining block was six feet and three-quarters long. The dimensions three feet and a half and seven feet would be accurate enough for the purposes of the account. In favor of his restoration he urges that it leaves the normal jointing system of the cornice undisturbed except at the southwest corner, and that the problem caused by the thin walls here is solved in the simplest manner by suppressing a joint on the south and shifting a joint on the west. A further argument in its favor is that the seven-foot block has a bearing surface two feet and a half long at its north end on the full width of the frieze course, whereas a five-foot block would have a bearing surface of only half a foot. Dinsmoor also holds that the southwest corner block was actually only seven feet and a quarter long, and thus did not extend even a quarter of a foot over the metopon. He supposes that the frieze block under it was two feet thick, with its soffit exposed in the niche, as along the west side of the southwest wing of the Propylaea.

The reduction in width of the *κορυφαῖος* of the west pediment to four feet was explained above as an expedient to avoid having the joints of the tympanum correspond in four places with those of the cornice. With Dinsmoor's arrangement this problem would not arise. He therefore proposes the following explanation: "It is apparent that the builders of the Erechtheum employed every device known to them to decrease the tremendous strain on the lintel spanning the tomb of Cecrops. A possible device would have been the cantilever system employed in the Propylaea (*A.J.A.*, 1910, pp. 146 ff.); the south *κερκιδία* could have been so designed as to balance itself and its superposed load exactly above the southernmost column, relieving the south anta of much of the weight. Then the *κερκιδία* would have been seven feet in length; to allow for this increased length, the next block and the *κορυφαῖος* would have been reduced, the latter, as we learn from the inscription, to four feet. The north half of the tympanum seems to have remained undisturbed, so that the *κορυφαῖος* would have been centred one half foot north of the axis of the pediment."

There is not sufficient evidence to decide the problem. The solution shown in Figure 191 seems preferable, because it involves no juggling with the recorded dimensions of the cornice blocks, and because it leaves the *κορυφαῖος* of the pediment in the exact centre.

X, col. III. *Work on a Ceiling*.—The remains from column III of inscription X record work on a wooden ceiling. This is clear from the technical terms used (*καλύμματα*, l. 32; *κυματίο*, l. 35) and the names of the workmen (Manis, l. 37; Dromon, l. 40). But a satisfactory restoration of the text is impossible. Inscriptions VB and VII, on the reverse of the Chandler stele, contain specifications for the construction of a ceiling, presumably to be undertaken in 409/8 B.C. Work on a wooden ceiling is described in all the three extant

columns of inscription XI, as well as in the small fragment XII. The account of 408/7 B.C. also includes payments for work on a ceiling of the interior.¹ It is important, therefore, to determine whether all the items in both accounts refer to the same or to different ceilings, and, in the latter case, which ceiling was laid in the first year and which in the second. With these problems is connected the problem of the position of the ancient image, for in XI, col. III, ll. 42–46, is the account of a payment for painting fourteen coffer-lids “upon the ceiling, upon the beams above the image.” This is preceded by an item regarding the building up of the wall of the workshop “after the beams had been carried out.” These beams were evidently of considerable length; they may have been the main beams of a ceiling or the ridge beams and purlins of a roof, which, as appears from lines 15–31, was laid during this prytany. The term *σελῖς*, however, is not found in the sense of roof beam. If the image stood in the East Cella, the roof and the ceiling referred to in the account of 409/8 B.C. must be those of this cella, whether the fourteen coffer-lids belong to the main ceiling or to that of a small aedicula for the image, such as is proposed by Petersen (*Burgtempel*, pp. 115 ff.). If the image stood in the inner of the two western compartments, the roof referred to must belong to the western division of the temple. It cannot be brought into connection with the aedicula, which Holland, in agreement with Petersen, supposes to have housed the image. For, as will appear below, the number of *ἱμάντες*, or cross-pieces, is far too great for this hypothetical aedicula. There is, moreover, reason to believe that the western ceiling, and consequently the roof above it, was not laid till 408/7 B.C. Inscription XIII, col. I, ll. 3 ff., records the laying of ceiling beams (*σελίδες*) including one of a special shape. It is described as a *σελῖς καμπύλη*, or “bent beam,” a name which suggests that it differed from the other beams by its deviation from a straight line. At first sight it seems possible to identify this beam with the great girder running north and south, at the level of the epistyle, above the west cross-wall.² The struts by which it was strengthened would give it a “bent” appearance.³ This girder furnished an intermediate support for the “other beams,” of which there were probably six rows, running east and west—four on the axes of the columns on the west wall, one each next to the north and south walls. Against this identification, however, is the extremely small cost of the work. It is hard to believe that the great transverse beam and the somewhat smaller “other beams” could have all been set in place by six men in a single day; yet this is the natural conclusion to be drawn from the wages paid, a drachma per man. Another interpretation of the “bent beam” has been proposed by L. B. Holland.⁴ He supposes that the niche in the southwest corner of the building was triangular in plan, i.e.,

¹ XIII, col. I, ll. 3–14; 35–41; col. II, ll. 6–20. XVI, col. II, ll. 1–9. XVII, col. II, ll. 1–8; 69–84.

² Ch. I, p. 154; PLATE XV; Figs. 49, 111.

³ See *A.J.A.*, XIV, 1910, p. 296. The identification there proposed has since been abandoned for the reason mentioned in the text.

⁴ See *B.C.H.*, XLVI, 1922, p. 479, for a summary of the paper, read before the American School at Athens, in which this restoration was first proposed.

that the edge of its floor slab ran diagonally from the metopon to the first column on the west wall. The niche was hidden from view by a wooden grille similar to those in the adjoining intercolumniations (cf. the commentary on XI, col. III, ll. 31–34, p. 370). The ceiling beam next to the south wall would thus run east and west as far as the metopon, and continue in a diagonal line, above the grille, to the first column. Such a beam might be called a *σελὶς καμπύλη*, to distinguish it from the other five straight *σελίδες*. According to both these theories the ceiling laid in 408/7 B.C. belonged to the western part of the temple.

The ceiling laid in 408/7 B.C. seems to have differed from that made in the previous year in one particular. Its cofferers were decorated with plastic floral ornaments (*κάλχη, ἄκανθα*), as appears from XVII, col. II, ll. 1–8, where the making of models for such ornaments is recorded, and *ibid.*, ll. 69–85, where payments for the execution of twenty-six of them are noted. If, as seems probable, the fourteen coffer-lids painted in 409/8 B.C. (XI, col. III, ll. 42–46) belonged not to an aedicula but to the main ceiling, it follows that that ceiling had no plastic decoration, except possibly for the *πομφόλυγες*, or bosses mentioned in XI, col. III, l. 34. In other words it was similar in design to the marble ceilings of the East Portico and the Porch of the Maidens, whereas the ceiling constructed in 408/7 B.C. resembled that of the North Portico, which had floral ornaments.¹ The ceiling with painted *καλύμματα* would therefore be that of the East Cella, that with plastic rosettes in the cofferers would belong to the western part of the temple, where, as in the North Portico, the ceiling was at a considerably greater distance above the floor.

The items regarding ceiling construction thus support the theory that the image stood in the East Cella. They cannot, however, be regarded as absolute proof. For the fourteen *καλύμματα* may have belonged to an aedicula standing in the inner of the two western compartments, and the ceiling and roof laid in 409/8 B.C. may have been only the portion above the aedicula. In that case the ceiling laid in 408/7 B.C. would be that above the westernmost compartment, and none of the preserved accounts of either year need refer to the ceiling of the East Cella.

Of the accounts for work on the ceiling, inscription XI, col. II, is the longest and best preserved. But even this passage, studied with the help of the smaller fragments of specifications (V B; VII) and accounts (X, col. III; XI, cols. I and III), does not furnish sufficient data for a restoration of the ceiling. The work described varies somewhat in the different sections of ceiling, and, although certain technical terms and formulae recur repeatedly, the correspondence of the several items is not close enough to make it possible in every case to fill the lacunae. The restored text and translation given above are not therefore to be accepted as certain in every detail.

¹ Its cofferers show holes for their attachment. The coffer-lids of the East Portico are lacking, but the shallowness of the cofferers suggests that they were undecorated except by a painted design. The ground of the cofferers in the Porch of the Maidens was also left plain. See Ch. I, pp. 30, 89, 116; PLATES XVIII, XXIII, XXVI; Fig. 56.

It is safe to assume that the wooden ceilings of the interior bore a general resemblance to the marble ones of the porches. That is, there were main beams supporting coffers of more or less elaborate construction. The main beams were called *σελίδες*. This can be inferred with certainty from the context in XI, col. III, l. 38, which records the rebuilding of the wall of the workshop after the beams had been carried out. The word is apparently used in the same sense in XIII, col. I, ll. 3 ff. Other passages, however, suggest that *σελὶς* was also used to designate the space between two main beams, i.e., one section or compartment, made up of a single or a double row of coffers. So in XI, col. II, l. 22, [ἐς ταύτην τὴν] *σελίδα κλιμακίδα ἐκποιέσαντι* is to be translated: "for making a 'ladder' for this section." Cf. also XI, col. III, ll. 42 ff., *καλύμματα γράφσαντι ΔΙΙΙΙ, ἐπὶ τὴν ὀροφὴν, ἐπὶ τὰς σελίδας τὰς ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀγάλματος*. It was not the beams, but the lids of the coffers in a compartment between two beams which were painted.¹

Upon the *σελίδες* rested the framework of the coffers. If this were made in sections containing two or more openings for coffers, as shown in Figure 192, each section might appropriately be named a *κλιμακίς*, or "ladder." That this term was used for the secondary members of the ceilings appears from VII, l. 12, *τὴν σελίδα καὶ τὰς κλιμακίδας*, and XI, col. II, l. 22, [ἐς ταύτην τὴν] *σελίδα κλιμακίδα ἐκποιέσαντι*. Work on one *κλιμακίς* is recorded in XI, col. I, ll. 38–44. The remains of XI, col. III contain accounts of work on two *σελίδες*, or sections of ceiling, each evidently composed of more than one *κλιμακίς*.

Above the square openings of the *κλιμακίδες* were placed frames, *πλαίσια* (Figs. 189, 193);² cf. VII, l. 2, *τὰ πλαίσια τὰ ἐπὶ τὰς κλιμακίδας*. The references to these are somewhat confusing. In V B, l. 4 mention is apparently made of a large frame, [τὸ πλαί]σιον τὸ μέγα. Two sizes of *πλαίσια* are also distinguished in XI, col. III, ll. 11–14. Square frames are specified in XI, col. II, ll. 14 and 39, implying that some of the frames were of a different shape, unless we assume the adjective to be redundant. They varied also in material, for box-wood frames are specified in XI, col. II, l. 31 (and perhaps in l. 24).

The coffers of the ceiling described in the account of 409/8 B.C. appear to have been

¹ At Delphi stone *σελίδες* for the colonnade of the temple of Apollo are mentioned, *B.C.H.*, XXII, 1898, p. 304, l. 40, *πούρου ἀπὸ θαλάσσης εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, σελίδων τετρώκοντα εἰς τὴν περίστασιν*; l. 45, *σελίδων ξὺς τιμᾶς ἐκ Κορίνθου*. These are clearly the main beams of a ceiling. Cf. Bourguet's note, *ibid.*, p. 316. The word occurs also in the inscription relating to the building of the Tholos at Epidauros, *I.G.*, IV, 1485, l. 162, *ἐξεδώκαμες τὰς θυμέλας τὸ στρώμα ποιῆσαι τὸ ἐν τῇ περιστάσει, σελίδας πεντήκοντα δύο*. According to Lechat (Defrasse-Lechat, *Epidaure*, p. 117) and Cavvadias (*Τὸ Ἱερόν τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου*, p. 50) these are the ceiling beams of the colonnade of the Tholos. But the word *στρώμα* suggests that these *σελίδες* were rows of paving slabs; and this interpretation is confirmed by the fact that the pavement of the colonnade actually had fifty-two rows of slabs. So Stais, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1892, p. 90; Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, I, p. 100; Keil, *Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 1895, p. 106; Fraenkel, *I.G.*, IV, 1485, note on line 162.

In naval architecture the term *σελὶς* designates the thwarts or cross-beams of a ship, which serve to strengthen the walls of the hull, form the seats of the rowers in small, undecked ships, and support the decks of larger vessels, such as triremes. Cf. Cartault, *La trière athénienne*, p. 41. Such beams were called *περιτόναιον* (Pollux, I, 92), *σέλμα*, *ζυγός*, and *σελὶς* (Eustathius, 1041, 27). Cf. also Pollux, I, 88, and Hesychius, *s.v.* *σελίδες* and *κινδυνος*.

² The terms *κλιμακίς* and *πλαίσιον* are used in the same sense in a Delian inscription, *B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, p. 460, l. 13, [τὰς τε] *κλιμακίδας πάσας τὰς ἄνω καὶ τὰ πλάισια*; also ll. 15, 16. The inscription, which deals with the laying of a coffered ceiling over the colonnade of the temple of Apollo, has not yet been satisfactorily elucidated.

three-stepped, the lowest step being furnished by the "ladders," the middle step by the larger *πλαίσια*, the top step by the smaller, box-wood *πλαίσια* (Fig. 193).

All three steps terminated above in mouldings, made separately and glued into rebates cut for them (Fig. 193). The mouldings are called by three different names: (1) τὸ ξύλον τὸ γογγύλον. This occurs only in the fragment of specifications, VII, l. 7. It evidently designates a strip of wood with a rounded profile, as the γογγύλος λίθος of inscription II designates a profiled stone (cf. above, p. 302). (2) ὄνυξ. Referred to in VII, l. 10, and in XI, col. II, ll. 16, 36, 40. This also must be a strip of wood with a simple profile, similar to that of the

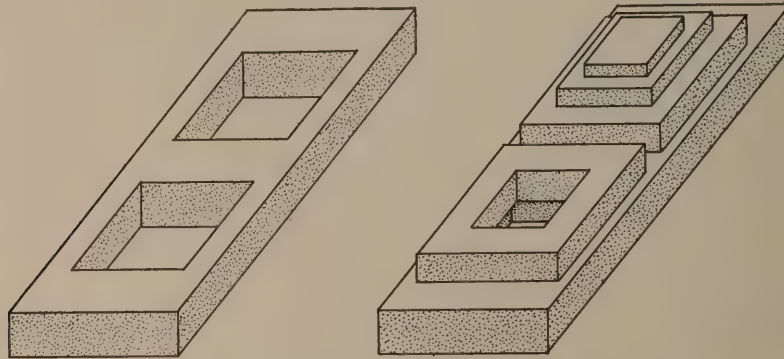


FIGURE 192. LADDER AND FRAMES IN EAST CEILING

human finger-nail, from which the name is borrowed. This moulding was applied both to the *κλιμακίδες* and to the *πλαίσια*, as appears from the last two passages cited. (3) *Κυμάτιον*. Moulding with the profile of the egg-and-dart, or leaf-and-tongue; see X, col. III, l. 34; XI, col. II, l. 43. In the latter passage these mouldings are called τὰ κυμάτια τὰ μικρά, suggesting that they were applied to the smaller *πλαίσια*.

The passage in XI, col. III, ll. 6-15, shows that the egg-and-dart or leaf-and-tongue pattern was carved in some of these mouldings after they had been glued in place; compare the use of the word *κατατομέ* in II, col. II, ll. 27, 52, and the comment, p. 316. The carving of the *κυμάτιον* in a small *πλαίσιον* cost twenty drachmae. As the rate of payment was five drachmae a foot, it follows that the small frames were one foot square.

In addition to the ὄνυξ and *κυμάτιον* frequent mention is made of the *ἀστράγαλος*, or bead-and-reel. This was "dowelled on after it had been received turned in the lathe" (VII, ll. 1, 5; XI, col. I, ll. 30, 42; XI, col. II, ll. 19, 24, 34, 47). In three passages (VII, l. 5; XI, col. II, ll. 19, 24) the astragalus is stated to be dowelled to a *κλιμακίς*. Since there is no clear evidence of its use elsewhere, it is probably to be assigned to the soffits of the *κλιμακίδες* (Fig. 193), where it actually appears on the marble ceilings of the exterior (PLATES XVIII, 3, XXIII, XXVI).

The openings, one foot square, above the smaller *πλαίσια* were filled by small slabs of wood called *καλύμματα*.¹ In XI, col. III, l. 36, the sawing up of a beam (*σφεκίσκος*) into

¹ The lids of the coffers of the East Portico were also formed by separate slabs, in this case of stone; Ch. I, p. 30.

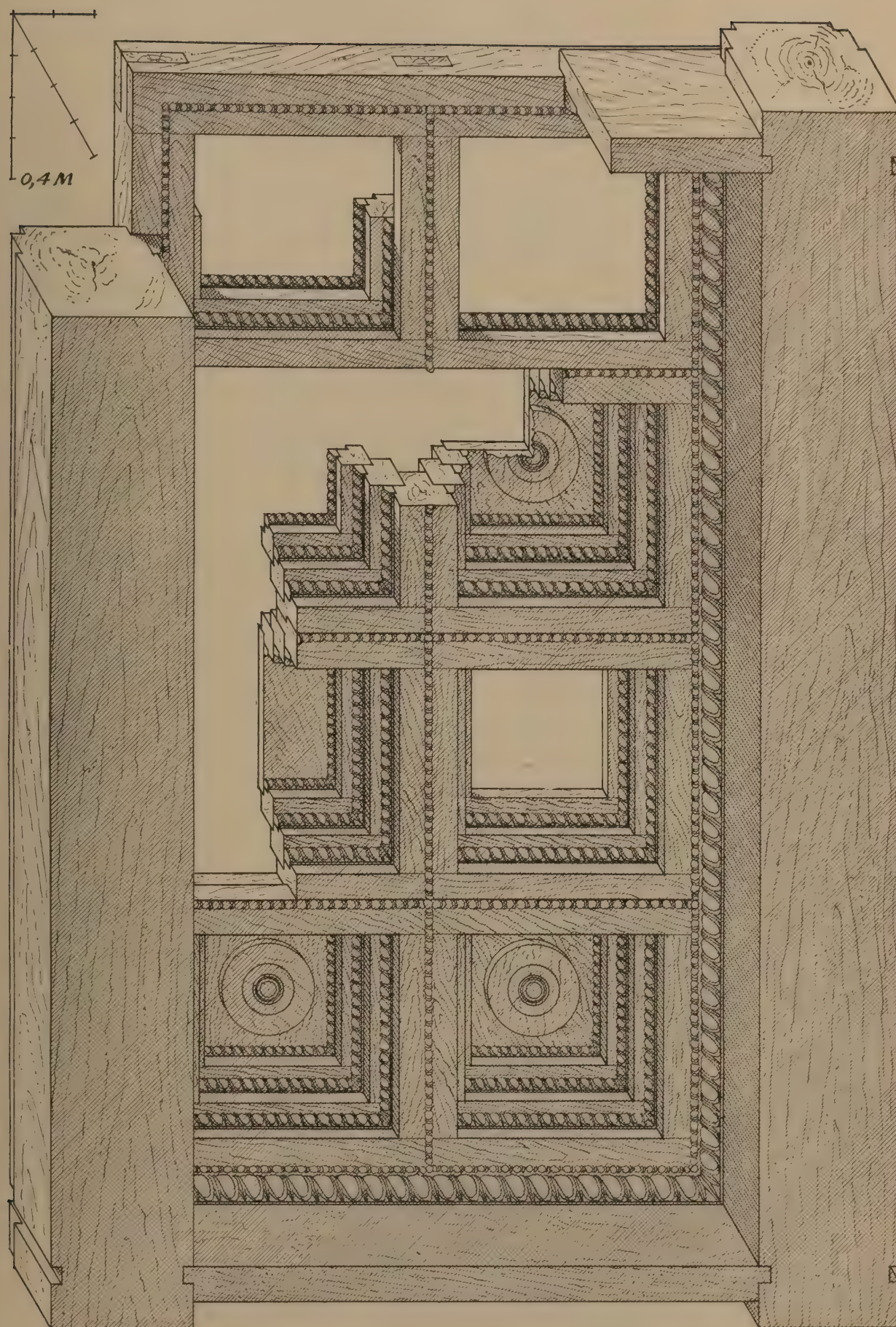


FIGURE 193. A COMPARTMENT OF THE CEILING OF THE EAST CELLA, RESTORED: ISOMETRIC

καλύμματα is recorded. Cf. also in the account of 408/7 B.C., XIII, col. I, l. 37, καλύμματα εἰς τὸν ὀροφέν, and XVII, col. II, ll. 3, 5, τὸν χαλκὸν τὸν εἰς τὰ καλύμματα, τὸν ἄκανθαν εἰς τὰ καλύμματα, and the comment, p. 409. On the use of the term to designate part of the sheathing of a roof, see below.

The turning in the lathe of πομφόλυγες for the καλύμματα is mentioned in XI, col. III, l. 34. These were apparently ornaments fastened to the faces of the coffer-lids. The primary meaning of the word is "bubble." It is also used of the boss of a shield. This suggests that the πομφόλυγες were shallow bosses, probably with a moulded surface. They are to be distinguished from the elaborate floral ornaments which filled the coffers of the ceiling executed in 408/7 B.C. (cf. below, p. 409).

The last item in the account of 409/8 B.C. relating to the ceiling (XI, col. III, ll. 42-46) records the painting of fourteen coffer-lids upon the beams (or section of ceiling) above the image. The number suggests that each section was composed of two rows of seven coffers. The terms γραφεύς and γράφειν show that the painting was done *a tempera*, or by some allied process, whereas the marble members of the Erechtheum, both without and within, were painted encaustically.¹

A restoration of a single compartment of the ceiling of the East Cella, showing the construction between two σελίδες with small frames one foot square is given in Figure 193, and a restoration of the entire ceiling is suggested in Figure 187. Here, however, rows of only four coffers, instead of seven, are shown in the central bay. The smaller frames are also considerably less than one foot square.

XI, col. III, ll. 15-31. *Roof Construction.*—The occurrences of the terms ἐποροφία, σφεκίσκοι and ἱμάντες, and of the phrase κεραμόσαντι ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀροφῆς ἐπὶ τῷ νεῷ, show that the passage deals with roof construction, and the last item, lines 42-46, makes it clear that the ceiling laid at this time, and consequently the roof above it (ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀροφῆς, l. 26) belong over the image. The statements are not as detailed as in the inscriptions describing the roof of the Piraic Arsenal (*I.G.*, II, 1054) and that of the gallery on the walls at Athens (*I.G.*, II, 167 = II², 463), and the construction was evidently simpler. The Arsenal had rafters (σφεκίσκοι) 10 dactyls thick, 3 palms wide, 5 palms apart, across which were laid cross-pieces (ἱμάντες) 8 dactyls wide, 2 dactyls thick, 4 dactyls apart. The spaces between the ἱμάντες were covered by sheathing (καλύμματα) 1 dactyl thick, 6 dactyls wide. This woodwork was covered by a layer of clay in which the Corinthian tiles of terra-cotta were imbedded. On the roof of the gallery on the walls of Athens the tiles were also set in a layer of clay, which was supported by three series of timbers (δοκίδες = rafters, ἐπιβλήτες or στρωτήρες = planks or beams laid across the former, and ἱμάντες = slats laid crosswise on the planks; the interstices were filled with rushes; cf. *A.J.A.*, XIV, 1910, pl. VI, pp. 305 ff.). The use of such a layer of clay was probably general in Greece on buildings which had

¹ Cf. ἐγκαυτής, ἐγκαίειν, and the note on XIII, col. I, l. 22, p. 410; also Lattermann, *B.C.H.*, XXXII, 1908, p. 286.

terra-cotta tiles. There is, however, no evidence of its use in connection with marble tiles. The roof of the Pinacotheca of the Propylaea had heavy marble tiles, which, as Mr. Henry D. Wood has shown, rested directly on the timbers.¹

In the present passage the only roof timbers mentioned are the σφηκίσκοι and ἱμάντες. The καλύμματα referred to in lines 35, 36 are not sheathing for the roof, but, as appears from lines 42–45, the coffer-lids of the ceiling. It is noteworthy also that in the report on the condition of the North Portico (II, col. I, ll. 81 ff.) we read: τῆς ἐποροφίας σφεκίσκος καὶ ἱμάντας ἀθέτος. The failure to mention καλύμματα there does not prove conclusively that such sheathing was not used. But in the passage under discussion, where the ἱμάντες are accurately described, and where the laying of rafters, cross-pieces, and tiles is noted, the omission of the καλύμματα shows plainly that the tiles rested directly on the ἱμάντες.

The tiles of the main building have been identified by G. P. Stevens, who restores a rafter under the joints between each pair of tiles, and eight rows of tiles from ridge to eaves.² There would thus be fifteen rows of rafters over the eastern part of the temple, as shown in the restored section looking North (PLATE XV). In IX, ll. 12 ff., the preparation of fourteen rows of rafters is probably recorded. It is not easy to find an arrangement of ἱμάντες which would account exactly for those mentioned in XI, col. III, ll. 16–24, 388 in number. If a row of ἱμάντες is placed under each of the longitudinal joints between tiles (eight on each slope of the roof), the total number required for this part of the building is only 240 if there were fifteen rafters, 224 if there were fourteen. With two ἱμάντες to each row of tiles, these numbers would be doubled and become too large. It is possible, however, that the section of roof laid in this prytany was only that above the East Cella, where the newly finished ceiling required immediate protection from the weather. The number of transverse rows of tiles would thus be reduced to twelve, and with thirty-two ἱμάντες in each row, the total number of ἱμάντες would be 384, or four less than the number recorded in the inscription. The lower face of the pan tile has what may be a bearing surface at each end, indicating that perhaps there were two ἱμάντες for each tile. The ἱμάντες must have been laid in cuttings in the top surface of the rafters, as indicated in Figure 189.

The rafters and ἱμάντες were laid by three men, Gerys, Mikion, and Kroisos, working six, three, and five days respectively. It is perhaps noteworthy that the aggregate number of days, fourteen, coincides with the number of rows of rafters prepared in an earlier prytany, if the interpretation of IX, ll. 12 ff., is correct.

For laying the tiles twenty-four drachmae were paid to Kteson of Lakiadai. This seems at first sight a low price. But the suggestion of Frickenhaus (*A.J.A.*, X, 1906, p. 15, note 1) that these tiles constituted a temporary roofing is improbable, for the timbers, as we have just seen, were not adapted to support terra-cotta tiles, and marble tiles would surely have been laid once for all. The wording of this item does not make it certain that the roofing of

¹ In a paper read before the American School at Athens in 1907, but not yet published.

² On the restoration of the roof of the main building, see also Ch. I, pp. 76–80; PLATES XVI, XVII, XVIII.

the East Cella was completed during this prytany. But a computation of the number of tiles required for this section of the roof shows that the price is not so inadequate after all. Excluding the sima, the laying of which may well have been recorded under stone-work in this or an earlier prytany, the tiles over the East Cella would be as follows:

16 × 12 pan tiles	192
16 × 12 cover tiles	192
12 ridge tiles	12
12 ridge cover tiles	12
2 × 12 antefixes	24
Total	432

If the pay was divided between Kteson and one assistant the number of days' work would be twelve. This would mean the laying of thirty-six tiles a day by two men, which seems not unreasonable.

XI, col. III, ll. 31-34. This passage is important for the restoration of the west wall in its original state, before the Roman repairs.¹ It shows that four of the intercolumniations were closed by grilles. That the fifth intercolumniation, for which no grille is here recorded, was the southernmost may be inferred from the absence of any trace of such a grille on the southwest anta (p. 66). If the restoration of the niche proposed by L. B. Holland (p. 363) be accepted, the grille which shut off the triangular niche from the interior of the building was of different dimensions from the other four, and for this reason may not have been included in the same contract. That the material of the four grilles mentioned was wood may be inferred from the name of the workman: Komon was one of the carpenters employed in planing *ιμάντες* (l. 19). The price, ten drachmae for each grille, seems low, unless it is merely the payment for fitting in place grilles previously made.

PART III. THE ACCOUNTS OF 408/7 B.C.

Numbers	Nat. Mus.	Dinsmoor	J.-M.	Other publications
XIII	6667	K	28a	<i>I.G.</i> , I, 324a; I ² , 374
XIV	6667a	N	28d	<i>I.G.</i> , I, 324d; I ² , 374
XV	6667γ	P	...	<i>Ath. Mitt.</i> , XXVI, 1901, p. 223; I ² , 374
XVI	6667β	L	28b	<i>I.G.</i> , I, 324b; I ² , 374
XVII	6667δ	M	28c	324c; I ² , 374
XVIII	6667ε	O	28e	324e; I ² , 374
XIX	6667ζ	Q	...	<i>Ath. Mitt.</i> , XXVI, 1901, p. 224; I ² , 374
XX	6714	R	28f	<i>I.G.</i> , I, Suppl. 321, 4 (p. 151); I ² , 374
XXI	6713	U	27a	<i>I.G.</i> , I, Suppl. 331c (p. 39); I ² , 374
XXII	6669	T	...	<i>I.G.</i> , I, 326; I ² , 374
XXIII	6666	S	29	<i>I.G.</i> , I, 323; I ² , 374
XXIV	8879	W	...	<i>I.G.</i> , II, 5, 4331; I ² , 374
XXV	8711a	V	...	<i>I.G.</i> , I, 331g; I ² , 374

¹ On the original construction of the upper part of the West Façade, see Ch. I, pp. 60-66.

Unlike the earlier inscriptions, the accounts of 408/7 B.C. were inscribed *stoichedon* on slabs only 10 cm. thick, set up in tiers against a wall. On the fragments XX–XXV, all belonging probably to the tenth prytany, the *stoichedon* arrangement is neglected; but the style of the letters and the spacing of the lines forbid the assigning of any of these fragments to the accounts of 409/8 B.C., as has been proposed by some of the earlier commentators. In the first volume of the *Corpus* Kirchhoff identified XIII, XIV, XVI, XVII, XVIII as belonging to the accounts of 408/7 B.C. And in publishing XX (*I.G.*, I, Suppl. 321, 4, p. 151) he suggested that it also belonged to this year. In *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1901, pp. 223 ff., Kolbe published the important new fragment, XV, giving the name of the archon, Euktemon, and the insignificant fragment, XIX. Finally, Dinsmoor (*A.J.A.*, XVII, 1913, p. 255) assigned XXI–XXV to the tenth prytany of 408/7 B.C.

It is unnecessary to review the attempts made prior to Kolbe's article to date the inscription and determine the order of the fragments.¹

Of the thirteen fragments now assigned to the account, only five (XIII–XVII) are of importance by reason of their contents. And it has proved possible to determine almost certainly their original arrangement, as indicated in the accompanying diagram, Figure 194. The largest slab, XVII, has its original top, bottom, and right edges preserved. Its height is 0.95 m.; it contains eighty-seven lines of writing in each column, filling the whole of the surface. The account of the eighth prytany (Pandionis) begins at line 25 of the first column; that of the ninth prytany (Aegeis) at line 23 of the second. Since the top of column II, recording the making of models for rosettes, does not directly follow the bottom of column I, which deals with stone-work, it is obvious that the slabs of the inscription must have been set up in at least two tiers. And the fragments XV and XVI, containing the heading of the accounts inscribed in larger letters in the vacant space 12 cm. high at the top, evidently belong to an upper tier. Their top surfaces are roughly tooled, whereas the top of XVII is worked as a surface of contact, and has a dowel hole in it to the right of the centre.

The slab XIII is 0.74 m. high, and has its left edge preserved; its top has been re-worked. Its first column has sixty-seven lines; the account of the seventh prytany (Leontis) begins at line 62. Since the account of the eighth prytany occupied exactly one column, and that of the ninth prytany (as will appear below) less than one, it is reasonable to assume that the account of the seventh prytany filled one or at most two columns.

¹ Before the discovery of No. XV the dating depended chiefly on a chronological calculation. The salaries of the architect and under-secretary in the sixth and eighth prytanies (XIII, col. I, l. 56; XVII, col. II, l. 9) showed, as Rangabé observed (*Ant. hellén.*, p. 67), that the inscription belonged to an ordinary, not an intercalary year. But which of the two years was ordinary was a matter of dispute. According to Usener, *Rh. Mus.*, XXXIV, p. 389, it was 409/8 B.C., according to Kirchhoff, *l.c.*, Unger, *Zeitrechnung*², p. 752, and Keil, *Hermes*, XXIX, 1894, p. 358, it was 408/7 B.C. The correctness of the calculations of Kirchhoff, Unger, and Keil was confirmed by Ferguson, who obtained the date 408/7 B.C. from the order of the prytanizing tribes (*The Athenian Secretaries*, p. 27), and by Kolbe's publication of the fragment, XV, with the name of the archon.

As regards the order of the fragments, Kolbe showed that Kirchhoff, with his customary acumen, had come nearer to the correct solution than Robert (*Hermes*, XXV, 1890, pp. 439 ff.), who was followed by Michaelis, *J.-M., App. Ep.*, p. 105. In *I.G.*, I², Dinsmoor's earlier (1913) arrangement of the fragments is followed.

The slab XIII would thus be placed to the left of XVII, as was proposed by Kolbe, or above it in such a way that its second column would be continued by the first column of XVII. This latter position, adopted by Dinsmoor in his article published in 1913, has now been rejected by him in favor of Kolbe's arrangement (*A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, p. 245, fig. 2). His

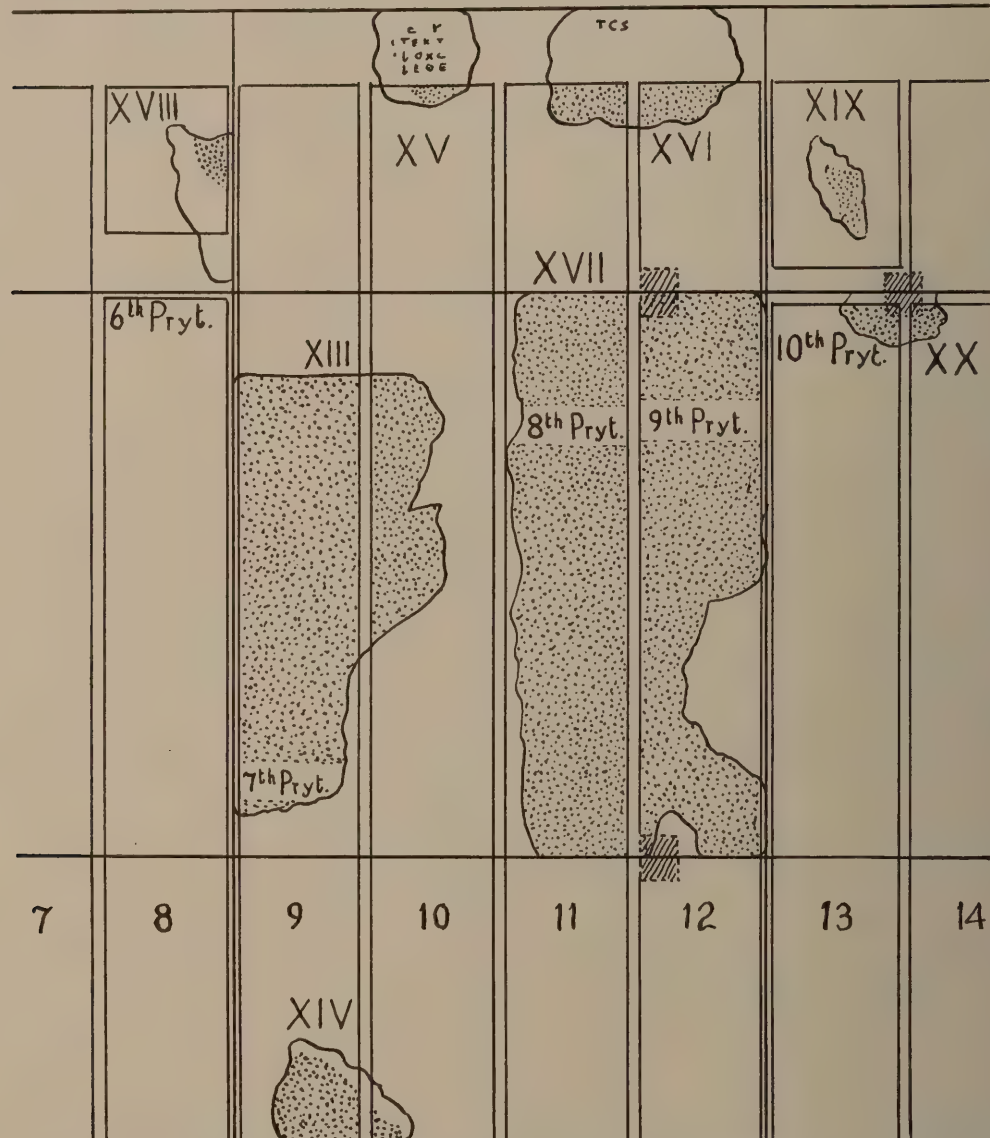


FIGURE 194. DIAGRAM SHOWING RELATIVE POSITION OF INSCRIPTIONS XIII-XX

earlier theory was based partly on his just observation that the slab XVII must originally have contained more than two columns of writing, because of the later cutting of its left edge. He assumed that there were three columns. It now seems certain, however, that the slabs were four columns wide; and the only possible position for XIII is where Dins-

moor places it, immediately to the left of XVII, as a part of the same slab, occupying the middle of three tiers. It cannot have belonged to the upper tier, for the fragment XV must be placed above its second column. Nor can it be assigned to a lower tier, for the fragment XIV certainly belongs below it, and must be from a separate slab.

Fragments XV and XVI obviously belong together. The connection of XIV with them, proposed by Kolbe, has rightly been followed by Dinsmoor in both of his reconstructions of the accounts. The contents of the first column of XIV, moreover, prove conclusively that it has been correctly placed by Kolbe below XIII, for, as will be shown in the commentary, p. 412, the work on the columns of the East Portico recorded in it must have been done in the seventh prytany.

All five fragments, XIII–XVII, thus belong to one series of slabs arranged in three tiers, and probably containing four columns of writing. The bottom of the first column is preserved on XIV, the top of the second column on XV; the text is, as a matter of fact, continuous. Additional confirmation is furnished by the fact that the second column of XIV deals with the reliefs of the frieze, which is also the subject of the first column of XVI. The list of payments for ἀγαλματοποικόν in the seventh prytany ends at line 23 of the first column of XVII.

It is probable that two series of slabs are to be restored to the left, containing the accounts of the first five, and a part of the sixth prytany, and one series to the right, containing the accounts of the tenth prytany, and perhaps those of the following years. The whole inscription would thus have sixteen columns of writing, the fragments XIII–XVII containing portions of columns 9–12.

One of the remaining small fragments of the account (XX) has been plausibly assigned by Dinsmoor to columns 13 and 14. This is from the top of a slab, and has the cutting for a dowel. It contains parts of two columns, the first giving the heading of the tenth prytany (Erechtheïs). The letters are not arranged *stoichedon*.

Another small fragment (XVIII) has been placed by Dinsmoor in column 8 (Fig. 194). It is from the right edge of a slab; and the lower portion of its surface is uninscribed. This suggests that the end of the account of a prytany (perhaps the fifth) came near a joint between two tiers, and that the scribe began the account of the next prytany on the lower tier. The account of the sixth prytany would thus fill about one column and a half. It is also possible to place XVIII at the bottom of the middle tier, reducing the space to nearly one column.

The fragment XIX is carefully inscribed *stoichedon*, and therefore belongs to a time earlier than the tenth prytany. In Figure 194 it has been given the position assigned to it by Dinsmoor, i.e., in the upper third of column 13.

The fragments XXI–XXV are not inscribed *stoichedon*, as Dinsmoor has noted, and presumably belong to the tenth prytany. On XXI and XXIII the lines are normally spaced. But on XXII, which is from the bottom of a slab, the spacing is irregular and

becomes greater towards the bottom. This carelessness in spacing becomes even more marked on fragments XXIV and XXV. Dinsmoor places XXI in column 13 below XX, and XXII at the very bottom of this same column. Numbers XXIII–XXV are assigned by him to the lower third of column 14 (cf. *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, p. 246, fig. 2). The exact location of these fragments is not important, since little or no information can be gleaned from their contents.

In order to understand the course of the building operations during the sixth to ninth prytanies of this year, it is essential to fix the relative positions of XIII–XVII as accurately as possible. It therefore becomes necessary to consider a criticism of the arrangement here adopted, which has recently been published by P. de La Coste-Messelière in *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, pp. 323 ff.¹ This is directed against Dinsmoor's revised restoration of the whole inscription, as shown in *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, p. 246, fig. 2. Dinsmoor assumed that the three tiers of slabs were all of the same height (approximately 0.95 m.), with 76 lines of writing on the upper tier, and 87 on each of the lower tiers, 250 lines in all. De La Coste-Messelière rightly objects that this allows far too much space for inscribing the accounts of the seventh and eighth prytanies. He therefore assumes only two tiers of slabs, with 163 lines in each column, and separates XIV, XV, XVI from XIII, XVII, assigning the former group to the fourth to sixth prytanies. But, as has been stated above, this arrangement is impossible, if the first column of XIV has been correctly interpreted as recording work on the east columns done in the seventh prytany. His objection is removed, however, if we adopt Kolbe's arrangement, in which the upper and lower tiers are assumed to have been less high than the central tier. In Figure 194 these two tiers are each given half the height of the central one, with the result that each column would contain 163 instead of 250 lines.

XIII. Marble slab, 0.74 m. high, 0.35 m. wide, 0.10 m. thick, broken in two. The back is roughly dressed. The original left edge is preserved, and shows dressing with the toothed chisel; the top is re-worked. Found in excavations near the Pinacotheca of the Propylaea in 1836 (Ross, *Kunstblatt*, 1836, No. 76, p. 314). In the National Museum.

Pittakis, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 10. Rangabé, *Ant. hellén.*, 56. Stephani, *Annali*, XV, 1843, p. 318, No. I, pl. L. Thiersch, *Erechtheum*, I, pp. 121 ff., pl. I. *I.G.*, I, 324a; I,² 374. Choisy, *Études*, p. 117. J.-M., *App. Ep.*, 28a. Michel, *Recueil*, 572. Roberts-Gardner, *Greek Epigraphy*, II, 118. Washburn, *A.J.A.*, X, 1906, pl. I (new readings). Dinsmoor, K.

Facsimile, PLATE XLIX.

Variant Readings. Col. I. L. 1 Ol' Pittakis. Ol . . . Rangabé, Stephani. O . . . Kirchhoff. Washburn. L. 24 :|||:↓ Pittakis, Rangabé.

Col. II. L. 20 Δ†† Pittakis, Rangabé, Stephani. L. 21 ¶††|||: Pittakis, Rangabé, Stephani. L. 24 Γ'Ol'-l Pittakis. Γ'OH Rangabé, Stephani.

¹ It has not been possible to take full account of this article. Two emendations of the text of XVI, col. I (τὸ γυναικε), have been adopted.

XIV. Fragment of marble, 0.17 m. high, 0.24 m. wide, 0.095 m. thick, broken at the two sides and the top. The bottom surface, which is original, is smooth except for a shallow groove 0.077 m. from the front. Found with XIII. In the National Museum.

Pittakis, *l. c.*, 11, 2036. Rangabé, *l. c.*, 58. Stephani, *l. c.*, No. III. Thiersch, *l. c. I.G.*, I, 324d; I², 374. Choisy, *l. c.*, p. 127. J.-M., *App. Ep.*, 28d. Washburn, *l. c.* Dinsmoor, N. De La Coste-Messelière, *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, p. 330.

Facsimile, PLATE XLIX.

Variant Readings. Col. I. L. 3 ΕΞΙΝ Pittakis, 2036. L. 6 /ΜΟ Pitt. L. 9 ΕΘΕΥ Pitt. L. 13 <KAM Pitt. Col. II. L. 9 | De La Coste-Messelière. L. 10 ΧC *Id.* L. 12. ΑΛΛΕ *Id.*

XV. Fragment of marble, 0.17 m. high, 0.17 m. wide, 0.098 m. thick. The back is roughly dressed. The original top surface is preserved and is unsmoothed. The first line of the text is 0.12 m. from the top of the stone. Found in 1901 in the course of work on the north wall of the Acropolis. In the National Museum.

Kolbe, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1901, pp. 223 ff. *I.G.*, I², 374. Dinsmoor, P.

Facsimile, PLATE XLIX.

Variant Reading. L. 3 ΠΟΤΟΒ Kolbe.

XVI. Fragment of marble, 0.22 m. high, 0.35 m. wide, 0.098 m. thick. The back is roughly dressed. The top surface is left rough like that of No. XV. The first line of the text is 0.12 m. from the top of the stone. Found in 1839 in excavations southeast of the Erechtheum (Ross, *Kunstblatt*, 1840, No. 18, p. 72). In the National Museum.

Pittakis, *l. c.*, 172, 2026. Rangabé, *l. c.*, 59. Stephani, *l. c.*, No. IV. *I.G.*, I, 324b; I², 374. Choisy, *l. c.*, pp. 121, 130. J.-M., *App. Ep.*, 28b. Washburn, *l. c.* Dinsmoor, L. De La Coste-Messelière, *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, p. 329.

Facsimile, PLATE XLIX.

Variant Readings. Col. I. L. 1 NEAN ΞKON Pittakis, Rangabé, Stephani. ΑΑ...KON Kirchhoff. L. 2 θου ε...ατα Pittakis, 172. Θ·Δ...ΟΤΑ Rangabé, Stephani. ΘΟΔΛ·ΟΤΑ Pittakis, 2026. L. 3 ΗΟΙΚΟΝ Rangabé, Pittakis, Stephani. L. 5 ΑΛΛΑΘΑΝ Rangabé, Pittakis, Stephani. ΑΛΛΑΘΑΝ Kirchhoff. L. 6 ΟΙΚΟΝ Rangabé, Stephani. ΗΟΙΚΟΝ Pittakis, Kirchhoff. L. 7 ΑΧ<ΕΙ Rangabé, Stephani. ΟΛΧΞΕΙ Pittakis. ΑΥ<ΓΙ Kirchhoff.

Col. II. L. 1 ΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΑΝ Rangabé, Stephani. ΑΜΕΝΟΙ·ΑΝΓ\ Pittakis. ΑΜΕ...ΑΝΙΓ Kirchhoff. L. 2 ΤΕΝ Pittakis, Rangabé, Stephani. ΤΕΝΞ Kirchhoff. L. 3 ΑΙΝ ΕΞ Pittakis. ΑΙΝ□□ Kirchhoff. L. 4 ΝΤΑΜΑ Rangabé, Stephani. ΝΤΑΜΑΝ Pittakis. ΝΤΑΜΑΝ Kirchhoff. L. 5 ΚΟΝΤΑ Rangabé, Stephani. ΚΟΝΤΑΞ Pittakis. ΚΟΝΤΙΑ Kirchhoff. L. 8 ΔΥΟΙΝ...Α Kirchhoff. L. 9 ΚΑΛΥ Rangabé, Pittakis, Stephani.

XVII. Marble slab, 0.95 m. high, 0.44 m. wide, 0.10 m. thick, broken into sixteen pieces. Original top, bottom and right edge preserved. The back is roughly dressed, the top and bottom perfectly smoothed, and the right edge dressed with the toothed chisel. In the top, 0.145 m. from the right edge and 0.04 m. from the front there is a dowel hole 0.065 m. wide, 0.07 m. deep. In the bottom the left edge of a similar dowel cutting 0.06 m. deep is

preserved at a point 0.202 m. from the right edge of the stone. According to letters of Ross, dated January 28 and May 7, 1836 (*Kunstblatt*, 1836, Nos. 39, 60, pp. 165, 249) a considerable number of fragments were found early in that year in front of the Propylaea; the rest may have been found in October of the same year along with the lower part of XIII and XIV, as stated by Pittakis, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 9-11, who is certainly incorrect in saying that XIII, XIV, and XVII were found on the same day. In the National Museum.

Ross, *Kunstblatt*, 1836, Nos. 39, 40, pp. 165-167, 170-172 (col. I, ll. 1-29); No. 60, pp. 249, 250 (col. II, ll. 12-21, 34-45). Pittakis, *l. c.*, 9. Rangabé, *l. c.*, 57. Stephani, *l. c.*, No. II. Thiersch, *l. c. I.G.*, I, 324c; I², 374. Choisy, *l. c.*, pp. 121 ff. J.-M., *App. Ep.*, 28c. Michel, *Recueil*, 573. Roberts-Gardner, *l. c.*, 118. Washburn, *l. c.* Dinsmoor, M.

Facsimile, PLATE XLIX.

Variant Readings. Col. I. L. 1 | - | Pittakis, Rangabé, Kirchhoff. ΔΔ Ross. L. 23 ΟΕΟ Ross. L. 34 | - | Ο Pittakis, Rangabé, Stephani. L. 44 ΜΟ Pittakis, Rangabé. L. 45 ΟΝΞ| Kirchhoff. L. 46 Δ| - | Π| Π Pittakis, Rangabé. Δ| - | Π| Stephani, Kirchhoff. L. 64 ΓΡΟ - ΞΟ Pittakis, Rangabé, Kirchhoff. ΓΡΟ - ΞΟ Stephani. L. 87 ΧΟΝ Pittakis. ΚΟΝ Rangabé, Stephani, Kirchhoff.

Col. II. L. 27 ΗΗΗΥ Pittakis, Rangabé, Stephani. L. 77 ΟΝ^π Pittakis, Rangabé, Stephani.

XVIII. Fragment, 0.27 m. high, 0.115 m. wide, 0.10 m. thick. Back roughly dressed. Right edge dressed with the toothed chisel. At the bottom a space at least 0.10 m. high uninscribed. In the National Museum.

Rangabé, *l. c.*, 290. Pittakis, *l. c.*, 2260. *I.G.*, I, 324e; I², 374. J.-M., *App. Ep.*, 28e. Washburn, *A.J.A.*, X, 1906, pl. I (new readings). Dinsmoor, O. De La Coste-Messelière, *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, p. 330.

Facsimile, Fig. 195.

Variant Readings. L. 2 ΛΕΥ Pittakis. ΛΕΥ Kirchhoff. L. 6 ΙΑΝΤΙ Pittakis. ΞΑΝΤΙΤ De La Coste-Messelière. L. 7 Ο.Τ.Χ *Id.* L. 14 ΟΜ - - *Id.*

XIX. Fragment of marble, broken on all sides, 0.19 m. high, 0.095 m. wide, 0.05 m. thick. In the National Museum.

Kolbe, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1901, p. 224. *I.G.*, I², 374. Dinsmoor, Q. De La Coste-Messelière, *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, p. 330.

Facsimile, Fig. 196.

XX. Fragment of marble, broken on three sides, top preserved, 0.10 m. high, 0.163 m. wide, 0.055 m. thick (original back not preserved). In the top, which is dressed smooth, a dowel hole at least 0.07 m. wide, 0.035 m. from the front. The letters, 0.008 m. high, begin 0.025 m. from the top. Found near the Erechtheum. In the National Museum.

Lolling, *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.*, 1887, p. 1186, No. 3. *I.G.*, I, Suppl. 321, 4 (p. 151); I², 374. J.-M., *App. Ep.*, 28 f. Dinsmoor, R.

Facsimile, Fig. 197.

Variant Reading. Col. I. L. 2 Ξ: Λ Lolling.

XXI. Fragment of marble, 0.123 m. high, 0.075 m. wide, 0.092 m. thick, broken on all sides, back dressed smooth. Letters 0.008 m. high. Found on the south slope of the Acropolis. In the National Museum.

I.G., I, Suppl. 331c (p. 39); *I*², 374. *J.-M.*, *App. Ep.*, 27a. Dinsmoor, U.
Facsimile, Fig. 198.



FIGURE 195. INSCRIPTION XVIII

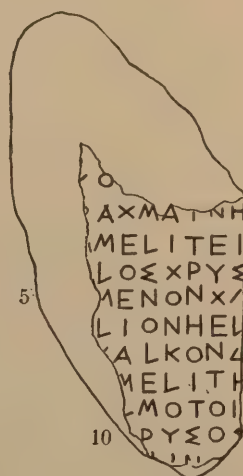


FIGURE 196. INSCRIPTION XIX

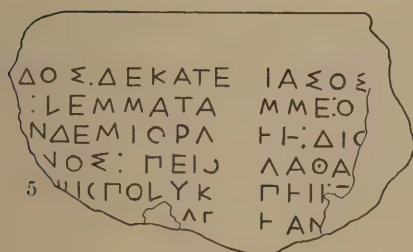


FIGURE 197. INSCRIPTION XX

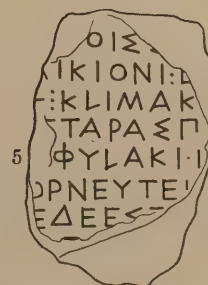


FIGURE 198. INSCRIPTION XXI

XXII. Fragment of marble, broken on three sides, bottom and back dressed smooth, 0.15 m. high, 0.11 m. wide, 0.092 m. thick. Seen by Schoene near the Erechtheum. In the National Museum.

Schoene, *Hermes*, IV, 1869, p. 54, No. II, pl. after p. 36. *I.G.*, I, 326; *I*², 374. Dinsmoor, T.

Facsimile, Fig. 199.

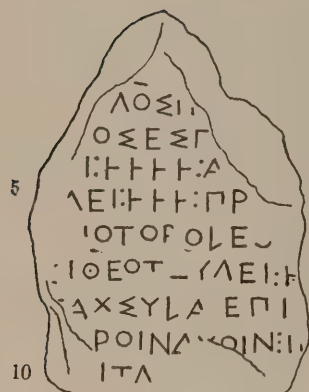


FIGURE 199. INSCRIPTION XXII

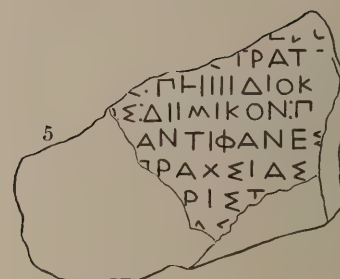


FIGURE 200. INSCRIPTION XXIII

XXIII. Fragment of marble, broken on all sides, 0.11 m. high, 0.14 m. wide, 0.088 m. thick (original back not preserved). Letters 0.007 to 0.009 m. high. In the National Museum.

Rangabé, *l. c.*, 60. Pittakis, *L'ancienne Athènes*, p. 435. 'Εφ.' Αρχ., 2025. Stephani, *l. c.*, No. V, pl. L. *I.G.*, I, 323; I², 374. J.-M., *App. Ep.*, 29. Dinsmoor, S.

Facsimile, Fig. 200.

Variant Readings. A portion of the surface has been broken off since the stone was found. Kirchhoff gives the following text based on copies made by Von Velsen before, and by Koehler after the injury.

Λ Λ Λ
 < Τ Ρ Α Τ
 < . Ι Ι Ι Ι Ι Δ Ι Ο Κ Λ
 Ξ Δ Ι Ι Μ Ι Κ Ο Ν Π
 Ι Ι Ι Α Ν Τ Ι Φ Α Ν Ε Ξ
 Ο Ν Π Γ Ρ Α Χ Ξ Ι Α Ξ,
 Ο Λ Λ Υ Δ Α Ρ Ι Ξ Τ
 Ο Ξ Ξ Ο Ξ Ι Ι Ι Ι Α Ξ
 Τ Ρ Α Τ Ο Ν Α
 υ Ι Ο Ρ Ι

XV, XVI, HEADING

— — — ἐπὶ] Ε[ὕ]κ[τέμονος ἄρχον]τος
 'Αρχ]ιτέκτ[ον
 'Αρχ]ιλοχο[s
 'Αγρυ]λῆθε[ν.

L. 1 ΕΛΟ Pittakis, Rangabé, Stephani. L. 4 ΓΛ Velsen. Γ the other editors. L. 5 ΙΙΙΙ Rangabé, Stephani. ΙΙΙΙΙ Pittakis. L. 6 ΟΝ:ΓΡ Rangabé, Pittakis, Stephani. L. 8 :ΙΙΙC Rangabé, Pittakis, Stephani. L. 10 ΚΙΟΝΙ Rangabé, Pittakis, Stephani.

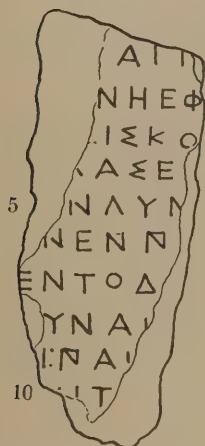


FIGURE 201. INSCRIPTION XXIV

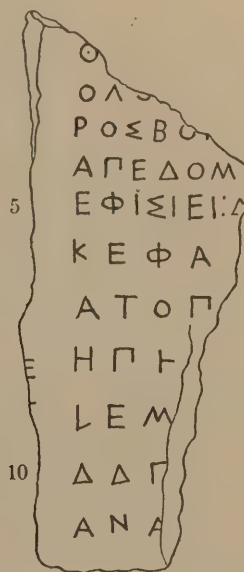


FIGURE 202. INSCRIPTION XXV

XXIV. Fragment of marble, broken on all sides and at the back, 0.185 m. high, 0.07 m. wide, 0.035 m. thick. In the National Museum.

I.G., II, 5, 4331; I², 374. Dinsmoor, W. Cf. Bannier, *Berl. phil. W.*, 1911, p. 854.

Facsimile, Fig. 201.

XXV. Fragment of marble, broken on all sides and at the back, 0.225 m. high, 0.088 m. wide, 0.04 m. thick. From the finds near the Tholos. In the National Museum.

I.G., I, 331g; I², 374. Dinsmoor, V.

Facsimile, Fig. 202.

XV, XVI, HEADING

In the archonship of Euktemon

Architect:

Archilochos

of Agryle.

XIII, col. 1

- ο.....ος λαβόντοι-
 ν] δυοῖν ἀνδροῖν, Σοσίαι Ἀλοπ-
 εκέσι οἰκὼν :†: Σίνδρονι :†: τὲν
 ὀροφὲν κατιστᾶσιν, τὲν καμπ-
 5 ὕλεν : σελίδα εἰς ἔδραν καὶ τὰ-
 ς ἄλλας ἐπαγαγῶσιν εἰς ἔδρα-
 ν ἡεκάσταν, Μάνιδι ἐν Κολλυτ-
 δι οἰκῶντι :†: Κροῖσοι ἐν Σκαμ-
 βονιδὼν ἡοικῶντι :†: Ἀνδρέαι
 10 ἐμ Μελίτει ἡοικῶντι :†: Πρέπο-
 ντι Ἀγρυλῆσι οἰκῶντι :†: Μέδο-
 ι ἐμ Μελίτει ἡοικῶντι :†: Ἀπολ-
 λοδόροι ἐμ Μελίτει ἡοικῶντ-
 ι :†: ἡικριόματα καθελῶσιν τὰ
 15 ἀπὸ τῶν κίονον τῶν ἡεν τῇ πρ-
 οστάσει, ἡέχς ἀνδράσιν, Τεῦκ-
 ρος ἐν ΚυδαθENAῖοι ἡοικῶν :†,
 Κέρδον Ἀχσιοπεῖθος, †: Κροῖσ-
 ος ἐν Σκαμβονιδὼν : ἡοικῶν :†: Π-
 20 ρέπον Ἀγρυλῆσι ἡοικῶν :†: Κεφ-
 ισόδωρος :†: Σποδίας :†: ἡικριό-
 σασι τοῖς ἐνκαυταῖς ἡεκ τῷ ἡ-
 ε]ντὸς ἡυπὸ τὲν ἡοροφὲν, Μάνι-
 δι ἐν Κ]ολλυτδὶ ἡοικῶντι :†|||: λ-
 25 εκάνας(?)] ἀναφορέσασιν Πρέπο-
 ντι Ἀ]γρυλῆσι ἡοικῶντι :†: Μέδ-
 ο]ι ἐμ Μελίτει ἡοικῶντι :†: κεφ-
 ά]λαιον ἡυποργοῖς :†ΔΔΔ††††
 †|||C: πρίσταις καθ' ἐμέραν ἡερ-
 30 γαζομένοις, δυοῖν ἀνδροῖν, ἡ-
 εκκαίδεκα ἡεμερῶν, δραχμῆς
 τῆς ἡεμέρας ἡεκάστες, ἡεκατ-
 έ]ροι, Ραιδίοι ἐν Κολλυτδὶ ἡο-
 ικῶντι καὶ συνέργοι, ΔΔΔ††: Π-
 35 ρίσταις καθ' ἐμέραν ἡεργαζο-
 μένοις, τρίτες δοδεκεμέρο, κ-
 αλύμματα εἰς τὲν ἡοροφὲν, ἡε-
 πτὰ ἡεμερῶν, δραχμὴν τῆς ἡεμ-

XIII, col. 1

	-- -- -- -- -- to two men	
	receiving -- -- -- -- --,	
	to Sosias, living in Alopeke,	1 dr.
	to Sindron,	1 dr.
5	For laying the ceiling,	
	for placing the bent beam in its bed	
	and each of the other beams in its bed,	
	to Manis, living in Kollytos,	1 dr.
	to Kroisos, living in Skambonidai,	1 dr.
10	to Andreas, living in Melite,	1 dr.
	to Prepon, living in Agryle,	1 dr.
	to Medos, living in Melite,	1 dr.
	to Apollodoros, living in Melite,	1 dr.
	For taking down the scaffolding from the	
15	columns in the Porch, to six men:	
	to Teukros, living in Kydathenaion,	1 dr.
	to Kerdon, son of Axiopeithes,	1 dr.
	to Kroisos, living in Skambonidai,	1 dr.
	to Prepon, living in Agryle,	1 dr.
20	to Kephisodoros,	1 dr.
	to Spodias,	1 dr.
	For putting up a scaffolding for the painters	
	in encaustic, in the interior, beneath the ceiling,	
	to Manis, living in Kollytos,	1 dr., 3 ob.
25	For carrying up paint-pots (?),	
	to Prepon, living in Agryle,	1 dr.
	to Medos, living in Melite,	1 dr.
	Sum total of payments	
	to laborers,	84 dr., 4½ ob.
30	To sawyers working by the day,	
	two men working sixteen days,	
	at a drachma a day each,	
	to Rhadios, living in Kollytos,	
	and his assistant,	32 dr.
35	To sawyers working by the day,	
	in the third period of twelve days,	
	for sawing coffer-lids	
	for the ceiling, seven days,	

- έρας ηεκάστες, δυοῖν ἀνδροῖ-*
 40 *ν, Ραιδίοι ἐν Κολλυτῶι ηοικῶ-*
ντι καὶ συνέργοι :ΔΤΤΤΤ: κεφά-
λαιον πρίσταις, ΔΔΔΔΠΤ: ηενκ-
αυταῖς, τὸ κυμάτιον ηενκέα[ν-
τι τὸ ηεπὶ τῶι ηεπιστυλίο[ι τ-
 45 *οι ηεντὸς, πεντόβολον τὸ[ν πό-*
δα ήέκαστον, μισθοτὲς Δι[ονν-
σ]όδορος ἐμ Μελίτει ηοικ[ὸν, η-
εγγυετὲς Ηερακλείδες Ὅ[έθε-
ν :ΔΔΔ: κεφάλαιον ηενκαυτ[αῖς
 50 *ΔΔΔ: χρυσοχόοις, χάλχας χ[ρυσ-*
όσαντι, προσαπέδομεν τὸ [ηοφ-
ειλόμενον τὲς προτέρας [πρυ-
τανείας, τὲς Ηοινείδος, Σ[ισύ-
φοι ἐμ Μελίτει ηοικδντ[ι . . .
 55 *κεφάλαιον χρυσοχόοις : [. . . μ-*
ισθοί. ἀρχιτέκτονι Ἀρχ[ιλόχ-
οι Ἀγρυλῆθεν :ΔΔΔΠΤΤ: ην[πογρ-
αμματεῖ Πυργίονι :ΔΔΔΠΠΠΠΠ: κεφ-
άλαιον μισθὸ : ΠΔΠΤΤΠΠΠΠΠ: σύ[μπα-
 60 *ντος ἀναλόματος κεφάλαιον,*
ΧΠΗΗΠΔΔΔΔΠΠΠ.
Ἐπὶ τὲς Λεοντίδος ηεβ[δόμες
πρυτανευόσες :: Λέμμα [παρὰ τ-
αμιδν τὲς θεῶ, π[α]ρὰ Ἀρ[εσαίχμ-
 65 *ο] Ἀγρυλῆθεν [καὶ συναρχόντο-*
ν], ΧΧΧΧΗΗΗΗ[ΤΤΤ ηαναλόμ-
α]τα· κε [.
 — — — — —

XIV, col. I, XV

[. λιθοργικὸ· ῥα-]
 [βδόσεος τὸν κινόν τὸν πρὸς]
 [ἔο, τὸν κατὰ τον βομόν· τὸν πρὸ-]
 [ς τὸ βομὸ τὲς Διόνες, Λάοσσος]
 [Ἀλοπεκέθεν :Δ: Φίλον Ηερχιεὺ-]
 [ς :Δ: Παρμένον Λαόσσο :Δ: Καρίον]
 [Λαόσσο :Δ: Ηίκαρος :Δ: τὸν ηεχόμ-]

	at a drachma a day, to two men,	
40	to Rhadios, living in Kollytos,	
	and his assistant,	14 dr.
	Sum total of payments to sawyers,	46 dr.
	To painters in encaustic,	
	for painting the cymatium on the	
45	inner epistyle, at five obols a foot,	
	contractor, Dionysodoros living in Melite,	
	surety, Herakleides of Oa,	30 dr.
	Sum total of payments	
	to painters in encaustic,	30 dr.
50	To gilders, for gilding rosettes,	
	we gave also the sum due	
	in the former prytany,	
	that of Oineïs,	
	to Sisypchos, living in Melite,	— dr.
55	Sum total of payments to gilders,	— dr.
	Salaries:	
	to the architect, Archilochos of Agryle,	37 dr.
	to the under-secretary, Pyrgion,	30 dr., 5 ob.
	Sum total of salaries,	67 dr., 5 ob.
60	Sum total of	
	expenditures,	1790 dr., 3½ ob.
	In the seventh prytany,	
	that of the tribe Leontis,	
	received from the treasurers of the goddess,	
65	from Aresaichmos of Agryle	
	and his colleagues,	4302 dr., 1 ob.
	Expenditures: — — — — —	

XIV, col. I, XV

[— — — — — For stonework,
for channelling the columns at the
east end, those opposite the altar;
the one next to the altar of Dione (I),
Laossos of Alopeke, 10 dr. Philon of Erchia, 10 dr.
Parmenon, son of Laossos, 10 dr.
Karion, son of Laossos, 10 dr. Hikaros, 10 dr.

- [εον *ἡεχσῆς*, Φάλακρος Παιαν-]
 [ιεύς :Δ: Φιλόστρατος Παιανιε-]
 [ύς :Δ: Θαργῆλιος Φαλάκρο :Δ: Φιλ-]
 [όργος Φαλάκρο :Δ: Γῆρυς Φαλάκ-]
 [ρο :Δ: τὸν *ἡεχόμενον ἡεχσῆς*, *Ἡα-*
μεινιάδες ἐν Κοίλει ἡοικῶν,]
 [Δ: *Αἰσχίνες* :Δ: *Λυσανίας* :Δ: *Σομέ-*
 XIV, col. I, 1 *νες Ἡαμ*]*ε*[*ινιάδο* :Δ: *Τιμοκράτε-*
ς :Δ: τὸν *ἡεχόμενον ἡε*[*χσῆς*, *Σιμ-*
ίας Ἐλοπεκ]*ῆσι ἡοικῶν*, [ΓΓΓΓ. Κ-
έρδον, ΓΓΓΓ]. *Σινδρον Σιμί*[ο, ΓΓ
 5 ΓΓ. *Σοκλῆς*] *Ἀχσιοπείθος* :ΓΓ[ΓΓ.
Σαννίον Σι]*μ*(*ι*)ο :ΓΓΓΓ. *Ἡεπιγένε-*
*ς Σιμί*ο, ΓΓ]ΓΓ. *Σόσανδρος*, ΓΓΓ. τ-
 ὸν *ἡέκτον*] *κίονα ἀπὸ τοῦ βομῶ τ-*
ῆς Διόνε]*ς*, *Θευγένης Πειραιε-*
 10 *ύς*, ΓΓΓΓΓΓ]Γ. *Κεφισογένης Πειρα-*
ιεύς, ΓΓ]ΓΓΓΓ. *Τεύκρος ἐν Κυδαθ-*
εναίοι] *οἰκῶν* :ΓΓΓΓΓΓ. *Κεφισόδ-*
ορος ἐν Σ]*καμβονιδῶν ἡοικῶν*,
 ΓΓΓΓΓΓ. *Νικ*]*όστρατος* :ΓΓΓΓΓΓ. *Θε-*
 XV, 1 *υγείτο*]*ν Πειραιεύς*, [ΓΓΓΓΓΓ . . .
] *τὸν κατὰ [τὸν βομῶ-*
ν· τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ β]*ομῶ τῆς Δ-*
ιόνες - - - - -]
 - - - - -

XIII, col. II

- Γ. *τέκτ*[ονι καθ' *ἡμέραν ἡεργα-*
ζομένοι μ[. , τ-
ρίτε]*ς*] *δοδε*[*κεμέρο*, *πέντε ὀβο-*
λὸς τ]*ῆς*] *ἡεμ*[*έρας ἡεκάστες ἡε-*
 5 *πτὰ ἡε*]*μ*]*ε*ρῶ]*ν*, *Εὐαινέτοι*(?) *Ἐλοπ-*
εκέσι ἡοικ]*ῶντι*, ΓΓΓΓΓ. *τοῖς καλ-*
ύμμασι : *πε*[*ρικολλέσαντι ἡὰ π-*
ροσεμισθ]*όσαμεν δυοῖν δραχ-*
μαῖν ἡέκα]*στον τὸ ἡοπαῖον, τε-*
 10 *ττάρων ἡο*]*παῖον*, *Μάνιδι ἡεν Κ-*
ολλυτῶι ἡ]*οικῶντι*, ΓΓΓΓ. *τὸ κυ-*

- The next column (II),
 Phalakros of Paiania, 10 dr. Philostratos of Paiania, 10 dr.
 Thargelios, son of Phalakros, 10 dr.
 Philourgos, son of Phalakros, 10 dr. Gerys, son of Phalakros, 10 dr.
 The next column (III),
 Ameiniades living in Koile, 10 dr. Aischines, 10 dr.
 Lysanias, 10 dr. Somenes, son of Ameiniades, 10 dr.]
- XIV, col. I, 1 Timokrates, 10 dr.
 The next column (IV),
 Simias living in Alopeke, 7 dr. 1 ob.
 Kerdon, 7 dr. 1 ob. Sindron, son of Simias, 7 dr. 1 ob.
 5 Sokles, son of Axiopethes, 7 dr. 1 ob.
 Sannion, son of Simias, 7 dr. 1 ob.
 Epigenes, son of Simias, 7 dr. 1 ob. Sosandros, 7 dr.
 The sixth column from the altar of Dione (VI),
 Theugenēs of Peiraieus, 8 dr. 2 ob.
 10 Kephisogenēs of Peiraieus, 8 dr. 2 ob.
 Teukros living in
 Kydathenaion, 8 dr. 2 ob.
 Kephisodoros living in Skambonidai, 8 dr. 2 ob.
 Nikostratos, 8 dr. 2 ob. Theugeiton
 XV, 1 of Peiraieus, 8 dr. 2 ob.
 — — — — — those opposite the altar;
 the — — — from the altar of
 Dione, — — — — —

XIII, col. II

- Five (?) dr. To a joiner working
 by the day — — — — — ,
 in the third period of twelve days,
 at five (?) obols a day,
 5 seven days,
 to Euainetos (?), living in Alopeke, 5 dr., 5 ob.
 For gluing (the cymatium) around (the openings),
 by additional contract,
 at two drachmae each opening,
 10 four openings,
 to Manis, living in Kollytos, 8 dr.

	For gluing the cymatium around (the openings),	
	by additional contract,	
	at two drachmae each opening,	
15	six openings,	
	to Manis, living in Kollytos,	12 dr.
	For gluing the cymatium around (the openings),	
	by additional contract,	
	at two drachmae each opening, six openings,	
20	to Kroisos,	12 dr.
	Sum total of payments for joiner's work,	52 dr., 4 ob.
	To laborers working by the day,	
	the block and tackle - - - - -	
	of the Kekropion - - - - -	
25	- - - - -	
	- - - - -	
	- - - - - to seven men,	
	at a drachma a day,	
	to Konon, 1 dr.; to Apollodoros, 1 dr.;	
30	to Prepon, 1 dr.; to Medos, 1 dr.;	
	to - - - , 1 dr.; to Mammanos, 1 dr.; to - - , 1 dr.	
	For taking down and carrying away the scaffolding	
	from the north wall, from which	
	the figures of the frieze were fastened in place,	
35	to six men; to Prepon, 3 ob.; to Medos, 3 ob.;	
	to Apollodoros, 3 ob.; to - - - , 3 ob.;	
	to - - - , 3 ob.; - - - - -	
	- - - - -	

XIV, col. II; XVI, col. I

Phyromachos

10	of Kephisia, - - the wagon
	- - - - -
	striking - - , 80 dr. Praxias,
	living in Melite, the youth
	- - - - -

XVI, col. 1, 1 . . . τὸν γρ]άφοντα [ν]εα[νίσ]κον
καὶ τὸν πρ]ο[σεστ]ῶτα *ἑαυτῶι* : Η
ΔΔ] ἐν Κολλυτῶι *ἡοικ[δ]ον*,
. κ]αὶ τὸν ἄμαχσαν π[λὲν
5 τοῖν ἐμῶν]οῖν, 𐀕ΔΔΔΔ. Ἀγ[α]θάν-
ορ Ἀλοπεκεῖσι] *ἡοικ[κ]δον*, τὸ γυναι-
ῖκε τὸ πρὸς τῇ ἀμά]χσει καὶ τ-
ὸ *ἡεμῶνο*, ΗΗΔΔΔΔ]ν ἐκ
- - - - -

XVII, col. 1

[. τ]
ὄν τὸ δ]όρυ *ἡέχοντα*, 𐀕Δ. Φυρόμα-
χος Κ]εφισιεὺς, τὸν νεανίσκο-
ν τὸ]ν παρὰ τὸν θόρακα, 𐀕Δ. Πραχ-
σίας] ἐμ Μελίτει *ἡοικδον*, τὸν ἡ-
5 ἵππο]ν καὶ τὸν ἡοπισθοφανῆ τ-
ὄν πα]ρακρόντα, ΗΔΔ. Ἀντιφάν-
ες *ἡεκ*] Κεραμέον, τὸ ἄρμα καὶ τ-
ὄν νε]ανίσκον καὶ τὸ *ἡίππο* τὸ
ζευγ]νυμένο, ΗΗΔΔΔΔ. Φυρόμαχ-
10 ος Κε]φισιεὺς, τὸν *ἡάγοντα* τὸ-
ν *ἡίππον*, 𐀕Δ: Μυννίον *Ἡα(γ)ρυλῆ-*
σι] *ἡοικδον*, τὸν *ἡίππον* καὶ τὸν
ἡά]νδρα τὸν *ἡεπικρόντα* καὶ
τῆ]ν στέλεν ἡύστερον προσέθ-
15 *εκ*]ε : ΗΔΔΓΓΓ. Σδκλος *Ἡαλοπεκεῖ-*
σι] *ἡοικδον*, τὸν τὸν *χαλινὸν ἡέ-*
χο]ντα, 𐀕Δ: Φυρόμαχος Κεφισιε-
ὺς], τὸν *ἡάνδρα* τὸν *ἡεπὶ τῆς βα-*
κτ]ερίας εἰστεκότα, τὸν παρὰ
20 τὸ]ν βομόν, 𐀕Δ: *Ἡίαςος* Κολλυτε-
ὺς], τὴν γυναῖκα *ἔι ἐ παῖς* προσ-
πέ]πτοκε, 𐀕ΔΔΔ. Κεφάλαιον *ἡα-*
γα]λματοποιῖκο, XXXHHHΔΓ. Λε-
μμ]α, (X)XXXXHHHΓΓΓ: *ἡανάλομα* τὸ α-
25 *υτ]δον*. *Ἡεπὶ τῆς Πανδι-*
ονί]δος ὀγδόες *πρυτανευούσ-*
ες]. Λέμματα παρὰ ταμῶν τῆς

XVI, col. I, 1 -- the youth who is writing
 and the man standing beside him, 120 dr.
 --, living in Kollytos
 -- and the wagon without
 5 the two mules, 90 dr.
 Agathanor, living in Alopeke,
 the two women beside the wagon,
 and the two mules, 240 dr.

XVII, col, I

	-- the man holding the spear,	60 dr.
	Phyromachos of Kephisia,	
	the youth beside the breast-plate,	60 dr.
	Praxias, living in Melite,	
5	the horse and the man appearing behind it	
	and striking it in the flank,	120 dr.
	Antiphanes of Kerameis,	
	the chariot, and the youth,	
	and the two horses being harnessed,	240 dr.
10	Phyromachos of Kephisia,	
	the man leading the horse,	60 dr.
	Mynnion, living in Agryle,	
	the horse and the man striking it,	
	and he later added the stele,	127 dr.
15	Soklos, living in Alopeke,	
	the man holding the bridle,	60 dr.
	Phyromachos of Kephisia,	
	the man leaning on a staff	
	beside the altar,	60 dr.
20	Iasos of Kollytos, the woman with the	
	little girl leaning against her,	80 dr.
	Sum total of payments for sculpture,	3315 dr.
	Receipts,	4302 dr., 1 ob.
	Expenditures,	the same.
25	In the eighth prytany,	
	that of the tribe Pandionis,	
	received from the treasurers	

- θε]δ, Ἄρεσαίχμο Ἡαγρυλῆθεν κ-
αί] συναρχόντον, ΧΗΗΔΔΔΓΤΤΤ
30 ΤΙ. ἡα]ναλόμεατα. ἡονέματα· σα-
νί]δες δύο ἡες ἄς τὸν λόγον ἡα-
ν]αγράφο[μ]εν, δραχμῆς ἡεκατέ-
ρα]ν, ΤΤ. κεφάλαιον ἡονεμάτων
ΤΤ]. Διθοργικὸ· ῥαβδόσεος τὸν
35 κί]όνον τὸν πρὸς ἔο τὸν κατὰ τ-
ὸν] βομόν· τὸν τρίτον ἡαπὸ τὸ β-
ομ]δ τῆς Διόνες, Ἡαμεινιάδες
ἐν Κ]οίλε(ι) ἡοικὸν, ΔΓΤΤΤΤ. Ἡα[ι]σχ-
ίνε]ς :ΔΓΤΤΤΤ. Δυσανίας, ΔΓΤΤΤΤ. Σ-
40 ομέ]νες Ἡαμεινιάδο :ΔΓΤΤΤΤ. Τι-
μοκ]ράτες :ΔΓΤΤΤΤ. τὸν ἡεχόμεν-
ον ἐχσ]ῆς, Σιμίας Ἄλοπεκῆσι ἡ-
οικὸν :Δ]ΤΤΤΤ, Κέρδον :ΔΤΤ ΙΙΙΙΙ. Σίν-
δρον Σιμ]ίο, ΔΤΤ ΙΙΙΙΙ. Σοκλῆς Ἡαχ-
45 σιοπείθ]ος, ΔΤΤ ΙΙΙΙΙ. Σαννίον Σι-
μί]ο, Δ[ΤΤ ΙΙ]ΙΙΙ. Ἡεπιείκες [Σ]ιμίο :Δ
ΤΤΙ]ΙΙΙΙ. Σό[σ]ανδρος Σιμίο, ΔΤΤ ΙΙΙΙΙ.
τὸ]ν ἡεχόμενον ἐχσῆς, Ὀνέσι-
μος] Νικοστρ[ά]το :ΔΓΤ[ΙΙΙ]Ι. Ἡεύδο-
50 χσο]ς Ἄλοπεκῆσι ἡοικὸ]ν, ΔΓΤ ΙΙ
ΙΙ. Κλ]έον :ΔΓΤ ΙΙΙΙ. Σίμ[ον Ἡαγ]ρυλῆ-
σι ἡοικὸν :ΔΓΤ ΙΙΙΙ. Ἡ[αντ]ίδοτος
Γλαύ]κο, ΔΓΤ ΙΙΙΙ. Ἡε[ύδι]κος, ΔΓΤ ΙΙ
ΙΙ. τὸν] ἡεχόμενον [ἡεχ]σῆς, Θευγ-
55 ἐνες] Πειραιεύ[ς, ΔΓ]. Κεφισογέ-
νες Π]ειραιεύ[ς, ΔΓ. Τ]ε[ύ]κρος ἐν
Κυδα]θENAίο [ἡοικ]ὸν, ΔΓ. Κεφι-
σόδo]ρος ἐ[ν Σκαμβ]ονιδὸν ἡοι-
κὸν], ΔΓ. Ν[ι]κό[στρα]τος :ΔΓ. Θευγε-
60 ίτον] Πειραι[εύς], ΔΓ. τὸς ὀρθοσ-
τάτ]ας καταχ[σδ]ντι τὸ παρὰ τὸ-
ν θ]νεχὸ βομὸ[ν], Πολυκλῆς [Λ]ακι-
άδε]ς :ΔΔΔΓ. ῥα[β]δόσεος τὸν κί-
ονον τ]ὸν πρὸς[ς ἔ]ο τὸν κατὰ τὸν β-
65 ομόν]. τὸν πρὸς τὸ βομὸ τῆς Διό-
νες, Λ]άοσσος [Ἄ]λοπεκῆ[θ]εν, ΔΔ. Φ-

- of the goddess,
 from Aresaichmos of Agryle and his colleagues, 1239 dr., 1 ob.
- 30 Expenses. Purchases:
 Two boards upon which we inscribe the account,
 at a drachma each, 2 dr.
 sum total of purchases, 2 dr.
 Stonework:
- 35 For channelling the columns at the east end,
 those opposite the altar; the third column
 from the altar of Dione (III),
 Ameiniades, living in Koile, 18 dr.
 Aischines, 18 dr. Lysanias, 18 dr.
- 40 Somenes, son of Ameiniades, 18 dr.
 Timokrates, 18 dr.
 The next column (IV),
 Simias, living in Alopeke, 13 dr.
 Kerdon, 12 dr., 5 ob. Sindron, son of Simias, 12 dr., 5 ob.
- 45 Sokles, son of Axiopeithes, 12 dr., 5 ob. Sannion, son of Simias, 12 dr., 5 ob.
 Epieikes, son of Simias, 12 dr., 5 ob.
 Sosandros, son of Simias, 12 dr., 5 ob.
 The next column (V),
 Onesimos, son of Nikostratos, 16 dr., 4 ob.
- 50 Eudoxos, living in Alopeke, 16 dr., 4 ob.
 Kleon, 16 dr., 4 ob.
 Simon living in Agryle, 16 dr., 4 ob.
 Antidotos, son of Glaukos, 16 dr., 4 ob. Eudikos (?), 16 dr., 4 ob.
 The next column (VI),
- 55 Theuges of Peiraieus, 15 dr.
 Kephisogenes of Peiraieus, 15 dr.
 Teukros, living in Kydathenaion, 15 dr.
 Kephisodoros, living in Skambonidai, 15 dr.
 Nikostratos, 15 dr.
- 60 Theugeiton of Peiraieus, 15 dr.
 For smoothing the orthostates,
 the two by the altar of the Thyechoüs,
 Polykles of Lakiadai, 35 dr.
 For channelling the columns at the east end,
- 65 those opposite the altar;
 the column next to the altar of Dione (I),

- ἴλο]ν *Ἡερχι[ε]νς*, ΔΔ. Π[αρμ]ένον Λ-
 αόσ]σο, ΔΔ. Κ[αρί]ον Λαόσσο :ΔΔ: *Ἡί-*
καρος :Δ]Δ. τὸν *ἡεχόμενον* [έ]χσê-
 70 *ς*, Φά]λακρος Παιανιεύς :ΔΔ: Φιλ-
 όστρ]ατος Παιανιε., ΔΔ. Θ[α]ργέλ-
 ιος] Φαλάκρο, [Δ]Δ. Φιλόργ[ο]ς Φαλ-
 άκρ]ο :ΔΔ. Γέρυ[ς] Φαλάκρ[ο], ΔΔ: τὸν
ἡεχ]όμενον [έχ]σêς, 'Αμ[ει]νιάδε-
 75 *ς* έ]ν Κοίλε[ι οἰ]κὸν :ΔΔ. Αἰσχίνη-
ς, Δ]Δ. Λυσ[α]νίας, Δ]Δ. Σο[μ]ένες *Ἡαμ-*
ει]νιάδ[ο, ΔΔ. Τ]ιμοκ[ρ]άτες, ΔΔ, τὸ-
ν ἡ]εχό[μεν]ον έχσêς, Σιμί[ας]: 'Αλ-
οπ]εκêσι *ἡοικὸν*, ΔΤΤΤΤΠ. Κέρδ-
 80 *ον*], ΔΤΤΤΤΠ. Σίνδρο[ν] Σιμί[ο] :ΔΤΤ
 ΤΤΤ]Ι. Σοκλêς *Ἡαχσ[ιοπ]είθος*, [ΔΤ
 ΤΤΤ]Π. Σαννίον Σι[μίο], ΔΤΤΤΤΠ. *Ἡ-*
επ[ι]ε]ίκες Σιμί[ο], [ΔΤΤ]ΤΤ]Ι. Σόσα-
νδρος] :ΔΤΤΤΤΤ: τ[ὸν] *ἡεχό[μενον]*
 85 *έχσêς*], *Ἡονέσιμ[ος]* *Νικοστράτ-*
ο, ΔΓΤΤΤ]ΤΠΙΙ. *Ἡ[ε]ύ[δοχσος]* 'Αλοπεκ-
êσι *ἡοικ]ὸν*, Δ[ΓΤΤΤ. Κλέον, ΔΓΤΤΤ]
 [ΤΠ. Σίμον *Ἡαγρυλêσι* *ἡοικὸν*, Δ]
 [ΓΤΤΤΙΙ. *Ἡαντίδοτος* Γλαύκο, ΔΓ]
 90 [ΤΤΤΙΙ. *Ἡεύδικος*, ΔΓΤΤΤΙΙ.]

XVI, col. II

- *ἡε* [..... *τὲν*
σελίδα [τ]έν [*καμπύλεν*, *δυοῖν* δ-
ραχμαῖν *ἡέ[καστον]* τὸ *κάλυμμα-*
α, *ἔχς* *ἡό[ν]τα*, Μάν[ιδι] ἐν *Κολλυτ-*
 5 *οῖ* *ἡοικὸν*τι, Δ[ΤΤ. τὰ *καλύμματ-*
α *έχσεργασαμ[ένοι]* *τὲ-*
ν *σελίδα* ἐν *αὐ[τοῖς]*
δυοῖν [*δραχμαῖν* *ἡέκαστον* τὸ
κάλυ[μμα], *ἡέχς* *ὄντα*, ...

- Laossos of Alopeke, 20 dr. Philon of Erchia, 20 dr.
 Parmenon, son of Laossos, 20 dr., Karion, son of Laossos, 20 dr., Ikaros, 20 dr.
 The next column (II),
 70 Phalakros of Paiania, 20 dr. Philostratos of Paiania, 20 dr.
 Thargelios, son of Phalakros, 20 dr.
 Philourgos, son of Phalakros, 20 dr.
 Gerys, son of Phalakros, 20 dr.
 The next column (III),
 75 Ameiniades, living in Koile, 20 dr.
 Aischines, 20 dr. Lysanias, 20 dr.
 Somenes, son of Ameiniades, 20 dr. Timokrates, 20 dr.
 The next column (IV),
 Simias, living in Alopeke, 14 dr., 2 ob. Kerdon, 14 dr., 2 ob.
 80 Sindron, son of Simias, 14 dr., 2 ob.
 Sokles, son of Axiopeithes, 14 dr., 2 ob.
 Sannion, son of Simias, 14 dr., 2 ob.
 Epieikes, son of Simias, 14 dr., 1 ob. Sosandros, 14 dr., 1 ob.
 The next column (V),
 85 Onesimos, son of Nikostratos, 18 dr., $3\frac{1}{2}$ ob.
 Eudoxos, living in Alopeke, 18 dr., 2 ob. (?)
 Kleon, 18 dr., 2 ob.
 Simon, living in Agryle, 18 dr., $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob.
 Antidotos, son of Glaukos, 18 dr., $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob.
 90 Eudikos (?), 18 dr., $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob.

XVI, col. II

- the bent (?) beam, at two drachmae
 each coffer-lid,
 six in all,
 5 to Manis living in Kollytos, 12 dr.
 For making the coffer-lids --
 the beam in them -----
 at two drachmae each coffer-lid,
 six in all -----

XVII, col. II

	[To modellers in wax]	
	for making models of the	
	rosettes for the coffer-lids,	
	to Neseus, living in Melite,	8 dr.
	For making another model,	
5	the acanthus, for the coffer-lids,	
	Agathanor, living in Alopeke,	8 dr.
	Sum total of payments to modellers in wax,	16 dr.
	Salaries:	
	To the architect, Archilochos of Agryle,	36 dr.
10	To the under-secretary, Pyrgion of Otryne,	30 dr.
	Sum total of salaries,	66 dr.
	To a painter in encaustic,	
	for painting the cymatium	
	on the inner epistyle,	
15	at five obols a foot,	
	one hundred and thirteen feet,	
	to the contractor, Dionysodoros,	
	living in Melite, we gave in addition	
	to what he had received before,	
20	Herakleides of Oa being surety,	44 dr., 1 ob.
	Sum total of payments to the painter in encaustic,	44 dr., 1 ob.
	Receipts,	1239 dr., 1 ob.
	Expenditures,	the same.
	In the prytany of Aegeïs,	
25	Received from the treasurers	
	of the goddess, from Aresaichmos	
	of Agryle and his colleagues,	1400 + dr.
	Paid for offerings for the sacrifice to Athena	
	at the new moon, with the workmen,	4 dr., 3 ob.
30	Expenditures. Purchases:	
	Two sheets of paper were bought, on which	
	we wrote the copies of the accounts,	2 dr., 4 ob.
	Four boards,	4 dr.
	166 leaves of gold were bought	
35	for the rosettes,	
	at a drachma a leaf,	
	from Adonis, living in Melite,	166 dr.

	Two talents of lead were bought for the fastening of the sculptures,	
40	from Sostratos, living in Melite,	10 dr.
	Two leaves of gold were bought for gilding the two eyes of the column, from Adonis, living in Melite,	2 dr.
45	Sum total of purchases, Stonework.	189 dr., 1 ob.
	For channelling the columns at the east end, by the altar; the column next to the altar of Dione (I),	
50	Laossos of Alopeke, Philon of Erchia, Parmenon, son of Laossos, Karion, son of Laossos, Ikaros,	110 dr.
	The next column, the second one (II), Phalakros of Paiania, Philostratos of Paiania, Thargelios, son of Phalakros,	
55	Gerys, son of Phalakros,	110 dr.
	The next column (III), Ameiniades, living in Koile, Lysanias, Somenes, son of Ameiniades, Aischines, Timokrates,	110 dr.
60	The next column (IV), Simias, living in Alopeke, Kerdon, Sindron, Sokles, Sannion, Epieikes, Sosandros,	60 dr.
	The sixth column from the altar of Dione (VI), Theugenes of Peiraieus,	
65	Kephisogenes of Peiraieus, Teukros, living in Kydathenaion, Kephisodoros, Nikostratos, Theugeiton of Peiraieus,	110 dr.
	Sum total of payments for stonework,	500 dr.
70	For making rosettes: To Neseus, living in Melite, for one rosette,	14 dr.
	Soteles — — — for one rosette,	14 dr.
	Eumelides, living in Skambonidai,	14 dr.
	Philios, living in Skambonidai,	14 dr.
75	Agorandros, living in Kollytos, for one rosette,	14 dr.
	For making six rosettes,	

Κολλυτῶι ἡ]οι., ΠΔΔΔ††††. χάλκ-
 as ἡεργασαμέ]νοι ἡένδεκα, Στ-
 ἐν Κολ]λυ. ἡοικῶντ-
 80 ι, ΗΠ††††. χάλκεν ἡ]εργασαμέν-
 οι μίαν, ...] τίοι : Δ†††
 †]. χάλκας ἡεργασαμ]ένοι τρε-
 s, ... ΔΔ]ΔΔ†† το
] ένοι τ

XVIII

..... λ]ευκο τῆι
 χάλ]κας ἑ]χς κ-
 ὀ]βολ : ἡεκα :
 5]ο : ἡοικ : ΔΔ
 λ]αντι τ-
]χ

XIX

... ο[..... δυοῖ-
 ν δ]ραχμαῖν ἡ[έκαστον, ...
 . ἐ]μ Μελίτει [ἡοικῶντι, ... π-
 ετά]λος χρυσ[ὸ
 5 ...]μενον χα[.....
 ...]λιον ἡελ[.....
 ...] χαλκῶν δ[.....
 .. ἐμ] Μελίτ. ἡ[οικ.
 ὀφθα]λμὸ τῶν [κινόνον
 10 χ]ρυσσο[.....
]ν[.....

XX, col. 1

Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθεῖ]δος δεκάτε-
 s πρυτανεύουσες] :· λέμματα·
 ἡεις ἡιερά μετὰ τῶ]ν δεμιοργ-
 ὶν -----]νος : Πειθ-
 5 -----] ΠΠC. Πολυκ-
 λῆς -----]γε

	to Manis, living in Kollytos,	84 dr.
	For making eleven rosettes,	
	To St, living in Kollytos,	154 dr.
80	For making one rosette,	
	to - - - - ,	14 dr.
	For making three rosettes,	
	to - - - - ,	42 dr.

XVIII

	- - - - - white
	- - - - - six rosettes
	- - - - - obols each
	- - - - - living in, 20 + dr.
5	- - - - -
	- - - - -

XIX

	- - - - - two
	drachmae each - - - - -
	living in Melite - - - - -
	leaves of gold - - - - -
5	- - - - -
	- - - - -
	- of rosettes - - - - -
	- living in Melite - - - - -
	the two eyes of the columns - - -
10	- - - gilding - - - - -
	- - - - -

XX, col. 1

	In the tenth prytany,
	that of Erechtheïs. Receipts:
	for the sacrifices with the workmen,
	- - - - - Peith-
5	- - - - - 3½ ob. Polykles
	- - - - -

XX, col. II

Ἰασος [— — — — — ἐ-
 μ Με. : οἰκ. — — — — —
 ἱῖ: Διο[— — — — — Ἄ-
 γαθά[νορ — — — — —
 5 ΓῖΙΙ: [— — — — —
 ἱ. Ἄν[τιφάνες — — — — —

XXI

— —] οἰς [— —
 — —] Μικίονι : εἰ — —
 — —] ἱ: κλιμακ[— —
 — — τέ]τταρας π[όδας? — —
 5 — —] φύλακι : ἱ [— —
 — — τ]ορνευτῇ [— —
 — —] ἔδε ἐς τ[— —

XXII

— —] σ [— —
 — —] γοσι [— —
 — —] οσες π[— —
 — —] ι : ἱῖῖῖ: α[— —
 5 — —] γει : ἱῖῖ: πρ[— —
 — —] οτορολεο [— —
 — —] σιθεο τευγει : ἱ[— —
 — — τ]ὰ χύλα ἐπὶ [— —
 — — ἀνδ]ροῖν δυοῖν : ἱῖ [— —
 10 — — — —] ιτα [— —

XXIII

— —] ελο[— —
 — — Νικό]στρατ[ος — —
 — —]ς. ΓῖΙΙΙ, Διοκλ[ῆς? — —
 — —]ος : ΔΙ, Μίκον : Γ [— —
 5 — —] ἱῖῖῖ, Ἄντιφάνες [— —
 — —]ον Γ, Πραχσίας [— —
 — — Κ]ολλυ. Δ, Ἄριστ [— —
 — — Λά]οσσος ΙΙΙΙΖ, Ἰασ[ος — —
 — — Σ]τράτον Δ, [— —
 10 — —]κίονι? [— —

XX, col. II

Iasos - - - - -
 living in Melite - - -
 2 dr. Dio- - - - -
 Agathanor - - - - -
 5 6 dr., 2 ob. - - - - -
 1 dr. Antiphanes (?) -

XXI

- - - - -
 - - - to Mikion - - - - -
 - - 1 dr. Ladders - - - - -
 - - four feet (?) - - - - -
 5 - - to the guard, 1 ob. -
 - - to a lathe worker (?)
 - - was needed for - - -

XXII

- - - - -
 - - - - -
 - - - - -
 - - - - - 4 dr. - - - - -
 5 - - - - - 3 dr. - - - - -
 - - - - -
 - - - - -
 - - - - the timbers upon - -
 - - - to two men, 2 ob. - -
 10 - - - - -

XXIII

- - - - -
 - - - - - Nikostratos - - -
 - - - 6 dr., 4 ob. Diokles - - -
 - - - -os, 10 dr., 2 ob. Mikon, 5 (?) dr. - - -
 5 - - - 4 dr. Antiphanes, - - - -
 - - - -on, 5 dr. Praxias, - - -
 living in Kollytos, 10 dr. Arist - -
 - - Laossos, $4\frac{1}{2}$ ob. Iasos - - -
 - - - Straton, 10 dr. - - - - -
 10 - - - - - the column - - - - -

XXIV

- - - - -] α . . [- - -
 - - - - -] ν η ε φ [- - -
 - - - - -] ι σ κ ο [- - -
 - - - - -] . α σ ε [- - - -
 5 - - - τ ε] ν γ υ ν [α ι κ α - -
 - - -] ν ε ν ρ [- - - -
 - - ε ν τ ο δ [- - - -
 - - γ] υ ν α ι [κ α - - - -
 - -] ι : ρ α . [- - - - -
 - - -] . τ [- - - - -

XXV

θ [- - - - -
 ο γ ο [- - - - - π
 ρ ό ς β ο [ρ ρ â ν (?) - - - - -
 ἀ π έ δ ο μ [ε ν - - - - - K
 5 ε φ ι σ ι ε ι : Δ [- - - - -
 κ ε φ ά [λ α ι ο ν - - - - -
 α τ ο π [- - - - -
 - - ε Η Γ Ϛ [- - - - -
 λ έ μ [μ α τ α - - - - -
 10 Δ Δ Γ [- - - - -
 ἀ ν α [λ ό μ α τ α - - - - -

COMMENTARY

The extant fragments are from the accounts of the second half of the year 408/7 B.C., when the temple was approaching completion. Many of the payments recorded are for small pieces of work which call for no explanation. The chief difficulty is the fixing of the order in which the items of the account are recorded. The texts and translations are printed in the sequence adopted in the introduction and illustrated in Figure 194. At the risk of undue repetition it has seemed useful to give a summary of the account in tabular form. The more important items can be conveniently grouped under four headings, and will be

XXIV

5	-- the woman -----
	-- 50 dr. -----

	-- woman -----
	-- 50 dr. -----

XXV

	to the north (?) -----
	we gave -----
5	of Kephisia, 10 drachmae (?) --
	Sum total -----

	106 drachmae (?) -----
	Receipts -----
10	25 drachmae (?) -----
	Expenses -----

discussed in the order in which they are first mentioned in the inscription. The commentary thus falls into five parts, as follows:

1. Summary of the accounts of the sixth to ninth prytanies.
2. Work on a coffered ceiling.
3. The painting of the inner epistyle.
4. The channelling of the east columns.
5. Work on the reliefs of the frieze.

1. SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS OF SIXTH TO NINTH PRYTANIES

Missing portion before XIII, Col. I	SIXTH PRYTANY		
	Receipts		[1790,3½]
	Expenditures.		
	Purchases.		
	Wages.		
	For stonework.		
	For channelling columns of East Porch		
	Column v	[50,0]	
	For sculpture (?)		
	For carving figures of the frieze (?)		
	For woodwork (?)		
	To laborers		
XIII, Col. I, l. 3	To two men	2,0	
14	To six men, for laying the bent beam and the other ceiling beams	6,0	
21	To six men, for removing scaffolding from North Porch	6,0	
24	To one man, for erecting scaffolding for encaustic painters in interior	1,3	
27	To two men, for carrying up paint-pots (?)	2,0	
28	Total to laborers		84,4½
	To sawyers		
34	To two men, working sixteen days	32,0	
41	To two men, for sawing coffer-lids, working seven days	14,0	
42	Total to sawyers		46,0
49	To encaustic painters, for painting the cymatium of the inner epistyle	30,0	
50	Total to encaustic painters		30,0
54	To gilders, for gilding rosettes, payment due from previous prytany	?	
55	Total to gilders		?
	Salaries.		
57	To the architect, Archilochos	37,0	
58	To the undersecretary, Pyrgion	30,5	
59	Total for salaries		67,5
61	Total expenditures during sixth prytany		1790,3½
	SEVENTH PRYTANY		
66	Receipts		4302,1
	Expenditures.		

Lacuna between XIII, Col. I and XIV, Col. I. 33 to 45 lines (?)	Purchases. Wages. For stonework. For channelling columns of East Porch Column I Column II	[50,0] [50,0]	
XIV, Col. I, l. 1 7 14 XV, 1	Column III Column IV Column VI	50,0 50,0 50,0	
Lacuna between XV and XIII, Col. II. About 30 lines (?)	Column I Column II Column V <i>Total for stonework</i> For woodwork. .	[90,0] [90,0] [90,0]	[520,0]
XIII, Col. II, l. 6 11 16 20 21 31 37	To a joiner, seven days at 5 obols a day To joiners, for gluing mouldings around the coffers To Manis, for four coffers To Manis, for six coffers To Kroisos, for six coffers <i>Total to joiners</i> To laborers To seven men, at 1 drachma a day To six men, for removing scaffolding used for fastening figures of the frieze	5,5 8,0 12,0 12,0 52,4 7,0 3,0	
Lacuna between XIII, Col. II and XIV, Col. II. 70 to 82 lines (?)	<i>Total to laborers</i> To sawyers (?) To encaustic painters, for painting the cymatium of the inner epistyle To gilders (?) Salaries. To the architect, Archilochos To the undersecretary, Pyrgion <i>Total for salaries</i> To sculptors, for carving figures of the frieze. .	 [20,0] [36,0] [30,0] [66,0]	?

XIV, Col. II, l. 11	To Phyromachos (?) for a group	80,0(?)	
12	To Praxias (?), for a youth . . .		
XVI, Col. I, 2	and for the youth writing and the man standing beside him	200,0(?)	
5	To —, for the — and the wagon without the mules	90,0	
8	To Agathanor, for the two women beside the wagon and the mules	240,0(?)	
Lacuna between XVI, Col. I and XVII, Col. I. About 25 lines(?)			
XVII, Col. I, l. 1	To —, for the man with the spear	60,0	
3	To Phyromachos, for the youth beside the breast-plate	60,0	
6	To Praxias, for the horse and the man beside it	120,0	
9	To Antiphanes, for the chariot, the youth, and the horses being harnessed	240,0	
11	To Phyromachos, for the man leading the horse	60,0	
14	To Mynnion, for the horse, the man striking it, and the stele	127,0	
16	To Sokles, for the man holding the bridle	60,0	
19	To Phyromachos, for the man leaning on a staff	60,0	
21	To Iasos, for the woman with the little girl leaning against her	80,0	
23	<i>Total to sculptors</i>		3315,0
24	<i>Total expenditures during seventh prytany</i>		4302,1
EIGHTH PRYTANY			
29	Receipts		1239,1
	Expenditures.		
	Purchases.		
33	Two boards, on which to inscribe the account	2,0	
	Wages.		
34	For stonework.		
	For channelling columns of East Porch		
41	Column III	90,0	
47	Column IV	90,0	
53	Column V	100,0	
60	Column VI	90,0	
63	For smoothing orthostates beside the altar of the Thyechoüs	35,0	

For channelling columns of East Porch			
69	Column I	100,0	
73	Column II	100,0	
78	Column III	100,0	
84	Column IV	100,0	
87	Column V	110,0	
Lacuna between XVII,	Column VI	[100,0]	
Col. I and XVI,	<i>Total for stonework</i>		[1015,0]
Col. II. About 43	For woodwork(?)		
lines(?)			
XVI, Col. II, l. 4	For making coffer-lids.		
5	To Manis, for six coffer-lids, at 2 drachmae each	12,0	
9	To —, for six coffer-lids, at 2 drachmae each	12,0(?)	
Lacuna between XVI,			
Col. II and XVII,			
Col. II. About 24			
lines(?)			
XVII, Col. II, l. 2	To modellers in wax, for making models of rosettes		
3	To Neseus, for one model	8,0	
7	To Agathanor, for another model, the acanthus	8,0	
8	<i>Total to modellers in wax</i>		16,0
	Salaries.		
10	To the architect, Archilochos	36,0	
11	To the undersecretary, Pyrgion	30,0	
12	<i>Total for salaries</i>		66,0
20	To an encaustic painter, for painting the cymatium of the inner epistyle	44,1	
22	<i>Total to encaustic painter</i>		44,1
23	<i>Total expenditures, during eighth prytany</i>		1239,1
	NINTH PRYTANY		
27	Receipts		2400,0+
	Expenditures.		
30	Contribution for sacrifices	4,3	
	Purchases.		
32	2 sheets of paper, on which to inscribe copies of the account	2,4	
33	4 boards	4,0	
37	166 leaves of gold, for gilding rosettes	166,0	

40	2 talents of lead, for fastening figures of frieze	10,0	
44	2 leaves of gold, for gilding eyes of column	2,0	
45	<i>Total purchases (including contribution)</i>		189,1
	Wages.		
46	For stonework.		
	For channelling columns of East Porch.		
52	Column I	110,0	
56	Column II	110,0	
59	Column III	110,0	
63	Column IV	60,0	
68	Column VI	110,0	
69	<i>Total for stonework</i>		500,0
	For making rosettes.		
71	To Neseus, for one rosette	14,0	
72	To Soteles, for one rosette	14,0	
73	To Eumelides, for one rosette	14,0	
74	To Philios, for one rosette	14,0	
75	To Agorandros, for one rosette	14,0	
77	To Manis, for six rosettes	84,0	
79	To St——, for eleven rosettes	154,0	
81	To ——, for one rosette	14,0	
83	To ——, for three rosettes	42,0	

2. WORK ON A COFFERED CEILING

This is referred to in the following passages:

Sixth prytany. XIII, col. I, ll. 2-14: placing the "bent beam" and the other beams.
Lines 29-42: sawing lids for coffers.

Seventh prytany. XIII, col. II, ll. 6-20: gluing mouldings around sixteen coffers.

Eighth prytany. XVI, col. II, ll. 1-9: finishing coffer-lids. XVII, col. II, ll. 1-8: wax models for floral ornaments of coffers.

Ninth prytany. XVII, col. II, ll. 34-38: purchase of gold for the floral ornaments.
Lines 69-84: making floral ornaments. XIX, ll. 4-7: gold for floral ornaments.

As has already been noted (pp. 351 f., 363 f.), the ceiling referred to in these passages differed from that made in the previous year in at least two respects: it included a mysterious "bent beam"; and its coffers were apparently filled with plastic floral ornaments. Reasons were given for believing that the ceiling laid in 409/8 B.C. was over the East Cella, and that the ceiling referred to in these passages belonged to the western portion of the temple. It is assumed to have been supported by a great girder at the level of the epistyle, dividing it into two sections, each with six main beams (*σελίδες*). The *σελὶς καμπύλη*, or "bent beam," referred to in the first passage, and perhaps in XVI, col. II, l. 2, may be the southernmost of the six beams in the western section, running next to the south wall from

the girder to the *metopon*, and thence continuing in a diagonal line to the first column on the west wall. This arrangement, first proposed by Holland in connection with his restoration of the niche, is shown in Figure 187. Six men were paid a drachma each (one day's wage) for laying these beams.

No mention is made in the accounts of the *κλιμακίδες* (ladders), or of the larger and smaller *πλαίσια* (frames), which were used in the ceiling constructed in the previous year. The coffers are referred to simply as *όπαῖα* (openings). They had *κυμάτια* (mouldings) and *καλύμματα* (lids). And they were apparently adorned with floral ornaments of two types — *κάλχη* and *ἄκανθα*. The coffers of the east ceiling appear to have been three-stepped, with elaborately carved mouldings. Those of the west ceiling may have been one-stepped, allowing more space for the floral ornaments.

The word *όπαῖον* occurs only in XIII, col. II, ll. 6–20, in the sense of coffer-opening; but its meaning is clear.

Κάλχη is used in II, col. I, l. 90 to describe the rosettes which were to be carved on the epistyle of the Porch of the Maidens. They were presumably similar to the rosettes on the jambs and lintel of the north door. Cf. Newton, *Br. Mus., Gr. Inscr.*, I, p. 94: “*κάλχη* was the name of a flower used in making wreaths. See Nicander, *Georg.* II, l. 60, ap. *Athen.* XV, p. 684c (where Casaubon corrects *κάλχας* for *χάλκας*); Alkman, ap. *Athen.* XV, p. 682a; Hesych. s. v.; and Dioskor. IV, 58, *χρυσάνθεμον ἢ χαλκάς* (where *κάλχη* is probably the true reading). The flower described by Dioskorides has been identified by botanists with the *chrysanthemum coronarium*.” In the account of 408/7 B.C. the word is spelled *χάλκη* or *χάλλη*, but the form *κάλχη* is undoubtedly the correct one. Cf. the Epidaurian inscription relating to the building of the temple of Asklepios, *I.G.*, IV, 1484, l. 83, *κυμάτια καὶ ἀστραγάλους καὶ κάλχας καὶ ἀστέρας χρυσῶσαι*; also *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, p. 395, *τοῦ νεοῦ τοῦ Ἀσκληπίου τῆς ὀροφῆς τὰ κρίνα λευκῶσαντι καὶ τὰς κάλχας χρυσῶσαντι*. The best preserved Greek ornaments of this type are from the ceiling of the fourth century Tholos at Epidauros (cf. Defrasse-Lechat, *Epidaure*, p. 119). On the east ceiling of the Erechtheum the coffer-lids were decorated with *πομφόλυγες* (see above, p. 368). On the west ceiling an acanthus design (*ἄκανθα*) alternated with the *κάλχη*. The inscriptions cited above mention also a star (*ἀστήρ*) and a lily (*κρίνον*).

Wax models of the *κάλχη* and *ἄκανθα* were made in the eighth prytany at 8 drachmae each. At least twenty-six *κάλχαι* were executed in the ninth prytany, the price paid for each, 14 drachmae, being about one quarter of that paid for a figure of the frieze. These ornaments, if they belonged to the west ceiling, were undoubtedly of wood, whereas the similar ornaments on the ceiling of the North Portico (p. 89) were probably of marble, like the Epidaurian examples. The gilding of the *κάλχαι* is mentioned in inscription XIX (ninth prytany). The payment for gilding of *κάλχαι* in the fifth and sixth prytanies (XIII, col. I, ll. 50–55) perhaps refers to the ornaments of the North Portico, as does the mention of *κάλχαι* in inscription XVIII, which has been assigned to the end of the fifth prytany.

3. THE PAINTING OF THE INNER EPISTYLE

The items relating to this are as follows:

Sixth prytany. XIII, col. I, ll. 21–24: putting up a scaffolding for the encaustic painters in the interior, under the ceiling. Lines 42–50: payment of 30 drachmae for the painting of the moulding on the inner epistyle, at 5 obols a foot.

Eighth prytany. XVII, col. II, ll. 12–22: additional payment of 44 drachmae, 1 obol for the painting of the moulding on the inner epistyle, 113 feet, at 5 obols a foot.

The significance of these passages was first pointed out by B. H. Hill in *A.J.A.*, XIV, 1910, pp. 291 ff., from which the following note is repeated, in part verbatim.

The ceiling, under which a scaffolding for the painters in encaustic was put up in the sixth prytany, must be identical with that for which the beams had just been laid, i. e., it was the ceiling of the western part of the temple which formed one room some 30 feet high. The cross-wall running north and south, which divided this room, reached only as high as the bases of the columns on the west wall, and had no connection whatever with the epistyle. The encaustic work was paid for at 5 obols per foot, and the sum paid is 30 drachmae. One might therefore infer that precisely 36 feet had been painted. Now in the entry of the eighth prytany 113 feet are specified, which at the rate of 5 obols per foot would amount to 94 drachmae, 1 obol, while the sum actually paid is 44 drachmae, 1 obol. It would seem therefore that 50 drachmae must already have been paid in the sixth and seventh prytanies. In the sixth prytany we know that 30 drachmae were paid, and it is reasonable to infer that the balance of 20 drachmae was paid in the seventh prytany, the account for which has been lost. Thus the payments of the sixth and seventh prytanies were unquestionably advances on account, and the omission in the accounts of the sixth prytany to specify the number of feet painted is therefore perfectly natural. The payment in the eighth prytany is undoubtedly final and indicates the completion of the work, and the length, 113 feet, is the entire length of epistyle painted under the contract.

The item cannot refer to the epistyle of the East Cella, which was only 104 feet long, the room being 30 feet wide and 22 feet deep.

The next point to determine is whether the length of 113 feet can be brought into harmony with the dimensions of the western room. This room is 33 feet long, east to west, and 30 feet wide. This would give an epistyle 126 feet in length, if the epistyle were regular, and the irregularities of structure in the southwest corner would increase this length by about 5 feet (Fig. 203). How then is this discrepancy to be reconciled?

In this corner there was a platform which had the width of the niche, and which was only about 11 feet below the epistyle. No fixed scaffolding would have been necessary here, as it was in the rest of the room, which was 30 feet high. To this high scaffolding reference is made in XIII, col. I, l. 21; and the material for it is probably referred to in line 14, where the removal of the scaffolding from the North Portico is spoken of. It is therefore reasonable

to believe that the account under consideration covered only the work done from the scaffolding. That done from the platform may have been completed in some earlier prytany of which we have no account. Or, if the niche was hidden from the interior by a grille, as Holland proposes, the epistyle in the niche may well have been left unpainted.

The portion of the epistyle painted from the high staging would have been 117 feet in length, thus:

West, normal epistyle	25 feet
North	33 "
East	30 "
South, from cross-wall to metopon	28 "
East side of metopon	1 foot
	117 feet

This length is still four feet greater than that called for by the inscription; but there is a way in which the discrepancy can be explained. Evidence has been given (p. 154), for the existence of a girder running north and south at the level of the epistyle, dividing

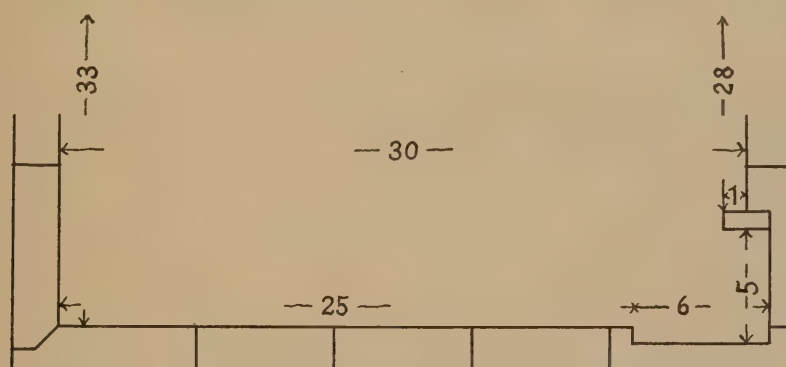


FIGURE 203. DIAGRAM SHOWING THE LENGTH OF INNER EPISTYLE PAINTED

the ceiling into two sections. The evidence for the brackets supporting the struts which strengthened this girder suggests that it was two feet wide. Therefore in reckoning the extent of the painted moulding on the epistyle we must deduct two feet on the north side, and two feet on the south. We thus get 113 feet, the length called for by the account. We obtain, furthermore, confirmation for the existence of the girder and for the abnormal treatment of the southwest corner.

4. THE CHANNELLING OF THE EAST COLUMNS

The passages referring to this operation are as follows:

Seventh prytany. XIV, col. I, ll. 1-14; XV, ll. 1-4: payment of 50 drachmae for work on column IV, and of the same amount for work on column VI, and probably on column III.

Eighth prytany. XVII, col. I, ll. 34-87: payments of 90 drachmae each for work on columns III, IV and VI; of 100 drachmae each for work on columns V, I, II, III, IV; and of 110 drachmae for work on column V.

Ninth prytany. XVII, col. II, ll. 46–69: payments of 110 drachmae each for work on columns I, II, III, VI; of 60 drachmae for work on column IV.

These accounts are introduced by the phrase, *ῥαβδόσενς τῶν κίωνων τῶν πρὸς ἔο, τῶν κατὰ (παρὰ) τὸν βομόν*, and the six columns are designated according to their relative proximity to an altar of Dione, which apparently stood near one end of the East Portico, e.g., *τὸν τρίτον ἀπὸ τοῦ βομῶ τῆς Διώνης*; *τὸν ἐχόμενον ἐχσῆς*; *τὸν πρὸς τὸ βομῶ τῆς Διώνης*; *τὸν ἕκτον κίονα ἀπὸ τοῦ βομῶ τῆς Διώνης*. In the eighth prytany two separate operations on columns III–VI are recorded, and a third operation on columns I–IV and VI in the ninth prytany. It is noteworthy that the three operations on each column are performed by one and the same group of workmen, and that consequently we have six groups of names, one for each column. These same groups appear in inscription XIV, assigned to the same columns as in inscription XVII, a fact which in itself would show that the work in the seventh prytany was on the columns of the East Portico. This is, moreover, confirmed by the restoration of *ἀπὸ τοῦ βομῶ τ[ῆς Διώνης]* in line 8. The work of channelling the east columns was thus divided into at least four separate operations costing 50, 90, 100, 110 drachmae respectively. It is not likely that there were more than four operations. The items in the inscriptions may be conveniently arranged in a table, as follows, the payments actually recorded in the extant portions or restored with certainty being printed in heavy-faced type:

Column	Workmen	PRYTANIES							Total
		Sixth	Seventh		Eighth		Ninth	Tenth	
I	5 men, Laossos, etc.	..	50	90	..	100	110	..	350 dr.
II	5 men, Phalakros, etc.	..	50	90	..	100	110	..	350 dr.
III	5 men, Ameiniades, etc.	..	50	..	90	100	110	..	350 dr.
IV	7 men, Simias, etc.	..	50	..	90	100	60	50	350 dr.
V	6 men, Onesimos, etc.	50	..	90	100	110	..	..	350 dr.
VI	6 men, Theuges, etc.	..	50	..	90	100	110	..	350 dr.

It is natural that each operation should take more time, and consequently be more costly than the one preceding it, and that the first operation — the preliminary chiselling down of the rough envelope of marble — should take considerably less time than the actual carving and smoothing of the fillets and channels.

In XIII, col. I, l. 14, we have the record of the removal of the scaffolding from the North Portico, suggesting that the channelling of its columns had been completed in the sixth prytany. It is probable that the same thirty-four masons who channelled the east columns had previously been employed on those of the North Portico, and that the work on the second

set began immediately after the completion of the work on the first set. Inscription XIV, recording the payments for the first operation on columns III, IV and VI, is thus shown to belong to the seventh prytany; and the correctness of the position assigned to it in the introduction (p. 373) is confirmed. The omission of column V suggests that the first operation had been completed in the sixth prytany. This same operation on columns I and II may also have been carried out in the sixth prytany. But it seems more probable that it was done in the seventh. The items referring to it, as restored in the text above the first line of XIV, occupy fourteen lines.

The accounts of the eighth prytany contain first the statement of an operation costing 90 drachmae on columns III, IV and VI, and one costing 100 drachmae on column V; then an operation costing 100 drachmae on columns I, II, III, IV, and one costing 110 drachmae on column V. This shows that the second operation (costing 90 drachmae) on columns I, II and V must have been done in the seventh prytany, and recorded in the missing portion between XV and XIII, col. II. The operation costing 100 drachmae on column VI must have been recorded in the account of the eighth prytany, immediately below inscription XVII, col. I.

The payments in the eighth prytany thus show that the fifth column was one step ahead of the others; and the fact that it is entirely omitted in the account of the ninth prytany, which records the operation costing 110 drachmae, shows that it was completed in the eighth prytany, and that the fourth operation was the final one. The low cost of the work on the fourth column in the ninth prytany, 60 drachmae, suggests that this operation was for some reason not completed by the end of the prytany; the remaining work (50 drachmae) may have been recorded in the missing accounts of the tenth prytany. The total cost of channelling each column was in all probability 350 drachmae.

5. WORK ON THE RELIEFS OF THE FRIEZE

The passages relating to this are as follows:

Seventh prytany. XIII, col. II, ll. 31-37: removal of scaffolding from the north wall, which had been used for fastening figures of the frieze in place. XIV, col. II, ll. 9-14, continued on XVI, col. I, ll. 1-8: payments to sculptors for carving figures of the frieze. XVII, col. I, ll. 1-23: similar payments to sculptors, including a statement of the total amount paid for sculpture during the prytany (3315 drachmae).

Ninth prytany. XVII, col. II, ll. 38-41: purchase of two talents of lead to be used in the fastening of the figures of the frieze.

Tenth prytany. XXIV: work on the figures of the frieze?

As has been shown in the introduction to these accounts, the inscription XIV, col. II, is followed directly by XVI, col. I; and XVII, col. I, is to be placed below XVI, col. I, some twenty-five lines being lost between them. The payments for sculpture in the seventh prytany, which amounted to 3315 drachmae, filled from eighty to one hundred lines. The

normal payment for a single figure was 60 drachmae. Consequently the number of figures paid for must have been approximately fifty-five. The items recorded in XVII are clear. There were five single figures costing 60 drachmae each, two groups of a man and a horse (each costing 120 drachmae), a group consisting of a youth and a chariot and team (240 drachmae) and a group of a woman with a child leaning against her (90 drachmae). A stele, for which 7 drachmae were paid, was added later to the second group of a man with a horse. The total amount paid for these fifteen figures was 897 drachmae.

The text of XIV, col. II and XVI, col. I, is incomplete. I have adopted in general the restorations tentatively suggested by Pallat (*A.J.A.*, XVI, 1912, pp. 175 ff.). His restorations of the names of the sculptors Phyromachos and Praxias are far from certain. As a possible alternative to *ῥμαχσαν* in XIV, col. II, l. 10, Pallat (*l.c.*, p. 189, note 1) suggests *κεραίαν* "because the youth with the mast, the yard, and the sail under his arm (PLATE XLV, 92) brings to mind the peplos of Athena, which was fastened in the Panathenaic procession as an *ιστίον* to a frame consisting of *ιστός* and *κεραία*." The letters *αλλ* at the beginning of line 12, which Kirchhoff had read as part of *παλλαδίωι*, Pallat restores as *βάλλοντα* *ΓΔΔΔ*, or *βάλλοντας* *ΗΔΔ*. "In the former case not only the man but also the object with which he is occupied would be included in the reckoning, in the latter case two figures." The missing six letters at the beginning of l. 4, XVI, col. I, were restored by Robert, *Hermes*, XXV, 1890, pp. 431 ff., as *τὸ ἔδος*, "the image." Pallat (*l.c.*, p. 190, note 1) suggests as alternatives *τὸ σῆμα* or *τὸ ἔρμα*. The latter "might designate the support that was intended to hold the *ιστός* and the *κεραία*." He notes also that the statue need not have been in the wagon as Weissmann (*Beiträge zur Erklärung griechischer Kunstwerke*, pp. 34 ff.) had inferred from the price paid.

The contents of the passage may be summed up as follows:

1. A group, by Phyromachos, consisting of a wagon and "a person who is throwing, setting, or laying something upon something or pushing something into something," and possibly a second person. Price, 80 or 120 drachmae.
2. A group, by Praxias, consisting of "a youth who is busied with some object, a second youth who is writing, and a third standing beside him." Price, 200 drachmae (?).
3. A group, by — and Agathanor, consisting of an image (?), a wagon, a pair of mules, and two women standing beside the wagon. Price, 330 drachmae. Total, 610 or 650 drachmae.

The extant passages thus account for perhaps 1507 drachmae out of 3315, or about twenty-four figures out of about fifty-five. They occupy thirty-seven lines of the account. Part of the remaining items were recorded in the missing (twenty-five?) lines between XVI, col. I and XVII, col. I. The rest occupied twenty to forty lines above XIV, col. II.

Robert's theory that the figures paid for in the seventh prytany belonged to the frieze on the north side of the main building has been accepted by Pallat and Frickenhaus.¹ The arguments in favor of this seem fairly conclusive. They may be stated as follows: (1) The

¹ Cf. Pallat, *l.c.*, p. 188, note 1.

payment for the removal of the scaffolding from the north wall during the seventh prytany shows that the frieze had recently been put in place. (2) It is probable that the payments to the sculptors were not made till the figures had been fastened, since some final touches might prove necessary in adjusting them to the background. (3) The figures presumably belonged together in one consecutive group; and they were listed in the order in which they were placed on the building. This may be inferred from the fact that the works of each sculptor are not mentioned together. The total length of frieze occupied by the fifty-five (more or less) figures paid for may be reckoned as about 55 Attic feet, i. e., one figure to the running foot.¹ The length of the north frieze from the east end to the point where it is interrupted by the roof of the North Portico is of exactly the length required. (4) The theory helps to account for the fact that none of the figures described in the inscription can be identified certainly with extant fragments of the frieze. In Chapter III, p. 240, reasons have been given for believing that the preserved fragments of the frieze of the main building are likely to be from the east front and the eastern end of the south side.

The inscriptions throw no more light than do the extant figures on the scenes depicted. Probably, as Robert and Pallat have remarked, separate scenes from a cycle — or several cycles — of myths were represented. The list of figures in XVII, col. 1, ll. 1–23 gives a fairly clear picture of the harnessing of a four-horse chariot preparatory to the departure of a warrior. The man holding a spear is presumably the hero himself, about to put on the breastplate beside which a youth is standing. The horse, mentioned next, is being led by the man, who is shown behind it, towards the chariot, to which two of the horses are being harnessed by a youth. Beyond the chariot the fourth horse is being led up by one man, while another man is striking it. To balance the breastplate, the youth, and the warrior at one end we have at the other an altar, a man leaning on a staff, and a woman with a child. Whether there was a stele beside the altar, or whether the altar itself was inaccurately described as a stele in line 14 is uncertain.²

Apparently no portion of the frieze was put up in the eighth prytany. The sculptors were probably engaged in carving the figures which were fastened in place in the ninth prytany, when two talents of lead were purchased *εἰς πρόσθεσιν τῶν ζουδίων*. The work was continued in the tenth prytany, as appears from the small fragment XXIV.

The sculptors mentioned were evidently subordinates who carried out the designs prepared by some unknown master. Only two of the names occur elsewhere. *Phyromáchos* is perhaps to be identified with the *Pyromachus*, mentioned by Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXIV, 80, as the maker of a chariot driven by Alcibiades. *Praxias* may be the Athenian sculptor, said to have been a pupil of Calamis, who worked on the pediment groups of the temple of Apollo

¹ The dowel holes in the frieze of the North Portico suggest that there were about three figures to the running metre. Those in the frieze of the East Portico show that there were 3.29 figures to the running metre. Cf. Ch. III, p. 242, and note 3.

² Cf. Bergk's description of the group, *Z. Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1845, p. 987, which is accepted by Brunn, *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler*, I, p. 250.

at Delphi, but died before their completion (Pausanias, X, 19, 4). The rebuilding of this temple was not begun before 371 B.C., and lasted for many years.¹ The sculptor of its pediment groups could not have been a pupil of Calamis, though he might, in his youth, have worked on the frieze of the Erechtheum. The statement of Pausanias can be accounted for by assuming either that Praxias was the pupil of a younger Calamis or that Calamis is an error for Callimachus. This latter theory, proposed by Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XXVI, 1902, pp. 634 ff., is accepted by Mrs. Van Buren.²

It is noteworthy that Agathanor, who carved the group consisting of a woman beside a wagon drawn by mules (XVI, col. I, l. 6), was also employed to make a wax model of an acanthus ornament for the west ceiling (XVII, col. II, l. 4).

PART IV. FRAGMENTS OF ACCOUNTS LATER THAN 408/7 B.C.

Numbers	Nat. Mus.	Dinsmoor	J.-M.	Other publications
XXVI.....	6668	X	..	<i>I.G.</i> , I, 325; I ² , 374
XXVII.....	8005	Y	..	<i>I.G.</i> , II, 845
XXVIII.....	7981	Z	30	<i>I.G.</i> , II, 829

The inscription XXVIII has long been connected with the Erechtheum, and has been supposed to record repairs made necessary by the fire which broke out in the *παλαιὸς νεὸς* in 406 B.C. (cf. Ch. V, pp. 460 ff.). It is argued that this fire, even if it started in the Hecatompedon, probably injured the adjoining Erechtheum as well. And the mention of the Pandroseum in line 36 suggests that the work was done on the Erechtheum. Its date has been disputed. Köhler, in the first publication of the inscription, restored ἐπὶ Δ[ι]οφάντο ἄρχον[τος] in line 26, which would give the date 395/4 B.C. Cooley and Dörpfeld (*A.J.A.*, III, 1899, p. 352, note 3) proposed ἐπὶ [Καλλί]ο ἄρχον[τος] (406/5 B.C.), which is preferable on historical grounds, since it eliminates the period of ten years between the fire and the repairs. A more probable solution, however, was suggested by Dinsmoor (*l.c.*). He discovered that the fragment XXVII joins accurately the top of XXVIII, and therefore dates from the year previous to that of XXVIII. He also assigned to the Erechtheum the fragment No. XXVI, because it resembled the accounts of 408/7 B.C. in the size and spacing of its letters, but Nos. XXVII, XXVIII in its formulae (giving the total of the wages paid day by day). This fragment was assigned by Dinsmoor to 407/6 B.C., making impossible the restoration ἐπὶ [Καλλί]ο ἄρχον[τος] in XXVIII. He therefore restored Ἀλεξίας, the archon of 405/4, instead of Καλλίας, dating fragments XXVII and XXVIII in 406/5 and 405/4 B.C. respectively.³ See, however, p. 422, notes 1 and 2.

XXVI. Fragment 0.34 m. high, 0.275 m. wide, 0.105 m. thick (back broken away). Right edge and bottom preserved. The lines of the inscription begin about 0.22 m. from

¹ Cf. Courby, *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, pp. 112 ff.

² 'Praxias,' *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, III, pp. 91 ff. Mrs. Van Buren notes that the name Praxias occurs in three other inscriptions: *I.G.*, II, 1208; VII, 430; *B.C.H.*, XV, 1891, p. 118.

³ On the date and interpretation of these inscriptions, see also Ch. V, p. 460, note 5.

the right edge, and end 0.167 m. above the bottom of the slab. Found on the Acropolis west of the Parthenon in 1839, according to Pittakis. In the National Museum.

Pittakis, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 418, 2033. Rangabé, *Ant. hellén.*, 87. *I.G.*, I, 325; I², 374. Dinsmoor, X.

Facsimile, Figure 204.

XXVII, XXVIII. Two fragments of a marble slab 0.10 m. thick, which have been shown by Dinsmoor to fit together. Back roughly dressed. *Stoichedon*.

Facsimile, Figure 205.

XXVII. Fragment, 0.245 m. high, 0.15 m. wide. Broken on three sides; the original left edge preserved. Found near the Erechtheum. In the National Museum.

I.G., II, 845. Dinsmoor, Y.

XXVI

— — — — δ[ε[υ]τέρα[ι τῆς πρυτα-
 νείας ἀνδράσιν : ἡενὸ[s δέοσιν
 εἴκοσιν : Δ]ΓΓΓΓΓΓ : τρίτει τ[ῆς πρυτ-
 ανείας : ἀνδράσιν τριάκοντα καὶ
 5 ἡενὶ : ΔΔ]ΔΓ : τετάρτει τέ[s πρυτα-
 νείας ἀνδράσιν τρισὶ καὶ τριάκον-
 τα : ΔΔ]Δ ΓΓΓ : πέμπτει τῆς [πρυτανε-
 ίας] ἀνδράσιν τρισὶ καὶ τριάκοντ-
 α : Δ]ΔΔΓΓΓ : ἡέ[κ]τει τῆς πρυταν[είας
 10 ἀνδράσιν ἑνὸς δέοσι τριάκοντα
 Δ]ΔΓΓΓΓΓΓ : ἡεβδόμει τῆς π[ρυτανε-
 ίας ἀνδράσιν τρισὶ καὶ εἴκο[sιν : ΔΔ
 ΓΓΓΓ : ἡογδόμει τῆς πρυταν[είας ἀν-
 δράσιν ἐνὶ καὶ εἴκοσιν : ΔΔΓΓ — — —

XXVII, XXVIII

.]ε[— — — — — Φ-
 ρά]δμονα ν[— — — — — ἐμ Με-
 λ]ίτ. οἰκὼν[τα, — — — — —
 .]σι οἰκὼν[τα, — — — — —
 5 .]Δ· 'Αριστῶνα 'Αλω[πε. οἰκὼντα, — —
 .]ἐμ Μελί.οικ., ΓΓ[— — — — —
 Μ]υγνίωνα ἐμ Με[λί. οἰκ., — — — Πάτ-
 ρο]κλον 'Αλωπε. οἰκὼντα, — — —

XXVIII. Fragment, 0.24 m. high, 0.21 m. wide. Broken on three sides; the original left edge preserved. Formerly in the possession of the Archaeological Society; now in the National Museum.

Köhler, *Hermes*, II, 1867, p. 20. *I.G.*, II, 829. Choisy, *Études*, p. 136. J.-M. *App. Ep.*, 30. Dinsmoor, Z.

Variant Readings. L. 1 ξ, *I.G.* L. 10 ΕΞ†, *I.G.* L. 14 ΙΤΟ Ι/ϸ, *I.G.* L. 20 ΟΝ Ι/, *I.G.* L. 28 "O zu Anfang sicher und die darauffolgende Lücke nach den allerdings unsicheren Spuren des Steines (TEN) vielleicht durch TE auszufüllen," *Hermes*. L. 35 ΝΞΙΟΞ, *Hermes*. L. 38 ΓΔ, *Hermes, I.G.* L. 39 ΕΞΓΡ^π.Τ, *I.G.* L. 41 ∖ΓΙΙΙ, *I.G.*

XXVI

On the second day

of the prytany, to nineteen men,

19 dr. On the third day

of the prytany, to thirty-one men,

5 31 dr. On the fourth day

of the prytany, to thirty-three men,

33 dr. On the fifth day

of the prytany, to thirty-three men,

33 dr. On the sixth day

10 of the prytany, to twenty-nine men,

29 dr. On the seventh day

of the prytany, to twenty-three men,

23 dr. On the eighth day

of the prytany, to twenty-one men, 21 drachmae.

XXVII, XXVIII

Phradmon -----

living in Melite,-----

living in -----

5 10 (?) dr. Ariston living in Alopeke, --

living in Melite, 6 (?) dr.

Mynnion living in Melite, -----

Patroklos living in Alopeke, -----

- .] ἐτιμήθη ΔΔΓ [— — — — — τ-
 10 ἦ]ι βολῆι ἐσ[— — — — — τῶι δῆ-
 μ]ωι δόξαν [— — — — —
 Ἄ]γγεληθ[— — — — —
 .]ΔΓϒ φ[— — — — — ἐμ Με-
 λ]ίτ.ο[ίκ — — — — —
 15 .]γραφο [— — — — — Φ-
 λυ.οίκῳ[ντα, — — — — —
 ἐς τὸ β[— — — — —
 α τ η ο [— — — — —
 .] τῆς [— — — — —
 20 .] ον [— — — — —
 .] πρ [— — — — —
 .] ι [— — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 XXVIII 25] ι [— — — — —
 ἐπ]ι [Ἀλεξί]ο] ἄρχον[τος — — — — —
 τρ]ί[τηι τ]ῆς πρυτα[νέας — — — — —
 .τ]ὸ [τ]ε [ν]εὼ τὰ κεκα[υμένα — — — — —
 ψη]φισαμένης τῆς β[ολῆς — — — — —
 30 . . .] ἐγ Κολλ. οἰκῶ. ΔΔ [— — τετάρτηι τῆς πρυ-
 ταν]έας τὸ ἐργαστή[ριον (οἱ : τὸ ἐργαστηρίο) — —
 Δ]ρωπίδης ἐμ Μελί. οἰ[κῶν — — — — — πέμπτηι τ-
 ῆς πρυτανέας μισθώμ[ατα — — — — — Θ-
 ρασωνίδηι Κικκυεῖ [— — — — —
 35 .]ναίος τὸς ἐπὶ τῶν τοί[χων — — — — —
 .]ς κατὰ τὸ Πανδροσεῖον[— — — — — δρ-
 α]χμῶν ἕκαστον μισθω. ο[— — — — —
 .] ϜΔϒϒ Ϛ Ϛ Ϛ Ϛ. ἐβδόμηι τῆ[ς πρυτανέας — — τὸς ὀ-
 χετ]ὸς τὸς καινὸς ἐξεργα[ζομένωι — — — — —
 40 δραχμ]ῶν τὴν εἰκοσιπο[δ]ί[αν — — — — —
] ΓϚ Ϛ. ἐς τὴν ἀλει[φὴν (?) — — — — —
 πα]ρὰ Σατύρας ἐ Σ[καμβωνίδαις οἰκόσης — —
] ι ξ ἐς τὸς ὀχε[τὸς — — — — —
] ϒ παλιμ[— — — — —
 45] στ [— — — — —
 — — — — —

		was valued 25 (?) dr. — — — — —
10		to the Council — — — — —
		approved by the people
		of Angele — — — — —
		16 (?) dr. — — — — —
		living in Melite
15		painting (?)
		living in Phlya — — — — —
		to the — — — — —
		— — — — —
		— — — — —
20		— — — — —
		— — — — —
		— — — — —
		— — — — —
		— — — — —
XXVIII	25	— — — — —
		In the archonship of Alexias — — — — —
		On the third day of the prytany — — —
		the parts of the temple destroyed by fire — —
		by vote of the Council — — — — —
30		living in Kollytos, 20 (?) dr. — — — On the fourth day
		of the prytany the workshop — — — —
		Dropides living in Melite — — — On the fifth day
		of the prytany wages — — — — —
		to Thrasonides of Kikkyna — — — — —
35		— — — those upon the walls — — — — —
		towards the Pandroseum — — — — —
		drachmae each — — — — —
		63 (?) dr., 5 ob. On the seventh day of the prytany,
		for making the new struts (or water-channels) — — —
40		— drachmae each length of twenty feet — — — —
		— — 5 (?) dr., 3 ob. For oiling (?)
		— — from Satyra, living in Skambonidai — —
		— — for the struts (or water-channels) — —
		— — — — —
45		— — — — —

COMMENTARY

XXVI. The form in which this account was recorded shows that the work paid for consisted of small, miscellaneous jobs which could not conveniently be described in detail. The number of men employed daily varied between nineteen and thirty-three; and each workman apparently received the standard wage of a drachma a day. The numerals III in lines 7 and 9 are evidently intended to be ΙΙΙ. The ascription of the account to the Erechtheum is based on external resemblances (the thickness of the slab, the forms and spacing of the letters) to the accounts of 408/7 B.C. Nothing in the text indicates that the work recorded had to do with the Erechtheum.¹

XXVII, XXVIII. None of the names occurring in these two fragments is found in the earlier accounts. A sculptor, Mynnion, living in Agryle, is referred to in XVII, col. 1, l. 11; and the same man is perhaps mentioned in XXIII, l. 6. He is to be distinguished from the Μυννίων ἐμ Μελί. οἶκ. of XXVII, l. 7.

The new ὀχετοί referred to in lines 39 and 43 remain a mystery. Cf. above, p. 356.

XXIX

An additional fragment of the building inscriptions, No. XXIX, identified by Lolling in 1888, but since overlooked, is published in Additional Note III, page 648.

¹ Professor Dinsmoor has recently (September, 1926) advanced strong arguments for connecting this fragment with the accounts of 409/8 B.C. He assigns it to the tenth prytany of that year. His arguments, as well as his latest view in regard to the dating of fragments XXVII, XXVIII, will be published in the near future in the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF THE ERECHTHEUM

THE preceding chapters of this book have been devoted to the detailed description of the existing remains of the Erechtheum, including its sculpture, to an account of the methods of construction followed by its builders, and finally to the arrangement and interpretation of the fragmentary records of the Athenian commissioners who had charge of its completion. On the basis of the evidence thus obtained, supplemented in some particulars by the testimony of later writers, the endeavor has been made to reconstruct with a certain measure of completeness the plan and appearance of the temple as originally erected. It is now proposed to trace its history; that is, to determine, so far as may be, the conditions under which it was built, and especially the successive periods of alteration, neglect, and repair by which it has been brought to its present state. In the case of a building where all relevant, and not infrequently much irrelevant, evidence has been so often collected and discussed, and about which so many and so divergent theories have been enunciated, it is neither possible, nor even desirable, to pursue such an inquiry without any consideration of conflicting views. Yet here, as in the earlier chapters, no attempt has been made to analyze or criticize these views in detail, still less to furnish a complete conspectus of the various phases through which the study of the Erechtheum has passed from the vague guesses of the earlier writers to the more complete, if still imperfect, understanding of the present day. Moreover, since it is the building itself which is the subject of this chapter, questions relating to the origin and significance of the cults, or to the growth and variations of the myths connected with the Erechtheum have been generally excluded, and both cults and myths noticed only in so far as they appear to have influenced the site or the form of the temple.

Thus limited in scope the material may be most conveniently treated under six heads:

- I. The Site and its Surroundings before the building of the Erechtheum.
- II. The Erechtheum as a Greek Temple.
- III. The Erechtheum as a Christian Church.
- IV. The Erechtheum as a Turkish House (1458–1687).
- V. The Erechtheum as a Ruin (1687–1837).
- VI. The Reconstruction of the Erechtheum (1837–1925).

I. THE SITE OF THE ERECHTHEUM

The ground on which the Erechtheum stands has been so transformed, first by the construction of the building itself, and then by the successive alterations to which that building has been subjected, and the evidence for the early history of this portion of the Acropolis is so fragmentary and obscure, that it is hardly possible to reconstruct the exact conditions which confronted the architect, or the process by which those conditions had been reached. Nevertheless a few facts may be determined with reasonable certainty on the basis of existing remains, and by the combination of these results with the literary and epigraphic testimony some fairly probable conclusions may be reached as to the influences, both topographical and historical, which determined the site and form of the temple of the fifth century.¹

Since one of the most striking peculiarities of the Erechtheum is the marked difference in level between its eastern and western divisions, our first step may well be to inquire whether such a difference already existed, or whether the high terrace is to be regarded as essentially a creation of the architect for his eastern cella.

So far as the lower part of the Erechtheum and the region immediately to the west is concerned, the question of the earlier level does not present any special difficulty. Here in historic times were certainly situated the "tokens" (*μαρτύρια*) of the strife of the gods for Attica — the sacred olive of Athena in the Pandroseum and the "sea" of Poseidon with the mark of the trident somewhere in the western part of the Erechtheum itself.² Whether these "tokens" were associated with a cult as early as the Mycenaean period cannot now be known, though there is nothing inherently improbable in such a supposition, but it is clear that later this region possessed a special religious significance and was the centre of a group of cults and legends peculiarly and distinctively Athenian.³ Now the nature of these "tokens" was such that their mere presence tended to preserve from material change the level of the ground about them. It is true that there might have been some

¹ This chapter was already in type when L. B. Holland published his minute and painstaking study of the early remains in this part of the Acropolis (*A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 1-23, 142-169, 402-434). It has not, therefore, proved feasible to discuss his results, or to do much more than insert frequent references to his pages. His carefully considered and ingenious reconstruction of the successive periods of terracing and building is admittedly highly conjectural in many particulars, and for that reason it has not seemed best to modify materially the much less detailed restoration attempted in this section, which is concerned with these earlier conditions only in so far as they may have influenced the position and form of the Erechtheum. It should be pointed out, however, that the views expressed here are not fundamentally different from those which underlie Holland's much more elaborate hypotheses, for we agree in holding it probable "that from prehistoric times the site was marked with sacred areas; that these persisted with little change down to the time of the Persian conflagration; that they were then rebuilt with practically the same locations and sizes as before . . . ; and that the last rebuilding, in the second half of the fifth century, still paid scrupulous respect to the ancient areas" (*l. c.*, p. 426).

² See Ch. I, pp. 169-171, and below, pp. 487, 490-492. There is as yet no clear evidence of the presence of a wall in early times in the approximate position of the west wall of the Erechtheum.

³ It is scarcely necessary to cite references in detail for these statements. All the important ancient authorities may be found in J.-M., pp. 64 ff., and Petersen, *Burgtempel*, pp. 3-21, 40-93.

accumulation of soil around the sacred olive in the course of time,¹ but whatever the origin of the "sea" and the trident mark, their sacred character could only have been acquired when the surface of the rock was exposed, and although they were doubtless early protected by an enclosure of some sort and perhaps even brought within a building, they must always have remained visible, and therefore at no great depth below the surrounding ground.

We may accordingly assume that the building of the Erechtheum involved no marked departure from the existing level, at least in the western part.² This level may be fixed from the height of the drain in the north wall of the Pandroseum, and from the other early remains within that precinct,³ as about 0.17 m. below the top of the stylobate in the North Portico (PLATES VIII, 1, XI, XV) — that is, about 150.79 m. above the sea,⁴ and 0.793 m. above the bottom of the lowest step of the North Portico. Whether the elevation of the pavement of the Pandroseum above the ground on the north antedates the construction of the Erechtheum must be left uncertain, in default of exact evidence as to earlier conditions outside.⁵ In itself there would seem to be much in favor of the theory that the *temenos* of the "tokens" was always slightly raised with steps leading up to its entrance, the threshold of which appears to be still in place.⁶

The approximate boundaries of the precinct of the "tokens" can be determined with considerable accuracy.⁷ On the west the earlier line probably remained unchanged in later times (PLATE I),⁸ since this part of the precinct was obviously unaffected by the building of the Erechtheum. On the north the wall of the Pandroseum, which is earlier than the Erechtheum and has a different orientation (PLATE I),⁹ may fairly be assumed to repre-

¹ The tree never seems to have derived much support from the soil or to have flourished greatly, if we can judge from the glosses in Hesychius: Πάγκυφος· ἐλαίας εἶδος τι κατακεκνυφός καὶ ταπεινὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. 'Αστὴ ἐλαία' ἡ ἐν ἀκροπόλει, ἡ καλουμένη πᾶγκυφος διὰ χθαμαλότητα.

² For the reasons just given it is probable that this level was no lower, and but little higher, than that which had prevailed here in much earlier times. It is generally supposed that here was the open court of the Mycenaean palace, a conjecture which would become almost a certainty, if it were proved that the altar of Zeus Herceus beside the ancient olive (see p. 475) occupied the position of the altar in the palace court. Cf. Wachsmuth, *Ber. sächs. Ges.*, XXXIX, 1887, p. 403; Judeich, *Topographie*, p. 237.

³ See Ch. I, pp. 123–127. Though earlier than the Erechtheum these remains are not of great antiquity. The clamps are neither swallow-tailed, as in the first Hecatompædon (Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, pp. 3, 121) nor Z-shaped, but of the ordinary I—I form, and, though smaller, closely resemble the normal clamps of the Erechtheum (p. 125). Since the marble blocks show no marks of fire, they probably belong to repairs after the Persian invasion.

⁴ Cf. Cavvadias and Kawerau, pl. Γ'. The stylobate of the North Portico is 150.96 m. above the sea. This pavement is some two metres above the rock at the northeast corner of the Pandroseum (148.79 m.), so that there would have been sufficient depth of earth for the sacred olive. Farther south and east the depth of earth would be lessened by the upward slope of the rock, which, however, nowhere in the western part of the Erechtheum attains the height of the pavement.

⁵ It is fairly certain that when the north wall of the Acropolis was built, the ground on the inside was much lower than it was subsequently, when the general level in this part of the Acropolis was raised to that of the surface about the North Portico of the Erechtheum (Kawerau in Cavvadias and Kawerau, cols. 75–76). Whether, however, the level of this surface was the same before the Portico was built is unknown. The ground here may have been lowered contemporaneously with the filling in along the wall. See also Holland, *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, p. 425.

⁶ On the remains of this threshold see Ch. I, pp. 120–123.

⁷ This precinct would include the ground later occupied by the western part of the Erechtheum as well as the Pandroseum.

⁸ On the probable western limit of the Pandroseum, see Ch. I, p. 123.

⁹ On this wall, see Ch. I, pp. 120–123.

sent the original, or at any rate the post-Persian, boundary. East of its junction with the North Portico this wall has totally disappeared, but it is noticeable that, if its direction continued unchanged, it must have passed just south of the crypt beneath the North Portico, so that the so-called "trident marks" then, as later, would have been outside the precinct of the "tokens," though very possibly close to the entrance and with a sub-mural connection with the interior.¹ The southern boundary, at least during the fifth and later sixth centuries, was formed by the *temenos* of Cecrops and, farther east, by the wall beneath the peristyle of the Hecatompedon.² As has been already pointed out,³ west of the east jamb of the south door of the Erechtheum the stones of this wall are left rough, since they were concealed by the terrace of the Cecropium, while east of the door the face of the wall, for the short distance before it is hidden by the south wall of the Erechtheum, has been given the smooth dressing of an exposed surface. How far east this dressing extended it is at present impossible to say, but on the existing evidence we may safely conclude that the eastern part of the area of the "tokens" was to some extent an open court.

That this area was also bounded on the east by a terrace of considerable elevation is clearly shown by the following facts. The rock at the southeast corner of the Hecatompedon, on which the single step of its stylobate rested, is 153.23 m. above the sea.⁴ In the wall of the Acropolis north and northeast of the Erechtheum the bottom of the courses of dressed stone, which must mark approximately the level of the ground when the wall was built,⁵ is, on an average, about 0.957 m. below this level,⁶ or about 152.27 m. above the sea, that is, about 1.48 m. above the pavement of the Pandroseum (150.79 m.). Whether the ground sloped gradually down from the Hecatompedon to the wall, or whether there was a lower terrace north of that on which the temple stood, need not be considered for the moment; it is sufficient to know that this higher level extended westward at least as far as the northeast corner of the Hecatompedon, that is approximately to the line of the east wall of the Erechtheum. There is, however, some evidence which suggests that it continued farther, and that the line of demarcation between the lower area of the "tokens" and the

¹ If the earlier wall followed approximately the line indicated by the traces left on the foundations of the north wall of the Erechtheum (Ch. I, pp. 138-144; Fig. 88), the "trident marks" were certainly outside the precinct. See also Holland, *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 156 ff.; fig. 12.

² Throughout this chapter the old temple south of the Erechtheum will be called the Hecatompedon. Hecatompedon I and Hecatompedon II will be used only where it seems necessary to distinguish between the earlier and later forms of this building. On the probable dates of these two forms, see below, p. 432, note 3.

³ See Ch. I, p. 136.

⁴ For this and the other levels here given see Cavvadias and Kawerau, pl. Γ'. Their figures are repeated by Dörpfeld, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, pls. I-III.

⁵ There is no definite information as to the exact date of the north wall of the Acropolis, but it is certainly earlier than the commencement of the Erechtheum. Farther west the interior level has been twice raised since the construction of the wall, and the latest level corresponds to that around the North Portico (Cavvadias and Kawerau, col. 75). On the construction of the north wall, see, e. g., Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, p. 52; Judeich, *Topographie*, pp. 193-194; D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, pp. 66-71.

⁶ From measurements by B. H. Hill and L. B. Holland. It is a curious coincidence, though apparently without special significance, that this level is almost exactly that of the top of the orthostates in the north wall of the Erechtheum; see Fig. 7 B.

higher terrace to the east was very close to that occupied later by the east cross-wall of the Erechtheum. Attention has already been called¹ to the fact that in that part of the Acropolis wall north of the eastern half of the Erechtheum only the four upper courses were intended to remain visible, while the roughly cut stones and unfinished column drums, though above the level of the marble pavement east of the North Portico, were certainly concealed. The ground level at the wall northeast of the Erechtheum was, therefore, preserved to the point where the wall turns somewhat abruptly to the northwest, although after the completion of the Erechtheum this involved leaving a passage or platform along the inner face of the wall some 10–12 metres in length and about 2.25 m. above the marble pavement. Such a passage does not appear elsewhere on the Acropolis, and it is difficult to see why one should have been constructed here, unless, when the wall was built, either the ground here was at the same height as that farther east, or it was desired to bound a depressed area, similar to that later covered by the marble pavement (PLATE I), by a gallery on the north corresponding to a terrace of about the same height already existing on the south.²

The probability of the existence of such a terrace in early times is strengthened by an examination of conditions farther south. The excavation of the Hecatompedon in 1886 brought to light within and beneath the temple walls fragments of earlier foundation walls and two poros bases, closely resembling those which in Cretan and Mycenaean palaces supported the wooden columns about the hearth or in the porticoes (PLATE I). The bases appeared to be *in situ*, and since on other grounds it is likely that the palace of the early kings was in this part of the Acropolis,³ it has been generally agreed that here stood one of its megara. Whatever the exact nature of this building, it is certain that it was on higher ground than the later pavement in the Pandroseum, and but little below the level of the Hecatompedon. Unfortunately, exact data as to the discovery of the column bases seem to be lacking, and there is no published record of their original orientation and level, so that, although they are said to occupy their old position, it does not appear certain that they have remained absolutely undisturbed.⁴ According to a special survey made in 1923

¹ Ch. I, pp. 16, 18.

² The latter supposition is perhaps preferable in view of the traces of early walls within the eastern part of the Erechtheum (Ch. I, pp. 138–146). The care taken by the later builders to preserve these walls suggests that they still fulfilled an important function as terrace or foundation walls. In either case they imply an elevated area within them. On the other hand, there seems no clear evidence for the continuation of this area as far as the Acropolis wall. If it were certain that the poros foundation beneath the marble pavement antedated the Erechtheum (Ch. I, p. 15, note 5), the existence in early times of a "theatral area" similar to those in Crete would seem to be by no means improbable. A detailed reconstruction of this area, as it existed in prehistoric times, and as it was restored, with some alterations, after the Persian invasion, has been attempted by Holland, *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 151–161, 414–423.

³ For the remains beneath the Hecatompedon, and for the early palace see Cavvadias and Kawerau, pl. Γ', cols. 83, 87–91; J.-M., *Praefatio*, p. vii; Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* 'Athena,' col. 1952; Wachsmuth, *Ber. sächs. Ges.*, XXXIX, 1887, pp. 399–405; Judeich, *Topographie*, pp. 51, 237–238; D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, pp. 15–17; Collignon, *Le Parthénon*, *ed. min.*, p. 6; Holland, *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 161–169.

⁴ The lack of complete records as to the conditions under which they were found may be due in part to the fact that they were at first believed to be Byzantine or Frankish (Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mit.*, XII, 1887, p. 61). On their present position see Dörpfeld in Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* 'Athena,' col. 1952: "Die zwei Säulenbasen . . . sind noch an ihrer alten

by L. B. Holland the top of the rectangular portion of the northern base is now 0.42 m. below the euthynteria at the southeast corner of the Erechtheum, which is at the same level as the bottom of the stylobate at the southeast corner of the Hecatompædon, while that of the southern base is 0.344 m. below the same point. Since it is highly improbable that the two bases had not the same level originally, it would seem that one at least has been misplaced, so that it is hazardous to fix precise figures for their early levels from their present position. It seems, however, safe to say that the floor of the megaron cannot well have been less than 0.35 m. to 0.45 m. below the euthynteria of the Hecatompædon, and may possibly have been considerably more. Thus the ground on which this part of the palace stood was not more than about 0.60 m.¹ — if as much — above the level at the north wall of the Acropolis in the fifth century B.C. It is hard to believe that so close an agreement between this later level and the earlier one on the south, which had long been buried beneath the Hecatompædon, is purely fortuitous. Rather it appears to indicate that here, as in the precinct of the "tokens," old conditions had survived the changes due to the construction of the great temple on the south. The lower level had been protected by the presence of its sacred relics; it will be seen that a similar religious sanction may have preserved the higher.

The probable line of demarcation between these two terraces is suggested by the fact that the prolongation of the line of the eastern cross-wall of the Erechtheum intersects the north wall of the Acropolis very close to the angle where the wall turns to the northwest and the high level at the wall ended.² The cross-wall of the Erechtheum bounded the high cella of the new temple; it is surely not unreasonable to suppose that the earlier wall at this point fulfilled a similar function. In that case the construction of the East Cella of the Erechtheum involved a relatively small amount of filling and grading, for over most of its area the ground was already within less than a metre of the required height.

The building of Hecatompædon I above the megaron of the old palace obviously did not involve any changes on the site of the Erechtheum. Its architect found the sacred precinct containing the "tokens" bounded on the south and east by an elevated platform. He chose the southern terrace for his new temple, raised his foundation above the old level sufficiently to avoid any difficulty with the higher rock of the Acropolis toward the

Stelle." According to the section given by Middleton, *Athenian Buildings*, pl. 8, XII, the bases were very nearly a metre below the top of the euthynteria of the peristyle of the Hecatompædon, and about on a level with the top of the orthostates in the west wall of the Erechtheum (PLATE IV), thus coinciding very closely with the height of the later platform along the inside of the north wall of the Acropolis; but it is not clear whether this represents the actual position of the bases about 1890, or their conjectural level in the palace.

¹ That is, 0.957 m. — 0.35 m. This is about the difference in level at Tiryns between the propylon leading from the outer to the inner court (25.82 m.) and the threshold of the megaron (26.40 m.). See the plans by Dörpfeld in Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pls. II (plan), III (section). The levels as given on the plan differ slightly from those on the section. The latter are cited here.

² The prolongation of the wall of the Erechtheum intersects the Acropolis wall almost exactly at the angle. The prolongation of the line of the pronaos of Hecatompædon I reaches the wall slightly east of the angle. It coincides very nearly with the west face of the bit of early polygonal wall shown in PLATE I. This might be assumed to represent the boundary of the earlier upper terrace but for the evidence already presented (Ch. I, p. 147) that the foundations of the cross-wall of the Erechtheum were probably formed by the lower courses of an existing primitive wall.

southeast, and aligned the northeast corner of his cella with the wall bounding on the east the *temenos* below; only the pronaos extended toward the east beyond this line. The position suggests a close relation between the temple and the cults on the lower ground to the north. The remains of early walls (PLATE I) indicate that the palace extended farther north than Hecatompodon I,¹ and if, as is very probable, the terrace of the Cecropium also antedates that temple,² the construction of the peristyle of Hecatompodon II did not involve any material encroachment upon the lower terrace or, apparently, any essential modification of conditions there. At the east, however, the new portico was on a higher level³ than that which has seemed probable for the terrace on the site of the East Cella of the Erechtheum, but such evidence as exists is against any regrading along the eastern part of the north side of the peristyle,⁴ and there is some reason, as will be shown later (p. 444), for believing that the stylobate was raised above the adjoining ground on this side, although the elevation here was naturally much less than it was farther west.

The topographical evidence, therefore, leads to the conclusion that the difference in level between the divisions of the Erechtheum was not a creation of its architect, but had long existed in very similar form and was only adapted with much skill to the new building. The earlier walls which have left their traces inside the north and east foundations of the Erechtheum apparently supported or enclosed the eastern terrace,⁵ but it remains uncertain whether the higher level extended to the wall of the Acropolis or was even then broken by the sunken area east of the later North Portico, although the latter alternative is more probable. For further information as to the conditions which prevailed here before the Erechtheum was built, it is necessary to turn to other sources, both literary and epigraphical; but before examining their evidence it will be convenient to consider briefly the value of an early monument which has played a somewhat prominent part in recent discussion.

Among the mass of fragments in poros, which were found chiefly in the so-called "Tyrannenschutt" south and east of the Parthenon,⁶ were parts of a pediment with a scene in relief which has frequently been connected with this region of the Acropolis.⁷ The fragments

¹ See Holland, *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, p. 166, fig. 13. His reconstruction of the position of the palace must be essentially correct.

² East of the south door in the Erechtheum the north foundation of the peristyle was visible when it was built; west of that point it was hidden (p. 136). There seems no reason for concealing only part of the foundation by a new terrace, and the conclusion is warranted that this terrace already existed, although it may have been graded up to the level of the new euthynteria, and its limits on the south somewhat curtailed. If the terrace is earlier than Hecatompodon II, it may fairly be presumed to antedate Hecatompodon I, since, although the foundations of that temple were certainly concealed, there is nothing in its situation to call for the construction of so wide a terrace on the north.

³ Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XI, 1886, p. 338; Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, p. 115; Cavvadias and Kawerau, pl. Γ'.

⁴ This evidence is furnished by the traces of earlier construction preserved in the foundations of the east wall of the Erechtheum (Ch. I, pp. 144-146). See also Holland, *l. c.*, pp. 16-23, 409-414.

⁵ See Ch. I, pp. 143 f., 145 f.

⁶ On the "Tyrannenschutt" see Dickins, *Catalogue*, p. 9, where the name was first used; Heberdey, *Poros-skulptur*, pp. 3 ff., where the nature and origin of this filling is fully discussed.

⁷ Dickins, *Catalogue*, pp. 69 ff. The fragments were published by Wiegand (*Poros-Architektur*, pp. 197 ff., pl. XIV). The restoration and significance of the relief have been fully discussed, first by Miss J. E. Harrison (*Primitive*

preserved constitute less than half of the original relief. The left corner is missing and also the greater part of the right end, while the fragments that remain are much broken and display many gaps. The style of the sculpture places this relief among the earlier of the poros works,¹ and very probably before the groups usually assigned to the pediments of Hecatompædon I. In the background on the left is a low wall above which appear the branches of an olive tree. The right end of the wall abuts on a building, which fills the rest of the preserved portion, and extends a little beyond the apex of the pediment, thus occupying the centre of the scene. This building is low, short, with a hipped (not gable) roof and either a doorway or a portico in front. In the foreground at the left, in front of the low wall, is a man facing toward the right (only the left leg is preserved); in the doorway, or portico, stands a woman who originally carried some object on her head, perhaps a hydria, basket, or cista; and on either side of her was apparently another woman carrying a similar object. There is no indication of a difference of level between the building and the wall behind it, though it is possible that the olive tree is on lower ground.

Until recently there has been very general agreement that this relief represented a scene near the sacred olive tree in the Pandroseum — for example the procession of the Arrephori, — and that the building was an early temple, or perhaps a propylon, in this neighborhood. Against such an interpretation, however, weighty objections have been urged by Buschor.² He argues forcibly that this theory attributes to the relief characteristics quite foreign to the monuments of its period. Apart from other unusual features, a faithful reproduction of a definitely localized scene of contemporary life is unexampled in Greek archaic art. Moreover, all the details of the design find their closest analogies and most natural explanation in the series of early vases showing Achilles lying in wait for Troilus. In his opinion the building is a well-house whither Polyxena and the other Trojan maidens have come to fill their hydriae. The wall and trees, which probably appeared also on the other side of the building, mark the scene as occurring at the sacred grove of Apollo. The man on the left is Troilus, approaching with his horses; in the missing right half of the pediment was Achilles in ambush. If this view is correct, as seems highly prob-

Athens as described by Thucydides, p. 56, fig. 20), and later by Petersen (*Burgtempel*, pp. 21–40, fig. 2; *Athen*, pp. 24 ff., fig. 16; *Klio*, IX, 1909, p. 234), Heberdey (*Porosskulptur*, pp. 16–18, fig. 13, pl. II, with a full bibliography), and Buschor (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXXVII, 1922, pp. 81–91, pl. VI). The proposed restorations differ in details, such as the spacing of the fragments of the building and the position of the free-standing female figure in relation to the portico, but these variations do not affect materially the topographical interpretation of the relief, since those who place the scene on the Acropolis agree that the enclosure containing the olive tree is behind the building and that the latter is seen from the side, even though the entrance, according to a convention sometimes found on early vases, is represented *en face* rather than in profile.

¹ On the date cf. Dickins, *Catalogue*, pp. 17, 18, and especially Heberdey, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–228. He would assign it to about 600 B.C.

² *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXXVII, 1922, pp. 81–91, pl. VI. Before Buschor only Wiegand and Dickins seem to have definitely rejected the topographical interpretation. The former (*op. cit.*, p. 204) connected the scene with the story of Troilus, and the latter (*op. cit.*, p. 71) also considered the building a well-house, but suggested that the relief represented the rape of Athenian maidens at the Enneacrunus by the Pelasgians. Neither writer adduced any arguments in support of his view.

able, we may at once erase the pediment from the list of sources for the pre-Pisistratean topography of the Acropolis. Even if the older interpretation be preferred, the relief contributes little or nothing that could not be inferred from existing remains or other sources. Since the fundamental questions, which side of the Pandroseum is represented and consequently what is the identity of the building, admit of no definite answer,¹ the relief cannot be used to prove the presence of any specific structure, and we certainly do not need its evidence to convince us that the sacred olive tree was in an enclosure, that this enclosure probably had an entrance portico, or that a shrine probably existed near the "tokens" from very early times.²

We may now examine the literary and epigraphical evidence relating to the early history of this part of the Acropolis, bearing in mind that this inquiry is not concerned with the origin, meaning, and development of Athenian cults or legends, except as they may have affected the appearance of the site at successive periods and thus contributed to produce the conditions which confronted the builders of the Erechtheum. Limited by these considerations the written records are neither very abundant nor, unfortunately, very definite.

Two passages in Homer contain the earliest references to Erechtheus. In the *Odyssey* (VII, 80-81), Athena, after conducting Odysseus to the palace of Alcinous, left Scheria,

ἵκετο δ' ἐς Μαραθῶνα καὶ εὐρύαγυιαν Ἀθήνην,
δῶνε δ' Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸν δόμον.

¹ That the west side of the Pandroseum is represented seems very improbable, for in that case a building, whether temple or portico, facing south at the southwest corner of the Pandroseum, if on the lower level, would have almost abutted on the terrace of the old palace or the Cecropium, while if it were on the terrace, it would have been above the wall enclosing the olive tree. If we turn to the east, it is unlikely that the procession is passing along the upper terrace, since the building must then be situated either in the northwest corner of the terrace itself or else above the later paved area, thus facing north. For a building in this position there is no evidence, nor indeed any reasonable explanation. It therefore becomes necessary to suppose that the procession is passing between the terrace and the enclosure with the "tokens" — not a very intelligible route, — and that the building is a predecessor of the North Portico. Such an interpretation is perhaps possible, but cannot be considered wholly satisfactory, especially as fewer difficulties present themselves on either the north or the south side. On the south, the wall occupies approximately the place of the later wall west of the Porch of the Maidens, and the building is either an early temple on the site of the East Cella of the Erechtheum or, according to the attractive suggestion of Fougères (*R. Ét. Gr.*, XXXII, 1919, p. 212), an early entrance to the Cecropium. If the view is from the north, the wall is the northern boundary of the Pandroseum and the building the shrine of Pandrosus with its entrance at the west. It is evident that on any theory the topographical interpretation depends largely on more or less probable hypotheses, for which in general little independent evidence can be adduced.

² It may be well to add a brief note on the temple to which this relief belonged, since it also has been connected by Heberdey with the site of the Erechtheum. According to his careful investigations (*Porosskulptur*, pp. 22, 143-153, 174-178), the tympanum of the relief had a height of *ca.* 0.685 m., a length of *ca.* 5.70 m. and a slope of 6:25; while the temple itself was about 8.30 m. wide, measured on the cornice, and at least 10.50 m. long. He restored the temple with 11 triglyphs on the front and 21 on the sides — a natural ratio, — and proposed to place it obliquely across the west part of the Erechtheum, with the southeast corner on a bed of dressed rock in the southwest angle of the East Cella of the Erechtheum (cf. Ch. I, pp. 10-12; PLATE II; Fig. 100, near c) and the front toward the northwest, thus bringing the crypt with the "trident marks" to the left of the entrance in the portico (*op. cit.*, pp. 174-178). The discovery of the remains of earlier walls within the Erechtheum across the lines which the walls of Heberdey's temple must have occupied has rendered this position impossible, and in view of Buschor's interpretation of the relief, any connection of the temple with the Erechtheum seems very doubtful.

In the Catalogue of the Ships (*Iliad*, II, 546–551) the Athenians are thus described:

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον, ἐκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,
 δῆμον Ἐρεχθίδος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη
 θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, — τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος ἄρουρα, —
 καὶ δ' ἐν Ἀθήνῃς εἶσεν ἑὼ ἐν πτόνι νηῶ·
 ἔνθα δέ μιν ταύροισι καὶ ἀρνείοις ἱλάονται
 κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν.

It is fairly obvious that in these two passages the point of view is not the same, even if there is no absolute contradiction. In the first Athena enters the house of Erechtheus as she might — and in fact does in disguise — enter the house of Odysseus or Alcinous,¹ though with this not unimportant difference that her arrival in Athens is entirely unmotivated, and we speedily find her again in Scheria advancing the interests of her favorite. Certainly the text contains no intimation that Erechtheus possesses any divinity or any peculiar association with Athena; rather it suggests that he is the ruling king, or, if this be deemed too flagrant a departure from Greek legendary chronology, the founder or most noted occupant of the royal palace. Since the presence of an early palace is shown by the excavations, these verses, which merely serve to connect with it the name of Erechtheus, add nothing to our topographical knowledge.

In the second passage the situation is very different. Athens is here the realm (*δῆμος*) of Erechtheus, who is no ordinary king, living in his palace, but the son of the earth, foster-child of Athena, placed by her in her own temple, and there honored with annual sacrifices by the Athenian youth. The essential point for the present inquiry is the definite mention of a temple of Athena in which Erechtheus finds a permanent abode, and the importance of the statement remains the same whether the lines themselves belong to an early form of the poem, or are, as is perhaps more probable, an Athenian interpolation of the sixth century.² On the former supposition it is clear that they testify to the existence of a temple of Athena and the cult therein of Erechtheus long before the date commonly assigned to the first Hecatompedon.³ If, however, they are late, their evidential value is not greatly altered, since they show that both the connection in cult and the temple where the two divinities

¹ Cf., e.g., *Odyssey*, II, 394, and VI, 13.

² For the conflicting views as to the date of these Homeric passages, cf., e.g., Scott, *Cl. Phil.*, VI, pp. 424–426 (part of the original poem); Petersen, *Burgtempel*, pp. 6–11 (both passages late interpolations, probably Pisistratean).

³ The exact dates of the construction of Hecatompedon I and of its transformation by the addition of the peristyle need not be considered here. It is sufficient for this discussion that the weight of argument at present warrants the belief that the original building was erected early in the sixth century B.C., while the enlargement may be reasonably attributed to the last years of Pisistratus or to the reign of his sons. On these dates see Heberdey, *Porosskulptur*, p. 226; Frickenhaus, *Tiryns*, I, pp. 108–111, where the earlier literature is collected. Dörpfeld, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, p. 3, challenges the accepted chronology, and dates both the early Attic vases and the poros sculptures early in the first millennium, and thus apparently places Hecatompedon I in the ninth century, although he agrees that the peristyle is Pisistratean. His proofs for this new dating have not yet appeared. For a criticism of this view, see Hondius, *Novae inscriptiones atticae*, p. 78.

were honored could be attributed to a remote past without seeming to the Athenians of the sixth century to involve any flagrant anachronism. Now, as Michaelis and Collignon have pointed out,¹ no such antiquity could be predicated of the relatively new Hecatompedon in the time of Pisistratus or of his sons. Consequently the passage in the *Iliad*, on any theory of its date, may fairly be cited to prove that for some time before the sixth century there had been on the Acropolis a temple of Athena, in which the goddess was believed to harbor another divinity, Erechtheus. Whether this early temple gave place to the Hecatompedon, or continued to exist beside it, must be determined — if determination be possible — from other evidence.²

In this connection the question of the early cult-statues of Athena assumes a certain significance. It has long been recognized that during the sixth century the goddess appears in Attic art under two distinct aspects. In one she is represented as the warrior, standing or even hurrying forward, with the shield on her arm and brandishing her spear; in the other she sits peacefully on her throne, her armor laid aside, holding a *phiale* in her outstretched right hand.³ Without attempting to determine to which type is to be assigned the priority,⁴ it is natural to suppose that one is derived from the statue which belonged to the early temple, known from the *Iliad*, while the other owes its origin to the new image made for the large temple of Athena, which there is good reason to believe was erected in the sixth century. The former, then, must be the ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα or ἔδος, of olive wood, which was believed to have fallen from heaven and to have been dedicated on the Acropolis by Cecrops or Erichthonius; on which the companions of Cylon relied for safety; which was carried away by the Athenians at the time of the Persian invasion; and for which, if we may judge from the Chandler inscription, the new Erechtheum was intended to be the sanctuary.⁵ The other statue apparently was left on the Acropolis in 480 B.C., and it is a plausible conjecture of Petersen that its presence in the Hecatompedon led the panic-stricken Athenians on the capture of the Acropolis by the Persians to seek refuge in the μέγαρον of that temple

¹ Michaelis, *Jb. Arch.* I., XVII, 1902, p. 6; Collignon, *Le Parthénon*, ed. min., pp. 18–19. Of course this argument would fail, if Dörpfeld should prove his early date for the erection of the Hecatompedon.

² The accounts of the massacre of the partisans of Cylon after his unsuccessful attempt to seize the Acropolis yield no information. Thucydides (I, 126) only refers to the altar at which the fugitives sought refuge; both Herodotus (V, 71) and Plutarch (*Solon*, 12) mention the statue of the goddess, and this may be interpreted to imply the presence of a shrine or temple. There is, however, nothing in any of the statements to show that their authors had an exact knowledge of conditions on the Acropolis at such a remote time. Cf. Keil, *Anonymus Argentinensis*, p. 93, note.

³ On these types see, e. g., O. Jahn, *De antiquissimis Minervae simulacris*; E. Gerhard, *Akademische Abhandlungen*, I, p. 255; A. Furtwängler, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s. v. 'Athena'; more recent discussions by E. Petersen, *Burgtempel*, pp. 40–60; *Klio*, IX, 1909, pp. 242–247; A. Frickenhaus, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIII, 1908, pp. 25 ff.; *Tiryns*, I, p. 110; G. von Brauchitsch, *Die Panathenäischen Preisamphoren*, pp. 78–79, 95, 167–177.

⁴ Each type has been claimed as the earlier, or even as the only one existing on the Acropolis in the sixth century, but the latest examinations of the evidence by Von Brauchitsch and Frickenhaus point to the probability that the warrior type was introduced by Pisistratus. It is not necessary to consider the question here, since all that is material to the present discussion is the existence of the two types in the sixth century and their possible connection with two temples on the Acropolis.

⁵ See the authorities cited in J.–M., p. 68, notes 36, 36*; Herodotus, V, 71; Plutarch, *Solon*, 12. Cf. also Ch. IV, Inscription II, l. 1, ἐν ᾗ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα; Commentary, p. 298, and below, pp. 456 ff.

rather than on the steps of the great altar.¹ The presence of two statues connected with the cult of Athena² is easily understood if there were at the same time two temples, while, if the Hecatompodon was built to replace the older temple and to house the old image, the need for a new statue is not so apparent. Yet, although these facts are thoroughly consistent with the survival of the Homeric temple after the construction of the Hecatompodon, and indeed render that survival probable,³ the argument cannot be considered wholly conclusive, since it is possible, though not very probable, that both statues stood together in the new temple,⁴ in spite of the strongly divergent conceptions of the nature of the goddess which they represented.

The probability of the survival of the earlier temple would be very greatly strengthened, if we could be sure that another ancient statement referred to a date as early as 506 B.C. The scholium to Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 273, reads in part as follows: Τῶν μετὰ Κλεομέ-
ρους Ἐλευσίνα κατασχόντων Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς οἰκίας κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἐδήμευσαν, αὐτῶν δὲ
θάνατον ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ ἀναγράψαντες ἐς στήλην χαλκῇν ἔστησαν ἐν πόλει παρὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον νεών.
The wording of the last clause certainly follows closely the terminology of the Attic inscriptions, and there is no difficulty in admitting that the ultimate source of this statement is the copy of the decree in the collection of Craterus.⁵ If this copy has preserved the language of the original decree of the sixth century, it follows that there was then on the Acropolis a building officially known as ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεώς, and it is hard to see how at that time this name could have been given to the Hecatompodon. Even on the very doubtful hypothesis that the tyrants had begun the construction of a great poros temple on the site of the later Parthenon, the building could not have advanced far beyond the lower steps of the crepis and there could be no need of referring to the complete temple (if it were then

¹ Petersen, *Burgtempel*, p. 12; cf. Herodotus, VIII, 53.

² That the two statues were both connected with the cult seems clear from the black-figured lecythi cited by Frickenhaus (*Tiryns*, I, p. 110, note 1), on which both the warlike Athena and the seated Athena with the *phiale* are depicted between two columns adorned with branches on which sit owls.

³ The situation on the Acropolis in the sixth century would be analogous to that which existed later in the precinct of Dionysus Eleuthereus, where there were two temples and two images of the god, the old and the new (Pausanias, I, 20, 3).

⁴ It is doubtful whether an example can be cited for the existence of two statues of the same divinity, having such widely divergent characteristics, in one temple, where both were honored with sacrifices. Votive statues beside a cult-statue, or those temples which in Roman times had become little more than museums, are obviously in quite different categories. It is true that in the middle of the fourth century B.C. the precinct of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis contained two statues, τὸ εἶδος τὸ ἀρχαῖον and τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ὀρθόν (cf., e.g., *I. G.*, II, 751, referring to 345/4 B.C. and the other inscriptions cited J.-M., p. 49, note 42*), but there is no evidence that both were in the same room. Nor is the case of the Heraeum at Argos (Frickenhaus, *Tiryns*, I, p. 110) a wholly satisfactory parallel. That temple contained in addition to the chryselephantine Hera of Polyclitus two ancient images (Pausanias, II, 17, 5), one on a column, the other of wood. There is nothing to show that either had been the cult-statue of the old temple, burned in 423 B.C.; indeed one tradition asserted that the wooden statue had only been brought to the Heraeum on the destruction of Tiryns by the Argives in 468 B.C., so that according to this theory it was merely a valuable prize of war. It is true that another, and probably older, tradition associated this statue with the foundation of the Heraeum, but even so it is not characterized as an object of special cult; cf. Robert, *Hermes*, LV, 1920, pp. 373-387.

⁵ On Craterus see Wilamowitz, *Aus Kydathen*, pp. 69-71; Krech, *De Crateri ψηφισμάτων συναγωγῇ*; B. Keil, *Hermes*, XXX, 1895, pp. 214-219; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Krateros I.'

the only temple of Athena on the Acropolis) as ἀρχαῖος in order to avoid ambiguity in designating the position of the stele.¹ Moreover, the inscription of 485/4 B.C., to be discussed later, unless it has been almost universally misunderstood, shows that the official title of the large temple was the Hecatompodon, which would have been at least as definite a mark of location as the term employed. Therefore, if we have the original wording of the decree, the reasonable interpretation is that of Michaelis and Petersen,² that ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεώς refers to the old Homeric temple in contradistinction to the Hecatompodon. There is, however, no certainty that Craterus had before him the stele of the sixth century. Indeed there is little probability that it survived the sack of the Acropolis by the Persians, especially as the Athenian exiles who accompanied Xerxes had every interest in destroying a document by which their party stood condemned. The important words, therefore, may well have been copied from the decree as restored after 479 B.C., in which the clause designating the position of the stele would not necessarily repeat the original wording but would more probably be couched in the phraseology of the day. In that case this decree takes its place among the other documents of the fifth century, and the words ἀρχαῖος νεώς must be interpreted according to the post-Persian usage and cannot be regarded as reflecting conditions in the time of Cleisthenes.

For further information about the temples on the Acropolis before the Persian invasion, it is necessary to consult Herodotus and the so-called "Hecatompodon inscription" of 485/4 B.C. The former in his references to the Acropolis usually prefers the general term τὸ ἱρόν, even where a definite designation might be expected,³ but in four passages he becomes more specific.⁴

(1) In V, 72, is the account of the occupation of the Acropolis by Cleomenes, king of Sparta, and Isagoras in an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the reforms of Cleisthenes:

Ἐπετελέετο δὲ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ φήμη· ὥς γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μέλλων δὴ αὐτὴν κατασχέσειν, ἦι ἐς τὸ ἄδυστον τῆς θεοῦ ὥς προσερέων, ἡ δὲ ἱερεὶ ἐξαναστὰσα ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, πρὶν ἢ τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν ἀμείψαι, εἶπε "ὦ ξεῖνε Λακεδαιμόνιε, πάλιν χώρει μηδὲ ἔσιθι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν Δωριεῦσι παρίεναι ἐνθαῦτα." ὁ δὲ εἶπε "ὦ γύναι, ἀλλ' οὐ Δωριεὺς εἰμι ἀλλ' Ἀχαιός."

(2) In V, 77, the Athenians after their victory over the Boeotians and Chalcidians hung up on the Acropolis the fetters with which they had bound their prisoners: Τὰς δὲ πέδας αὐτῶν, ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέετο, ἀνεκρέμασαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· αἱ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν περιεῶσαι, κρεμάμεναι ἐκ τευχέων περιπεφλευσμένων πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μήδου, ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένου.

¹ See on this point Milchhöfer, *Ueber die alten Burgheilighümer in Athen*, p. 21.

² Michaelis, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, p. 11; Petersen, *Burgtempel*, p. 38.

³ Thus in VIII, 41, we are simply told that the guardian serpent of the Acropolis lived ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, though Eustathius (*ad Hom. Od.*, I, 356) gives the place as ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς Πολιάδος, and Hesychius (*s.v.*, οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν) as ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως. On this use of ἱρόν for the sanctuary on the Acropolis, see Milchhöfer, *Ueber die alten Burgheilighümer in Athen*, p. 18.

⁴ The passages in Herodotus have been frequently cited. They are discussed with some fullness by Milchhöfer, *Ueber die alten Burgheilighümer in Athen*, pp. 18 ff.; Michaelis, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, pp. 7 ff.; Petersen, *Burgtempel*, pp. 11-14; Dörpfeld, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, pp. 5, 6, 12.

(3) In VIII, 53, the capture of the Acropolis by the Persians is described: Ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἑωυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐφόνεον· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφί πάντες κατέστρωντο, τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρῃσαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

(4) In VIII, 55, after saying that Xerxes commanded the Athenian exiles to sacrifice on the Acropolis, Herodotus continues: Τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηός, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῳ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἔνι, τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἐλαίην ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελευόμενοι ὥς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν, ὥρεον βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος ὅσον τε πηχναῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα.

We have here four distinct terms (1) τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ; (2) τὸ μέγαρον τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένον; (3) τὸ μέγαρον, with no qualification or explanation; and (4) an Ἐρεχθέος νηός, containing the "tokens" of the contest of Athena and Poseidon. Only in the last case is sufficient information given to fix definitely the location. The olive tree was certainly in the region immediately west of the Erechtheum, which was later known as the Pandroseum, and the testimony of Pausanias proves that the "sea" was somewhere in the western part of the Erechtheum itself.¹ It is evident then that the νηός of Erechtheus in Herodotus includes not only part of the site of the later building, but also the ground to the west. That νηός is used in a general sense is also clear, for there is as little probability that the olive was beneath a roof as that the "sea" was entirely uncovered.² Of the size and orientation of the temple of Erechtheus nothing is definitely known or can be inferred from this passage, which is of value chiefly as furnishing positive evidence for the existence of a building which would otherwise have been only a probable conjecture.

There is, however, one topographical conclusion which may be tentatively drawn from the words of Herodotus. In spite of the Homeric reminiscences in γηγενέος and in the general sense given to νηός,³ there is no hint that Athena has any share in this temple of Erechtheus. We may fairly argue that, if the earliest temple of the goddess was still standing, it did not occupy a site on the lower level of the μαρτύρια, but that this region belonged to Erechtheus, though it was included in τὸ ἱρὸν, the sacred precinct of Athena. Erechtheus may still be worshipped within the sanctuary of Athena, but in the time of Herodotus he was apparently not housed in her temple, but had his own shrine. On the position of this

¹ On the position of the olive tree see Philochorus, Frg. 146 (below, pp. 474 f.); Apollodorus, III, 178: Ἀθηνᾶ . . . ἐφύτευσεν ἐλαίαν ἣ νῦν ἐν τῷ Πανδροσείῳ δέικνυται. For the "sea," see Ch. I, pp. 169-171, and below, pp. 487, 491 f., also Pausanias, I, 26, 5.

² Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*, p. 416, note 9) suggested reading σηκός for νηός, in accordance with the parallel passage (Dionysius Halic., *Ant. Rom. Exc.* XIV, 2) ἐν . . . Ἐρεχθέως τῷ σηκῷ. This emendation undoubtedly clarifies the meaning of the passage, but the new text is hardly so certain that it can be safely used to determine conditions in 480 B.C.

³ Cf. Petersen, *Burgtempel*, p. 13; Michaelis, *Jb. Arch.* I., XVII, 1902, p. 6.

shrine in relation to the temple, or temples, of the goddess Herodotus furnishes no information whatsoever.¹

Turning now to the other three passages we find merely general terms, devoid of special topographical or historical significance, which can be given precise definition only by the aid of other information about conditions on the Acropolis. So far as the two *μέγαρα* are concerned, a probable interpretation offers no great difficulty and has given rise to but little discussion. The one in which the terrified Athenians sought sanctuary and where they were massacred by the Persians can hardly be anything else than the cella, facing east, of the Hecatompedon, which was certainly at that time the largest sacred building on the Acropolis, and the most natural refuge for the fugitives, especially if it still retained its statue of Athena.² If this be admitted, it is natural to see in the "*μέγαρον* facing the west" the rear room of the same building, though this interpretation must be received with caution, since it refers to a landmark of the writer's own time and not to the sixth century.³ It is in any case too vague an expression to be used as proof positive of the existence of the Hecatompedon in the middle of the fifth century.

There remains the *ἄδυτον*, and it is on the meaning of this word that the controversy as to the evidence of Herodotus concerning the pre-Persian temples of Athena turns. Is the *ἄδυτον* the same as the *μέγαρον*, or is it the cella of the Homeric temple, which would thus be proved to have been in use after the completion of the Hecatompedon? The word itself is not conclusive, since its use here is plainly due to the nature of the story, — the attempt of King Cleomenes to penetrate into a part of the sanctuary (the priestess bars him from the *ἱρόν*) from which Dorians were excluded. It might, of course, be applied to the cella of any temple to which there was restricted access, and in describing the mission of the Athenians to Delphi, Herodotus refers to the hall of the oracle indifferently as *μέγαρον* and *ἄδυτον*.⁴ It follows, therefore, that there is no obstacle, so far as the language is concerned, to identifying the *ἄδυτον*, which Cleomenes sought to enter, with the *μέγαρον* in which the

¹ The close connection of Athena and Erechtheus is emphasized in the requirement of the Athenians that the Epidaurians should bring yearly sacrifices to Athena Polias and Erechtheus in return for the sacred olive wood, granted them for the statues of Damia and Auxesia (Herodotus, V, 82). If the sacred olive tree of Athena was in the temenos of Erechtheus, the reason for the double sacrifice is very obvious.

² See above, p. 433. Even if the older temple were still standing, its smaller size and the absence of the ancient image would militate against its choice as a refuge.

³ The wall on which the chains were hung would be the west face of a terrace wall, now missing, which supported the earth covering the west foundation of the peristyle of the Hecatompedon. This foundation, like that on the north, is rough and must have been concealed (cf. Dörpfeld, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, pp. 6, 38). G. Körte, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1909, p. 844, note, suggests that this *μέγαρον* is the west room of the Parthenon and that the fetters hung from the east wall of the precinct of Artemis Brauronia. It seems doubtful whether Herodotus would have described in this way a part of a temple which was still unfinished when he left Athens, if his departure is correctly dated about 443 B.C. J. W. White, *Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.*, VI, 1895, p. 22, note 4, argues that the old Erechtheum is meant, on the ground that "by *μέγαρον* Herodotus refers to the *cella* of a temple where is established the worship of a god." This seems possible, but not necessary.

⁴ In VII, 140, on the arrival of the Athenians: — *Καὶ σφί ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρόν τὰ νομιζόμενα, ὡς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες ἕζοντο, χρᾶ ἢ Πυθίῃ κ. τ. λ.*; but when they return to the Pythia as suppliants (141), they say "*ἡ οὐ τοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἄδυτου, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τῇδε μενέομεν ἔστ' ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν.*" In I, 47, the ambassadors of Croesus also come *ἐς τὸ μέγαρον* to consult the oracle.

Athenians took refuge. It does *not* follow, however, that, because the terms *can* denote the same room, they therefore *must* do so, when they are used in entirely different contexts at widely separated points in the narrative. Nor is the use of the definite article in both passages (1) and (3) decisive. Indeed so far as the μέγαρον is concerned we have the direct testimony of Herodotus that there were at least two on the Acropolis, since, when a precise indication of locality is required, he defines the μέγαρον meant by adding τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένον. While, therefore, the language of Herodotus is perfectly intelligible if there was only one temple of Athena on the Acropolis, it is equally intelligible if there were two, — the Homeric temple with the ἄδυτον in which was the old statue, and the Hecatompedon with its two μέγαρα. In other words, Herodotus is not writing with special reference to particular buildings which must be given their correct names and accurately distinguished from their neighbors. He makes no use of the official terminology as it appears in the contemporary inscriptions; he does not mention the ἀρχαῖος νεῶς, the Hecatompedon, or the ὀπισθόδομος, and even the Ἐρεχθέος νηὸς, with its loose use of νηὸς, can hardly be official, though it may preserve a popular designation. As Keil has pointed out,¹ Herodotus has non-Athenians chiefly in view, for whom the details of the topography of the Acropolis and the identity of its buildings were unessential. The incidents are the important points, and they are localized so far as is necessary to give them their full value without overloading them with superfluous and distracting minutiae. Cleomenes receives a divine warning in the words of the priestess when he attempts to penetrate ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ, and there is no need of more precise localization to convey the nature of his attempt. The Athenians flee ἐς τὸ μέγαρον, and the word without any further definition is quite sufficient to emphasize the sacrilege of the Persians in killing the suppliants. Even the apparent precision in marking the position of the Chalcidian fetters is rather a vivid personal touch than an accurate topographical indication. In view of these considerations it seems useless to seek from Herodotus an answer to the question as to the survival of the earlier temple. He is equally easy to interpret whether there was only one temple of Athena on the Acropolis, or two, or even more.

The epigraphical evidence for pre-Persian conditions is confined to the fragmentary inscription of 485/4 B.C.² This document was carefully engraved on two of the marble metopes which had been removed from Hecatompedon I when it was reconstructed upon the addition of the peristyle, and contained regulations for the conduct of the officials and

¹ B. Keil, *Anonymus Argentinensis*, p. 91, note 1.

² For the text of this inscription see *I. G.*, I, Suppl., 18, 19, pp. 137–139 = I², 3, 4; Lolling, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, II, 1890, pp. 627 ff. Cf. also on the better preserved metope and the passages concerning the "Old Temple," W. Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XV, 1890, pp. 420–439; Dittenberger, *Hermes*, XXVI, 1891, pp. 472–473; G. Körte, *Rh. Mus.*, LIII, 1898, pp. 265 ff.; *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1908, pp. 838–840; A. Wilhelm, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1898, pp. 487–492; J.-M., *App. Ep.*, p. 99, No. 20; A. Michaelis, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, pp. 7–10; H. von Prott and L. Ziehen, *Leges graecorum sacrae*, II, No. 1, pp. 1–6; E. Petersen, *Burgtempel*, pp. 14–17; *Klio*, IX, 1903, pp. 231–236. A facsimile in Lolling, *l. c.*, pl. 2; photographs in Wilhelm, *l. c.*, pl. IX, 2, and Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, p. 111, fig. 114. The later articles by Körte and Petersen modify the conclusions of the earlier in important particulars.

worshippers on the Acropolis with the fines which were imposed for violation of its prescriptions. Destroyed, apparently during the Persian occupation,¹ only a short time after its erection, it has been partially recovered from some 41 fragments, collected at various times from all parts of the Acropolis. One metope is very poorly preserved, but, so far as can be seen, contained nothing calculated to throw any light on the topography of the sanctuary. Of the other slab² a much larger part has survived, and in spite of some awkward *lacunae*, its contents can be determined with considerable precision. Two passages clearly refer to pre-Persian buildings, though unfortunately the first is so defective that its exact interpretation depends upon conjectural restorations, which, however probable, are not sufficiently certain to furnish a sure foundation for further argument.

(1) The first passage (ll. 8–13), with only those restorations which may be considered as beyond all reasonable doubt, runs as follows:³—

::: τ ο σ ι ε [ρ ο ρ] γ ο ν τ α [ς] μ

μ ε ν ε ο : κ α ι τ ο π ρ ο β ο μ ο :

10 τ ο θ ε ν [τ ο ν] ε ο : ε ν τ ο σ τ ο κ α π α ν τ ο [η] ε

κ α τ ο μ π [ε δ] ο ν : μ ε δ ο ν θ ο [ν] ε γ β [ε α ν δ ε] τ ι σ : τ ο υ τ ο

ν τ ι δ ρ α [ι ε ι δ ο σ ε] χ σ [ε] ν α ι θ ο α ν [μ ε] χ ρ ι τ ρ ι ο ν ο β ε λ ο

ν τ ο ι σ ι τ α μ [ι α σ ι :::]

It is obvious that we have here prohibitions addressed to those who came to the Acropolis to offer sacrifices or perform other sacred rites. The relatively small fine — only half a drachma — suggests that the forbidden actions were not regarded as very heinous offenses. Moreover, the references to the “temple,” “altar,” “Hecatompodon,” and a precinct or building the name of which began with K, indicate that the prohibitions applied only to a somewhat definitely restricted area. If, however, we proceed to inquire more particularly into the character of these offenses and the exact relation of the buildings to one another, we at once encounter difficulties which have not yet received a thoroughly convincing solution.

The examination of the text may well start with the fragmentary prohibition in line 11, *μεδ' ὀνθον ἐγβ*, since on its meaning depends to a considerable extent the res-

¹ Some fragments were found in the “Perserschutt,” Lolling, *l. c.*, p. 628. The well-preserved remains of color on some of the letters suggest that the original was not exposed to the air for a very long period.

² This slab is commonly described as occupying the second place, but the investigations of B. H. Hill, as yet unpublished, indicate that it really stood before the other.

³ The inscription is *stoichedon* with 38 letters in a line. The mark of separation between paragraphs (:::), occupies the place of a letter; the other mark of separation (:) is placed between the letters without affecting their arrangement in the column. In line 8, only the upper part of the λ and the upper horizontal bar of the Ε are preserved; the bottom of the right leg of the Λ can be traced in the fracture of the stone; the right upper angle of the Μ is preserved. In line 9 the lower part of the first Ε and traces of the Ν in νεδ can be detected. According to the notes of B. H. Hill, near the end of the line, Ο Β [Ο], the first Ο may be accepted as sure, though Θ is perhaps barely possible from existing traces; in the next place either Β or Ρ is possible; the following space would permit Ο easily and there is perhaps a slight trace of this letter or Θ; λ is not likely; ι impossible, and Ε nearly or quite so. In line 11, letter 21, the letter is Β; there is no possibility that it was λ.

toration of the earlier lines, which ought to refer to an offense of similar nature, inasmuch as both prescriptions are accompanied by the same penalty. The traces of the third letter of the missing verb (υ) have been shown by Körte to be consistent only with β.¹ In that case the complete clause must have read μεδ' ὄνθον ἐγβάλλ(λ)εν or, less probably, ἐγβαλεν.² The exact force of the prohibition is not wholly clear, but it seems probable that the worshippers are warned against defiling the sacred precinct — a warning the necessity for which is easily understood by any visitor in Mediterranean lands. The chief, if not the only, objection to this interpretation is that ὄνθος does not seem to be used elsewhere of human excrement, and indeed is restricted by the lexicographers to that of animals, or even of asses and cattle;³ but the word itself is rare in later writers, and it may be doubted whether much stress is to be laid on this limitation. Some support for the more inclusive meaning may also be found in the aid which it furnishes to the restoration of the immediately preceding lines.

In line 8 the first prohibition may plausibly be restored as MEOPEN (μη ούρεῖν), and this is naturally followed by a list of the places to which the ordinance applies. For the first part of this list the reading με[ταχσὺ τῶ ν]εὸ καὶ τῶ πρό[ς ἑο μεγάλ]ο β[ο]μῶ, first suggested by Wilhelm,⁴ has been very generally accepted; but we may also read, with considerable probability, μεταχσὺ τῶ νεὸ καὶ τῶ προπύλο καὶ τῶ βομῶ.⁵ The other places ought to be connected with what precedes by μηδέ, if good Greek usage is followed, and this consideration restricts considerably the possibilities in lines 9 and 10. Since there are only five letters missing at the end of line 9, [μεδ' ἔκ]τοθεν alone seems possible. The word beginning with κ in this context can hardly be other than Κεκροπίο,⁶ which again leaves a space of five letters, easily filled by μεδ' ἀν]ά. The whole passage will then read, in the Ionic alphabet, as follows: Τοὺς ἱερουργοῦντας μὴ ούρεῖν μεταξὺ τοῦ νεῶ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἑὸν μέγαλον βωμοῦ (οἷ τοῦ προπύλου καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ) μηδ' ἔκτοθεν τοῦ νεῶ ἐντὸς τοῦ Κεκροπίου μηδ' ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ Ἑκατόμπεδον, μηδ'

¹ G. Körte, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1908, p. 838. The fragment lacks the prolongation of the vertical stroke below the oblique which is characteristic of λ in this inscription, and also shows the somewhat larger angle which appears in β. See also the preceding note.

² The former is preferred by Körte (*l.c.*); the latter by Petersen (*Klio*, IX, 1909, p. 231). The aorist infinitive in this general prohibition seems improbable.

³ Cf. e.g., Hesychius, ὄνθος· κόπρος κτηνῶν ἥτοι βόλβιτος; Suidas, ὄνθος· βόλβιτον· τούτεστιν ἡ τῶν βοῶν κόπρος; Pollux, V, 91. In Homer the word is always accompanied by a defining adjective or genitive, and in other examples the context shows that the dung of animals is meant.

⁴ Wilhelm, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, p. 492.

⁵ This reading was brought to my attention by B. H. Hill, and has been adopted by L. B. Holland in his paper on the position of the Chalcidian chariot on the Acropolis (*A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, p. 77). It is not noticed in *I. G.*, I², 4, and, so far as I know, has not hitherto appeared in print. It has the advantage of removing the somewhat detailed definition of the altar of Athena, presumably one of the best known monuments on the Acropolis and as little in need of precise identification as the νεῶς or Hecatompædon. It may, however, be urged in support of Wilhelm's conjecture that there were several other altars in this part of the Acropolis (e.g., those of Zeus Hypatos, Dione, and Zeus Herceus), and that consequently it was desirable to specify clearly which one was intended.

⁶ In *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXXVII, 1922, p. 105, Buschor supplies τὸ κ[άτω σκεῖ]δ, "the lower enclosure," which he interprets as including the temenos of the "tokens" as well as the Ceoropium. He compares Ἐρεχθέος σηκός in Herodotus, VIII, 55, as emended by Furtwängler; see p. 436, note 2.

ὄνθον ἐκβάλλειν· ἐὰν δέ τις τούτων τι δρᾷ εἰδώς ἐξεῖναι θωᾶν μέχρι τριῶν ὀβελῶν τοῖσι ταμίαισι.¹ This gives, in either version, a smooth and intelligible text, though one not wholly free from difficulties. If the penalty still seems very slight according to modern ideas, it must be remembered that the offense, like some others recorded in this inscription, was evidently regarded rather as a violation of propriety and good order than as a profanation.² More serious perhaps is the difficulty arising from the occurrence of the phrase ἐκτοθεν τοῦ νεῶ immediately after μεταξὺ τοῦ νεῶ καὶ τοῦ . . . βωμοῦ, since, whichever restoration is adopted, the latter space was also "outside of the νεῶς," whether this word be taken to denote the whole temple or only the cella. The distinction seems superfluous unless in line 9 the νεῶς is limited to the building, and in line 10 extended to include the ground about it. Yet the assumption that in successive lines the word is used in different meanings is surely too improbable to merit serious consideration, and if the restoration ἐκτοθεν τοῦ νεῶ be accepted,³ the words can be explained only by a desire to emphasize the externality of the Cecropium and probably of the Hecatompodon as well, though the reason for such emphasis remains obscure.

Even if the restoration of these lines be doubtful or unacceptable in some of its details, the interpretation of the topographical indications is not greatly hampered thereby, since the points mentioned seem to be fairly certain. The injunction, whatever its nature, applies to certain places which are described as "between the νεῶς and the great altar toward the east," or "between the νεῶς, the πρόπυλον, and the altar," "outside the νεῶς within the Cecropium," and "along the whole Hecatompodon." There are then four, or five, objects which call for identification: the νεῶς, the altar, the Cecropium, the Hecatompodon, and perhaps the πρόπυλον. The second and third cause no trouble. The "great altar

¹ Except for the words in parenthesis this is the restoration adopted by Körte, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1908, p. 838. The readings ἐγβάλλειν and ὄρεν had been suggested by Michaelis (*Jb. Arch.* I., XVII, 1902, p. 7), but rejected as inconsistent with the meaning of ὄνθος according to the lexicographers. They had also occurred independently to Dörpfeld and Wilhelm. They were strongly urged by Körte (*l.c.*) and adopted, with a lengthy argument in confirmation, by Petersen, *Klio*, IX, 1909, pp. 231-234.

Still another version of these lines is offered by Hiller von Gaertringen in *I. G.*, I², 4. Accepting the restricted meaning assigned to ὄνθος by the lexicographers, and adopting in line 8 an ingenious emendation of Wolters, he reads τὸς ἱεροργῶντας μὲ ἀρταμὲν πρὸς τὸ νεῶ καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοῦ μεγάλο βομῶ καὶ νοτόθεν τὸ νεῶ ἐντὸς τὸ Κεκροπίο καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ ἑκατόμπεδον μὲδ' ὄνθον ἐγβαλεῖν κ.τ.λ. It is not easy to see exactly what is gained by this restoration. A prohibition to slaughter animals near the great altar of sacrifice seems strange, and if animals were not to be killed in the sacred area, the simplest way to avoid defilement by them would have been to have excluded them altogether. It is not necessary to decide here between these different readings, none of which is wholly satisfactory. The present discussion is primarily concerned with the identification of the "νεῶς" and of the "Hecatompodon," and this problem remains much the same whichever of the three restorations is chosen, since its solution obviously cannot depend upon a conjecture, however probable.

² Since the whole inscription is so fragmentary, general conclusions as to its contents can be drawn only with great reserve, but it seems that the prescriptions, so far as the worshippers are concerned, are not directed against serious or sacrilegious offenses, but aim rather at preventing irregularities of conduct and thus promoting good order. Hence the rather light penalties. Where the regulations affect the officials the fines are much heavier, as in the next section, where priestesses or attendants are fined 100 drachmae if they have a storeroom or kitchen on the Acropolis, and the Treasurers the same amount if they overlook this offense.

³ Any other restoration seems impossible without violating good Greek usage by reading καὶ for μηδέ. If this can be done, either νοτόθεν or κάτωθεν would be possible, and the interpretation would certainly become easier.

to the east," or "the altar" *par excellence*, is, of course, the altar of Athena, whether this occupied the usually accepted site on the highest point of the Acropolis, or, as Dörpfeld has recently suggested, was only about 15 metres east of the Hecatompodon.¹ The Cecropium is, of course, the precinct extending west from the southwest corner of the later Erechtheum, though its boundaries in 485 B.C. may not have been exactly the same as at the end of the century.² The identification of the *πρόπυλον* is more uncertain. It may be the main entrance to the Acropolis, the predecessor of the Propylaea, and the ordinance may have been intended merely to protect the approach to the temple and the altar. In that case, however, the triangle formed by temple, altar, and entrance would apparently include much of the Hecatompodon and even (if the temple were on the site of the Erechtheum) a part of the Cecropium, both of which the following lines of the inscription would lead us to believe were outside. It is quite as probable, therefore, that the *πρόπυλον* is the gateway leading into the sacred area proper — the *ἵρον* of Herodotus, — but as neither the boundaries of this precinct nor the position of the gateway can be determined with any certainty, this explanation contributes nothing to our topographical knowledge.³

The chief difficulty lies in the interpretation of *νεώς* and Hecatompodon. Are the two words synonymous? Is the *νεώς* a part of the Hecatompodon? Do the two words denote distinct objects, and, if so, to what does each apply? The first question may be briefly dismissed. There is no satisfactory reason for the sudden introduction of the word *Ἐκατόμπεδον* if this differs in no respect from *νεώς*; in fact such a sudden and unexplained change in nomenclature would be merely confusing, and would make the whole statement almost unintelligible. The second question cannot be so readily answered. Even if the *νεώς* is not the whole Hecatompodon, the view, steadily maintained by Dörpfeld,⁴ that it is the cella of that building, is plausible, and indeed, if there was but one temple of Athena on the Acropolis, seems at first sight almost inevitable. Yet there are some serious obstacles to accepting it. So far as can be judged, there is no reference in the preceding portion of the inscription to the temple or any of its parts, so that *νεώς* suddenly appears without any indication from the context that it bears a restricted meaning which is not clearly inherent

¹ For the accepted site see Cavvadias and Kawerau, pls. A', Δ'; D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, pl. VII, 69. Dörpfeld (*Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, pp. 8, 30) prefers to consider this the precinct of Zeus Polieus, and places the altar of Athena at a point where the surface of the rock appears to have been dressed for a distance of about 5 metres from east to west, as if for a wall (Cavvadias and Kawerau, pl. Γ'). Holland (*A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, p. 167) suggests that this cutting marks the southeast corner of the court of the Mycenaean palace.

² For the Cecropium see Ch. I, pp. 127–137, and PLATE I. Michaelis' conjecture *Κεκροπίου* (*J.-M.*, *App. Ep.*, p. 99, No. 20; *Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, p. 9) has been generally accepted; but see also p. 440, note 6.

³ In a paper read before the Archaeological Institute of America (see *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, p. 77) L. B. Holland suggested that this gateway "stood on the line of an ancient wall running from just behind the Promachos statue to the Pelasgian wall southwest of the Parthenon." If, on the other hand, it were near the site of the North Portico of the Erechtheum, the triangular protected area would include the terraces north and northeast of the Hecatompodon, which were certainly much exposed to defilement.

⁴ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, p. 164; *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, pp. 7–8. Against this view cf. Körte, *Rh. Mus.*, LIII, 1898, p. 249; Michaelis, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, p. 8.

in the word itself.¹ Quite apart from this difficulty, the wording of the inscription, according to this interpretation, is very singular, for there is nothing in the ordinance itself to call for any mention of the cella. Conceivably "between the cella and the altar" might be a more definite description than "between the Hecatompodon (or temple) and the altar," though the distinction is not very obvious; but it is hard to understand the absence of any indication that it is the cella and not the whole temple that is meant, until the Hecatompodon appears for the whole building; while "outside the cella, within the Cecropium" is a most peculiar way of locating a precinct which was barely in contact with the northwest corner of the cella (PLATE I), though adjacent to the rest of the Hecatompodon. These obscurities are perhaps insufficient to warrant an unqualified rejection of this theory, but it is certainly worth while to consider whether another interpretation may not accord better with the topographical order and the terms employed in the inscription, and at the same time avoid any conflict with the other evidence as to conditions at this time.

Such an interpretation, if it exist, must be found in the third and only other possible hypothesis, that the *νεώς* and the Hecatompodon are entirely separate entities, and this at once raises anew the question whether there were at this time two temples of Athena on the Acropolis or only one. In the latter case the *νεώς* is, of course, the large hexastyle, peristyle temple just south of the later Erechtheum, and since it may be regarded as certain that there was no other large building then standing in this part of the Acropolis, the Hecatompodon must be, as proposed by Körte and Bulle,² a precinct one hundred feet long. The arguments against this interpretation of the word have been well stated by Petersen and others,³ and it is certainly true that there is nowhere else any mention of such a precinct, while the remains of the north wall of the Pandroseum, to say nothing of the early walls beneath the Erechtheum,⁴ are against the presence of any large enclosure here in the pre-Persian period. Yet in view of the difficulties in the explanation of the language of the inscription on the supposition that the *νεώς* was either the Hecatompodon or its cella, there seems no other satisfactory meaning for the term, if we are limited to a single temple of Athena. Quite apart, however, from the inadvisability of creating an otherwise unknown

¹ White, *Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.*, VI, 1895, pp. 7-11, and Michaelis, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, p. 8, maintain that *νεώς* is never used in the sense of *cella* without some distinct indication of its limitation in the context. This is perhaps too sweeping a statement, but there seems to be no example of such an abrupt introduction as in this inscription. Usage certainly does not convey the impression that the word naturally suggested only the *cella* to the Greek mind.

² Körte, *Rh. Mus.*, LIII, 1898, pp. 250-252; *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1908, pp. 840-843; Bulle, *Literarisches Zentralblatt*, 1908, col. 590. Körte in his first article proposed to place this Hecatompodon on the south (reading *πρόθεν τοῦ νεῶς* in line 10) toward the site of the Parthenon. Later he followed Bulle in placing it on the north, regarding it as a *temenos* reaching probably to the old wall of the Acropolis, thus enclosing the *μαρτήρια* and some buildings, the *οικήματα* of line 17. Such a precinct would extend from east to west about the length of Hecatompodon I, and might well have existed long before the temple was built. The Cecropium would be a separate enclosure within this precinct. For Buschor's explanation of "Hecatompodon" see below, p. 445, note 2.

³ Cf. e.g., Petersen, *Burgtempel*, pp. 15-16; *Klio*, IX, 1909, pp. 230-237; Keil, *Anonymus Argentinensis*, p. 91, note 1. Their arguments, however, are chiefly successful in refuting Körte's contention that the neuter Ἑκατόμπεδον cannot be applied to the temple, which would, according to him, be ὁ ἑκατόμπεδος νεώς.

⁴ See Ch. I, pp. 120 ff., 137 ff.

precinct to meet the exigencies of interpretation, the identification of the νεώς with the Pisistratean temple involves another difficulty, if *μη οὐρεῖν κ.τ.λ.* is read. The prohibitions in this inscription, whatever their nature, are no mere theoretical regulations, but distinctly practical, and evidently aimed at irregularities which it was desired to prevent. The areas, therefore, to which they apply must be such as to be more or less exposed to the offenses condemned. Now the space between the great temple and the altar to the east must have been about as open an area as could be found in that part of the Acropolis, and it is hard to imagine that it could ever have needed special protection.¹

The difficulties which have just been noticed are removed, or at any rate much reduced, if we assume that there were two temples of Athena still in use. The νεώς may then be identified with the Homeric temple in which was the old statue, and the Hecatompodon with the temple of the sixth century, which in its original form, before the addition of the peristyle, was about one hundred Attic-Aeginetan feet long, and doubtless early received its distinctive name.² The position of the early temple can easily be conjectured, for if we recall the connection of Athena with the μαρτύρια and with Erechtheus, who is himself closely associated with the "sea," there can be little doubt that it stood north of the Hecatompodon, and occupied either the site of the western part of the later Erechtheum or, far more probably, the somewhat higher terrace which we have seen existed on the east. We need not here decide between these alternatives, since in either case it was on a lower level than its neighbor, and the stretch of ground to the east toward the altar would have for at least a part of the distance a low terrace rising on its south side, which might well need protection from defilement.³ On this hypothesis the prohibition applies to (1) the place east of the temple, just discussed, or perhaps a triangular area including this place; (2) the area outside of the temple, (a) within the Cecropium, i.e., north of the western part of the Hecatompodon, which was, as the wording shows, enclosed in some way and yet open to the public; and (b) around the whole Hecatompodon. The ordinance would be especially needed to protect the exposed foundation wall east of the Cecropium. It is noteworthy

¹ Petersen, *Klio*, IX, p. 233.

² On the length (32.80 m.) see Dörpfeld, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, p. 8, pl. III. The gloss in Hesychius, Ἑκατόμπεδος νεώς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει παρθένου κατασκευασθεῖς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων μείζων τοῦ ἐμπρησθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ποσὶ πενήκοντα, which has been cited by Petersen (*Burgtempel*, pp. 1-6; *Klio*, IX, 1909, pp. 229-230) to prove that the Pisistratean temple of the sixth century was called the Hecatompodon, has been badly preserved, since νεώς may belong equally well to the lemma or the definition, while παρθένου is obviously corrupt. However the text be purified, whether by reading with Keil and Michaelis (*Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, p. 3, note 10) Ἑκατόμπεδος νεώς ὁ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Παρθενῶν κ.τ.λ. or with Petersen (*l. c.*) Ἑκατόμπεδος νεώς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῇ Παρθένῳ (or Παρθένῳ Ἀθηνᾶ), there is no doubt that the Parthenon is meant, and the statement simply says that it was fifty feet longer than the building burned by the Persians. That this burned building was also called *Hecatompedos* (or *-on*) can be derived from Hesychius only by assuming that Ἑκατομπέδου is to be supplied with τοῦ ἐμπρησθέντος rather than νεώ alone. For this assumption, however probable it may be, the evidence is not to be found in the Greek text, but is deduced from the known facts that the Parthenon was about fifty feet longer than Hecatompodon I, and that the latter was one hundred feet long. The gloss, therefore, cannot be cited as proof that the Pisistratean temple was called Hecatompodon, though it is easy to believe that this was the case, and it may even have been known to the author from whom the gloss was taken.

³ This argument is equally valid if the propylon is added to the points defining the extent of the prohibition, for the ground between the temple and the altar is in any case included within the protected area.

that the region of the *μαρτύρια* seems to have needed no protection; either it was closed to the public, or, as is perhaps more probable, its sacred character was a sufficient safeguard.¹ Thus far, then, the hypothesis that there were two temples of Athena on the Acropolis before the Persian invasion does not involve any conflict with a natural interpretation of the language of the inscription, while it avoids certain difficulties which arise if we assume that there was but one.²

It is urged, however, that this theory of two temples is entirely incompatible with the use of the definite article with *νεώς*, since “*the temple*” (*ὁ νεώς*) without any qualifying or descriptive epithet (such, for example, as *ἀρχαῖος*) implies plainly that no other temple existed with which it might be confused.³ It may be taken for granted that the inscription was couched in language which was fully intelligible to contemporaries, however obscure and ambiguous it may seem to us, and that no Athenian needed any additional word to explain what was meant by *ὁ νεώς*. It is also true, of course, that the definite article marks the *νεώς* as well-known — “*the temple*” *par excellence*, a building which could be easily recognized without any title.⁴ It does not follow that this was the *only* temple of the goddess then in use, but simply that it was the most familiar, the one that was naturally thought of when a temple on the Acropolis was mentioned, or that was regarded with the greatest reverence. If on other grounds there is fair reason for believing that at this time two temples existed, the later of which was called from its size the Hecatompodon, there is no great difficulty in supposing that the original building with the highly revered statue was generally known simply as “*ὁ νεώς*,” “*the temple*.”

The second passage in the inscription is in lines 17–19; its restoration offers no difficulty at the opening, which is alone of importance for this inquiry: *τὰ οἰκέματα* [*τὰ ἐν τῷ ἑκατομπέδοι ἀνοίγειν* [*τὸς*] *ταμίας* *μὲ* *ὅ* [*λειτουργοὺς*] *τὸ* *μενὸς*] *θεῖσθαι* κ. τ. λ. It is clear that the

¹ If Buschor's conjecture *κάτω σκεδ* for *κεκροπῖο*, is adopted, the Pandroseum and Cecropium are both included in the protected area; see p. 440, note 6.

² Two temples of Athena are also assumed by Buschor in his contribution to the history of early building on the Acropolis ('Burglöwen' *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVII, 1922, pp. 92–105, pls. XII–XIV), but he identifies the *νεώς* of the inscription with the sixth-century temple (shared by Athena and Erechtheus) and the Hecatompodon with an even older temple, having a cella 100 feet long, on the site of the later Parthenon. The *οἰκέματα* are small treasuries in the temenos of this temple. It is obvious that acceptance of this theory must lead to considerable modification of the views expressed in the text, but until the evidence is presented in detail — it is only outlined in the article cited, — any criticism of its validity or discussion of its effect would be premature.

³ Cf., e. g., Körte, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1908, p. 839; Dörpfeld, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, p. 8. For the contrary view see Michaelis, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, p. 9.

⁴ It is hardly necessary to support by examples this common use of the article, but there are at least two passages of a somewhat later date in which the use of *ὁ νεώς* seems comparable with that in the inscription. In Antiphon, VI, 39 (*Περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ*) the speaker describes how his opponent sought a reconciliation: *Καὶ ἐγὼ πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων διηλλάγην τοῦτοις ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐναντίον μαρτύρων, οἵπερ διήλλαττον ἡμᾶς πρὸς τῷ νεῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς*. The Thirty, according to Xenophon (*Hellenica*, II, 3, 20), after disarming all the citizens except the 3000: *ἀνακομίσαντες ταῦτα* (sc. *τὰ ὅπλα*) *εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ξυνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ*. Unless we are to suppose that in the time of Antiphon (before 411 B.C.) and of the Thirty (405 B.C.) the Parthenon was the only temple of Athena on the Acropolis — a view which carries with it the corollaries that the Hecatompodon had been removed before the completion of the Erechtheum, and that the latter had not yet been restored after the fire of 406 B.C., — the article here, as in the inscription, simply indicates the most prominent temple, — a pre-eminence which the Parthenon might well owe to its size and splendor, and the assumed Homeric temple to its sanctity.

terms in which the Hecatompædon is here mentioned throw no light on the problem as to its nature. If it is an enclosure, the οἰκέματα are simply small buildings, apparently treasuries; while if it is the temple south of the Erechtheum, it is equally easy to understand by the οἰκέματα the rooms at the rear, which are thus shown to have been set apart for objects of interest or value, and not to have been devoted to any cult.¹ The words employed are consistent with either explanation, and the passage cannot be used to support any of the interpretations already discussed or to refute them.

This completes the evidence concerning conditions around the site of the Erechtheum before the Persian invasion, and it must be admitted that the positive conclusions which can be drawn from it are few. It may be considered as fairly certain that in early times there existed on the Acropolis a temple of Athena in which was a highly revered wooden image, which later tradition declared to have fallen from heaven. Within this temple or its adjacent precinct Athena housed her protégé, Erechtheus, son of Earth, and here also were a sacred olive, believed to be the creation of the goddess, and a salt spring or "sea," with the mark of a trident near it, closely associated with both Poseidon and Erechtheus and situated in that part of the sanctuary dedicated to the latter. Outside was a precinct sacred to Cecrops, and later believed to contain his tomb. The divine "tokens" were bordered on east and south by a somewhat higher terrace on which had once stood the royal palace. In the early part of the sixth century, according to the evidence of the sculptures, other temples were built on the Acropolis, and among them one, one hundred feet long (Hecatompædon I), rose upon the terrace south of the olive and the "sea." Before the end of the century the height of this temple was increased and it was surrounded by a colonnade and decorated with marble sculptures. This new building retained the name of "Hecatompædon" in spite of its increased size. Its rear rooms seem to have served as treasuries and to have been opened at regular intervals for the display of their contents.

Up to this point there is but little disagreement as to the essential facts. It is when we come to the position and especially to the fate of the early temple that radical differences arise. Here two hypotheses claim to be warranted by the existing evidence. According to the first the Homeric temple, if it was not identical with Hecatompædon I, was completely superseded by the latter and disappeared without leaving a trace except the passage in the *Iliad*, so that until the building of the Parthenon there was but a single temple of Athena on the Acropolis. This view does not run directly counter to any of the literary evidence, although it involves, as we have seen, a somewhat forced interpretation of cer-

¹ Körte argues (*Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1908, p. 840) that the presence of the article — τὰ οἰκέματα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἑκατομπεδῷ — shows that *all* the rooms are meant, and that therefore, since it cannot be supposed that the cella of the temple, which must be included, was closed, the Hecatompædon must be a precinct and not a temple. This seems to demand an excessive precision of language in the inscription. Surely the context made it clear that the rooms meant were those not ordinarily open, and their identity was known to every Athenian. Furthermore, if the original temple was at this time the centre of worship, it is quite possible that the cella of the Pisistratean temple was not always open. At any rate the Greek text is not in itself inapplicable to the building.

tain passages. Its chief supports are the lack of specific statements to the contrary and especially the assumed absence of any remains which can be reasonably attributed to such an early building. The latter argument, however, must not be pressed too far. Apart from the possible significance of the walls which have left their traces beneath the Erechtheum, it must be remembered that a temple of the seventh century, or earlier, was in all probability built of crude brick and wood, materials which would, of course, disappear without leaving a trace, while stone foundations, if beneath the Erechtheum, would have been destroyed by the construction of the church.

The second theory maintains that the Homeric temple with the ancient statue originally stood on the terrace east of the "tokens," where, like the old temple at Rhamnus, it continued to exist beside its later neighbor. The preceding pages have shown that such a view finds no obstacle, but rather support, in the literature, which is, however, too vague in its testimony to be wholly conclusive. It is, moreover, clear that the continued presence of an early temple on the site proposed affords a satisfactory explanation of the preservation here of the old level after the ground on the south had been raised by the construction of the Hecatompedon, and also accounts for the care taken by the builders of the Erechtheum to disturb as little as possible the ancient walls, perhaps foundations, which they encountered. If these walls still sustained the original temple, their preservation was obviously imperative. If the little cella of Athena was on the eastern terrace, and the shrine of Erechtheus with the "sea" was below on the west, the two buildings stood in much the same relation as the two parts of the Erechtheum, though both were probably smaller. It therefore appears that this theory of the site and the survival of the Homeric temple is in closer harmony with our scanty information than that which admits but a single temple of Athena in the early fifth century, although it cannot be treated as conclusively proved, and in the consideration of post-Persian conditions the possible truth of either hypothesis must be admitted and the evidence examined from both points of view.

The Persian invasion and the occupation of Athens in successive years by the forces of Xerxes and Mardonius left the Acropolis a mass of ruins. We are told that on the first occasion the Persians plundered and burned the sanctuary, while on the second they overthrew whatever houses and temples had been left standing.¹ Fire would destroy little more than the ceilings and roofs of stone temples and calcine the stone around doors or other openings. The walls and columns would be scorched and blackened, but otherwise would not be greatly harmed. The language of Herodotus, however, implies that fire was not the only agency employed, and that the soldiers of Mardonius also tore down much that the fire had left standing. Even if full allowance be made for the natural exaggeration of the damage by Athenian tradition, it may reasonably be assumed that more was needed to

¹ Herodotus, VIII, 53: Ἐπεὶ δὲ σφί πάντες κατέστρωγος, τὸ ἱρὸν συλῆσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. IX, 13: (Μαρδόνιος) ὑπεξεχώρει ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ εἰ κού τι ὄρθον ἦν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας.

make the temples of the Acropolis fit for service than merely to replace the burned beams and fallen tiles.¹ There is no record of the steps taken by the Athenians to re-establish their destroyed temples. It is, of course, certain that the great works on the Acropolis were not begun before the middle of the fifth century,² and even the plans can hardly have been completed much earlier, for although the influence of Pericles was undoubtedly powerful after the ostracism of Cimon (461/60 B.C.), the Athenians were too fully occupied with foreign wars during the next decade to give much attention to costly schemes for the adornment of the city.³ Yet it is hard to believe that during all this period nothing was done to render the ruined temples usable, or that the old statue of Athena, for example, which had accompanied the flight from Xerxes, was left in Salamis or kept in some private house for any great number of years. It is surely more probable that the damaged walls were patched and stuccoed, and the burned roofs and ceilings restored, so that the old acts of worship could be resumed in their accustomed places. Any other course, indeed, would have accorded ill with the Athenian reputation for piety or with gratitude to the gods who had so notably aided the city.⁴

In the case of the temples on the Acropolis any restoration was certainly of a limited character. Small temples, such as were probably the early Erechtheum of Herodotus⁵ and the old temple of Athena east of it, could be quickly and completely repaired, but in the case of the large Hecatompedon restoration was apparently more limited. The peristyle, or what was left of it, was removed and considerable remains, including blocks of the architrave and of the cornice, triglyphs, metopes, and drums of columns, were built into the north wall of the Acropolis. The unfinished drums and other blocks of the earlier Parthenon shared in great measure the same fate, but neither in the walls of the Acropolis nor in the "Perserschutt" are any fragments which can be attributed with certainty to the main building of the Hecatompedon in its enlarged form.⁶ It seems, therefore, that this

¹ The fact that the remains of the peristyle of the Hecatompedon, which are built into the walls of the Acropolis, are not broken but only scorched, is hardly sufficient to prove that the entire peristyle was left standing by the Persians and only what could be burned, or, like the sculptures in the pediments, be easily broken, was destroyed (Dörpfeld *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, pp. 165-166; *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, pp. 9-10). All that can be safely said is that a considerable part escaped with relatively little serious injury.

² The great platform for the earlier Parthenon had been built and the temple begun before the Persian invasion, but the Parthenon as erected was, of course, a new building.

³ On the slow recovery of Athens after its destruction by the Persians, and the apparent weakness of Athenian architecture and art between 480 and 450 B.C., see the excellent remarks of Lechat, *La sculpture attique avant Phidias*, pp. 424 ff.

⁴ On the supposed oath of the Greeks not to rebuild the temples burned by the Persians, see Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, III, 1, p. 358, note 3; E. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II, p. 97, note 1. Even if this oath be historical and not a mere transference to Greece by Athenian orators of a similar oath of the Ionians, it would hardly have prevented temporary restorations to make the temples serviceable until new buildings were ready.

⁵ That restoration was carried out here to some extent is shown by the remains of the wall and pavement in the Pandroseum. As has been pointed out above (p. 125), these remains are earlier than the Erechtheum but later than the Persian invasion. The indications point to a date in the second, or possibly the third, quarter of the fifth century. A reconstruction of this region as it appeared after the post-Persian (or Cimonian) restoration is presented by Holland, *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 402-425.

⁶ Dörpfeld, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, p. 10. Holland (*l. c.*, pp. 414-416) suggests that the poros blocks in the paved area north of the Erechtheum (p. 15) are from the walls of the Hecatompedon.

portion of the building was suffered to remain, and since a mere ruin would naturally have shared the fate of the peristyle, it is reasonable to believe that the building was sufficiently repaired to serve some purpose in the economy of the Acropolis. On the theory that before the war the Hecatompodon had been the only temple of Athena and had contained the ancient statue, such a restoration is exactly what might be expected. If, however — as seems somewhat more probable — there had previously existed another and earlier temple of Athena on the site of the Erechtheum, where the ancient statue had been housed, the question naturally arises whether this temple too was restored, or whether the Hecatompodon was repaired to serve as its substitute; if the former alternative is chosen, it is further necessary to seek some reason for the continued existence of the Hecatompodon. To these questions the actual remains furnish no answer, and since the literature also is wholly silent, it is necessary to turn to the inscriptions, which, it must be admitted, yield practically no information. Indeed all that can be gathered from their testimony is that before the new Parthenon was begun, there was a temple of Athena on the Acropolis, which was sometimes called ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεώς, “the ancient (or original) temple,” apparently as distinguished not so much from a *new* temple as from *all newer* temples.¹ It is not easy to understand why such an epithet should have been employed, if at this time there was only one temple in use — and none in construction — unless the name was a survival from an earlier period when there were two or more.²

This ἀρχαῖος νεώς appears, for the first time, so far as our records go, in the decree, to which reference has already been made, containing the sentence inflicted upon the Athenian supporters of Cleomenes of Sparta in his attempt to overthrow the Cleisthenian democracy.³ Even if the copy of Craterus was made, as is probable, from the decree as renewed after the retreat of the Persians, the political conditions were such as to render any long delay in such a renewal unlikely, and it is safe to place this document well within the first decade after 479 B.C.

The second appearance of the ἀρχαῖος νεώς is in an inscription which cannot be positively dated by its contents, though the palaeographical indications have been thought to point to a time not far from 460 B.C.⁴ This inscription⁵ consists of three marble fragments,

¹ Cf. Keil, *Anonymus Argentinensis*, p. 91, note 1. For a further discussion of ἀρχαῖος, see below, p. 460.

² The appearance of the phrase ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεώς in itself tells us nothing about the condition of the building to which it was applied. The ἀρχαῖος νεώς at Eleusis was evidently not repaired, or at least was soon abandoned, since even in the fifth century it appears as a source of building material for the wall of the precinct and for a bridge over the Reitos (*I. G.*, I², 81), while later in the same century (*ca.* 408 B.C.) its remains are regularly inventoried among the σκέλη in the hands of the ἐπιστάται (*I. G.*, I², 313, 314).

³ Scholia Aristoph., *Lysistrata*, 273. On this scholium and its probable source, see above, pp. 434 f. Its form warrants its inclusion in epigraphic rather than literary evidence.

⁴ In *I. G.*, I², 80, no year is specified, but the inscription is placed at the end of the section “Decreta et Leges. A. 431/0–422/1.” This implies a date at least thirty years later than that hitherto generally accepted. For the present discussion the date is unimportant.

⁵ *I. G.*, I, 93 (fragments *a* and *b*), I², 80; Von Prott and Ziehen, *Leges graecorum sacrae*, II, No. 14, pp. 58–62, with the third fragment, discovered by Wilhelm, new readings by Von Prott, and commentary by Ziehen. A bit of the upper surface is preserved on *a*, and of the right edge on *c*. The first part of the inscription, apparently providing

badly broken, and without any points of contact, so that it is impossible to fix with certainty the exact length of the lines or to determine precisely the contents. It seems to be a decree of the people, and the mention of the Praxierygiae (ll. 13, 16, 23, 24), and the peplos (l. 11: ἀμφιεννύουσιν τὸν πέπλον), the recurrence of the phrase κατὰ τὰ πάτρια (ll. 8, 13, 22), the reference to an oracle of Apollo (l. 10), and to the month Thargelion (l. 20), all suggest prescriptions connected with the ancestral cult of Athena Polias and with the ancient statue, since we know that the Praxierygiae were entrusted with the veiling of the statue before it was escorted to the sea at the celebration of the Plynteria in Thargelion.¹ It is practically certain, therefore, that the temple mentioned in the inscription is that of Athena. Line 5 in fragment *a* is naturally restored as ἀναγράψ[αντας ἐν στέλῃ] and line 6 as . . .]θεν τὸ νεὸ τὸ ἀρχαίο. The length of the gap at the end of line 5 is uncertain, but it must have contained the usual directions for placing the stele,² so that the missing word ending in -θεν indicated the position with reference to the temple.³ Obviously this tells us nothing about the situation of the temple and throws no light on its identity with either the Hecatompedon or the Homeric temple.

Another inscription of about the middle of the century, which has played a certain part in this discussion, must also be discarded. This is the long but very imperfect document, now in the British Museum, relating to the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, the sacred truce, the collection of fines, and payments to the officials.⁴ The stone, which was inscribed on at least three faces, has lost about one-third of its width and is also badly chipped and weathered in many places, so that the text is full of gaps and uncertainties. Near the end (ll. 115 ff.) there is a provision for the disposition of the sacred funds, which were apparently to be brought to Athens and deposited on the Acropolis (ἐμ πόλει). As commonly restored this place was described in ll. 117–119 as ὀπισ[θ]εν (or νοτό[θ]εν τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναία[s] ἀρχαίο ν[ε]ὸς ἐμ πόλει. But this restoration cannot be reconciled with the traces

for setting up the stele, paying the cost of the festival (Ziehen, p. 60), and giving a summary of the oracle, is in smaller characters more closely spaced than the latter part, which contains the ordinance for the ceremonies. The inscription was regarded by Larfeld (*Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, II, p. 442) as "die archaisierende Aufzeichnung einer späteren Zeit" because of the occurrence of ω (twice) and the dative plural in -αις, as well as the "karikirt" characters. Wilhelm, however, declared the characters "so ehrlich altertümlich wie nur möglich," and placed the inscription definitely before the middle of the fifth century (Pfuhl, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1907, p. 478; Von Prott and Ziehen, *op. cit.*, p. 60, note 4).

¹ See Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, pp. 491 ff. The suggestion of Mommsen (p. 114, note 5), that the inscription referred to the ceremony of the peplos at the Panathenaea, was disproved by the discovery of the third fragment containing the reference to the month Thargelion.

² On this formula see Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, II, pp. 606–607; 710 ff.

³ The oblique stroke of an A before -θεν recorded in the *Corpus* (I, 93) is really a fracture in the stone according to Von Prott (*l. c.*, p. 58). It is rightly omitted in the new edition (I², 80).

⁴ *I. G.*, I, 1, and Suppl. pp. 3, 133 = I², 6; *Br. Mus., Gr. Inscr.*, I, 2; Von Prott and Ziehen, *Leges graecorum sacrae*, II, 3, pp. 11–18; Roberts-Gardner, *Greek Epigraphy*, II, 2, pp. 3–6, 534; Crönert, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1908, pp. 1020–1023 (a new study of the original with the tentative decipherment of much previously considered illegible); Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,³ I, 42, with Crönert's readings. In September, 1923, J. M. Paton and B. H. Hill were enabled by the courtesy of Mr. A. H. Smith to examine the stone again with the results noted in the text, and these results were confirmed in a second examination by Hill in 1925. The numbering of the lines in the text is that of *I. G.*, I², 6.

on the stone of the first letters (restored as Θ and Ε) of lines 118 and 119. In line 118 there is no sign of a Θ, though the right side of the circle should have been visible, and near the top of the line is a small γ, which can hardly be anything else than the right upper corner of Γ.¹ In line 119 what remains in the break at the margin is Γ, but the surface on the right below is well preserved and there is certainly no trace of the two lower horizontal bars of the Ε. The fragmentary letter was surely Τ, as stated in Roberts-Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 534, and the first words of the line were το ἐμ πόλει. Since the number of letters in each line (23) is clear from other passages in the inscription, the restoration ἀρχαίο νεῶ becomes impossible, and the place of deposit remains conjectural.²

The question, therefore, whether the early temple on the site of the Erechtheum was restored after the Persian wars cannot be definitely answered, though its survival seems exceedingly probable in view of the difficulty of accounting for the official use of the name ἀρχαῖος νεῶς on any other hypothesis. If this is correct, no other building was required to take its place, and it becomes necessary to inquire why the Hecatompedon continued to exist without its peristyle.³ The answer may perhaps be found in the continued need for its rear rooms, τὰ οἰκέματα τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἑκατομπέδῳ, as they are called in the inscription of 485/4 B.C. These rooms were clearly used for the keeping of valuables before the Persian invasion and may well have been restored for the same purpose. It was certainly necessary to provide a safe place where the Treasurers of Athena could deposit valuable votive offerings and the money which accrued from the lands and other property of the goddess. The amount of this income could not have been small, if we may judge from the loans made to the state during the Archidamian War, and it seems more natural to suppose that the old rooms were refitted than that a new building was erected. After the removal of the treasury of the League from Delos to Athens (*ca.* 454 B.C.), and the establishment of the annual payment to Athena of one-sixtieth of the tribute, the need for a safe place of storage must have been almost imperative. For although the expenses of the war with Persia, and later of the buildings on the Acropolis, may have prevented the accumulation of large reserves, and the portion of Athena may have been usually borrowed by the State, there must have been periods when very considerable sums were in the hands of the Hellenotamiae, or of the Treasurers of Athena. It seems highly probable, therefore, that a strong building must have existed on the Acropolis before the completion of the Parthenon, even if the later treasury was in that temple. It is, accordingly, quite possible that when the Eleusinian money was brought to the Acropolis, it was deposited in the rear rooms of the Hecatompedon. If it were, the language of the inscription seems significant. Amid all the uncertainty of the mutilated text, it is at least clear that there was no mention of the Hecatom-

¹ If the letter were Λ (Gamma), as suggested in Roberts-Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 534, the angle would be acute and there should be some remains of the right hasta lower down where the surface is fairly well preserved.

² For the ἀρχαῖος νεῶς in an inventory of property of Artemis Brauronia from the end of the fifth century (*I. G.*, I², 386, 387) see below, pp. 466 f., note 2 (3).

³ That it survived until 406 B.C. is very probable. See below, p. 460.

pedon or of the Opisthodomos.¹ This silence suggests that the old name was no longer considered appropriate,² and that the new name had not yet been introduced — if, indeed, it was ever given to these rooms.

From this examination of the evidence it is fairly obvious that the solution of the problems connected with the early temples of Athena on the Acropolis is not advanced appreciably by our information about conditions in the years which followed the Persian War. In fact all we have learned is that during this period there were on the Acropolis an "ancient temple" and also a place where money could be safely kept. That both these buildings — if they were not one and the same — had existed before 480 B.C. may be safely assumed, and we know, of course, that they were not the only survivors, but the contemporary testimony is neither so abundant nor so clear as to fix definitely their identity. The answer to this question will depend in some measure upon the conclusions which may be reached as to the history and purpose of the Erechtheum.

II. THE ERECHTHEUM AS A GREEK TEMPLE³

1. THE BUILDING OF THE ERECHTHEUM.— In the course of the Attic year corresponding to 410/9 B.C. the Athenian assembly on motion of a certain Epigenes appointed a committee of five, including an architect and secretary, to examine the condition of an unfinished temple on the Acropolis, with power, as it seems, to resume work upon it. In the first prytany of the next year, when Diocles was archon, this committee presented its report, including a very detailed description of the actual state of the building and apparently, in the missing portion of the document, specifications for its completion.⁴ No name is given to this temple, which is only described (Inscription II, l. 1) as *ho νεὸς ho ἐμ πόλει ἐν ἡδὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα*, but there can be no doubt that it is the building now known as the Erechtheum⁵ — a name that was certainly not in general use in antiquity.⁶

¹ For a discussion of the question of the Opisthodomos, so far as it is concerned with the history of the Erechtheum, see below, pp. 470–474.

² This disuse of the old name might be explained as due to the fact that the building was now called the *ἀρχαῖος νεὸς*, or else as showing that, although the walls remained standing, only the rear rooms had been fully repaired, while the cella had not been restored to its earlier use.

³ This section necessarily includes subjects which have been already touched upon in the previous chapters and, although they are generally examined here from a somewhat different point of view, a certain amount of repetition in the treatment has proved unavoidable.

⁴ See above, Ch. IV, Inscriptions I and II, and Commentary, pp. 280 ff., 299 f., 320 f.

⁵ The general concordance between the inscription and the building in the size and shape of the stones listed, in the use of Eleusinian stone for the frieze, in the presence of the North Portico with its great door, and of the Porch of the Maidens, as well as the close agreement in numerous details, indicated in the preceding chapter, have long since removed all possible doubt on this point.

⁶ The name *Ἐρέχθειον* seems to occur only twice in literature: in Pausanias (I, 26, 5: *ἔστι δὲ καὶ οἶκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον*) and in the life of the orator Lysurgus attributed to Plutarch (*Vitae X Oratorum*, p. 843: *ἔστιν αὐτῇ ἡ καταγωγὴ . . . ἐν πίνακι τελείῳ ὃς ἀνακείται ἐν Ἐρεχθείῳ*). Whether this passage is taken from Heliodorus of Athens, as maintained by Keil (*Hermes*, XXX, 1895, pp. 207–208) or from Diodorus the periegete (Pauly-Wissowa, s.vv. 'Diodorus, V,' col. 662, and 'Heliodorus, VIII,' cols. 15–18) the name is equally established for the third century B.C., but there is nothing to prove that it denotes the whole building rather than merely the western part. It is not found in any Attic inscription nor is it explained in any of the Lexica, so that it is unlikely that it was ever an official or even a very common or popular name.

The work of construction was already well advanced. The walls were complete as far as the architrave, except at the southwest corner, where the upper blocks, epicranitis, and architrave on the south wall, and the architrave over the southern intercolumniation on the west were still lacking. With the exception of the south wall outside the Porch of the Maidens, the walls had also received the final dressing above the orthostates, and the columns on the west wall had been fluted. The North Portico still lacked rafters and tiles, but the Porch of the Maidens was practically complete, since nothing further was needed except to dress the upper surface of three blocks of the roof and to carve into rosettes the flat disks on the upper fascia of the architrave — a bit of decoration which was in fact never executed.¹ Moreover much of the stone needed for completing the building was on the ground, and some of it was more or less completely dressed for use. Under these conditions the work was resumed and pushed forward with a fair degree of rapidity, considering the relatively small number of laborers employed. Its progress, until its completion about 406 B.C., may be followed in the reports of the commissioners, who record every item in their receipts and expenditures with a precision and wealth of detail which are quite lacking in the accounts of the Parthenon and the Propylaea. Since the fragments of these reports have been arranged, translated, and fully discussed in the preceding chapter, there is no need to repeat the story here.

That construction had halted for a considerable period may be inferred from the very detailed report of the commissioners, and that the interruption had been somewhat sudden and unforeseen, from the amount of finished and partly finished material on hand. Such inferences find strong confirmation in the political and economic conditions at Athens about this time. The motion of Epigenes and the resumption of work are not easily separated from the great improvement in the situation produced by the victory of Alcibiades at Cyzicus and his further successes in the Hellespont in 410/9 B.C.² On the other hand, the occupation of Decelea by the Spartans in the spring of 413 B.C., or at any rate the disaster at Syracuse in the autumn of the same year, must have sufficed to put a summary stop to all but the most necessary public building. The interruption, therefore, can hardly have been less than four years in length, and may well have been longer, since the equipment of the first Sicilian expedition in 415 B.C. and of the reinforcement under Demosthenes in the following year involved very heavy expenditure, and would naturally diminish considerably the funds available for construction, even if they were then, as later, drawn only from the treasury of Athena.

¹ For the details, see Ch. IV, Inscription II, col. 1, Commentary, pp. 301–314.

² It has been suggested by Kirchhoff ('Zur Geschichte des Athenischen Staatsschatzes,' *Abh. Berl. Akad.*, 1876, p. 56) that the completion of the Erechtheum was in the nature of relief work and due to the same circumstances which enabled Cleophon at this time to introduce the *δωβελια*. This view has also been adopted by Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, p. 215; E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, IV, p. 613; Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, III, pp. 1545–1546; Sauer, *Z. bild. Kunst*, XXVIII, 1916, p. 215. The relatively small number of men employed, however, makes it doubtful whether any great benefit can have been afforded to the poor by this work.

If either of these causes — the expedition to Sicily or the outbreak of the Decelean War — stopped the building, the latest date at which the temple could have been begun, in view of its advanced condition in 409 B.C., would seem to fall in the brief interval of Athenian prosperity which followed the Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.), and since a certain interval must be allowed for the accumulation of funds after the heavy expenses of the ten preceding years of war, the commencement of the work may be conjecturally placed as not later than 419 or 418 B.C. There is, however, absolutely no direct evidence on this point. The first known mention of the Erechtheum is in the report of the commissioners in 409 B.C., and if any fragment of the accounts of payments for earlier work has survived, it has not yet been identified.¹ Although the argument *e silentio* is rarely conclusive, this absence of all earlier record is perhaps the strongest reason for assigning so late a date as 419/18 B.C. to the foundation of the building.² It seems strange that no mention should be made of the Erechtheum, if it had formed part of the plan of Pericles for the reconstruction of the Acropolis and had received its definite form at the hands of his architects, even though its completion had been delayed until the next generation. Furthermore, while there is little information about the public works undertaken during the brief interval of peace after 421 B.C.,³ the erection of a new and beautiful temple, which should combine a shrine for the ancient statue and a centre for the cults which gathered about the revered "tokens" of the triumph of Athena, would accord well with the somewhat conservative piety generally attributed to Nicias, and so might naturally have been undertaken at a time when his influence was predominant. It is obvious, however, that this view, though attractive, rests on no more substantial foundation than inferences drawn from the general conditions at the time, and that the possibility of an earlier date must be admitted.

This earlier date is, of course, to be sought before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 432 B.C., since no one can reasonably suppose that during the war any new work was undertaken by the Athenians. On this hypothesis the Erechtheum enters into the general plan for the transformation and adornment of the Acropolis prepared by the Periclean architects. Work upon it would naturally have begun when the Parthenon

¹ In the inscription *I. G.*, I², 88, the proposed restoration of lines 20, 21 *hoi επιστάται [τὸ νεὸ τὸ ἐμ πόλει ἐν ἡδὲ] τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα*, is impossible. Since its first publication (*Sitzb. Berl. Akad.*, 1922, pp. 187–192; *A.J.A.*, XXVII, 1923, pp. 314–321), the stone has been partially cleaned, and according to B. H. Hill, the second letter in line 21 is certainly A and the third in all probability I. There is no trace of the first letter. We must read [.]αι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα. It is, therefore, entirely uncertain whether the *ἐπιστάται* have any connection with the "temple for the ancient statue," and even whether the statue is that of Athena. The other side of the stele contains part of the accounts for the construction of the temple of Athena Nike, so that it seems quite possible that the "ancient statue" is that of Nike and the *ἐπιστάται* the commissioners in charge of the new building. Hondius (*Novae inscriptiones atticae*, p. 80) suggests *hoi επιστάται [τὸ ἀρχαῖο νεὸ ἐν ἡδὲ κ]αὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα*, — a possible reading; but the formula does not occur elsewhere, and there seems no good reason to insert a mention of the Erechtheum (or of its predecessor, according to Hondius) in a document having no other apparent connection with that building.

² For the arguments in favor of a date shortly after 421 B.C., cf. A. Michaelis, *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, pp. 362 ff.

³ The second temple of Dionysus near the theatre, which contained the chryselephantine statue by Alcamenes, seems to have been built about this time. See Reisch, 'Der Dionysos des Alkamenes,' *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 3; Dörpfeld and Reisch, *Das Griechische Theater*, pp. 21 f.; Judeich, *Topographie*, pp. 283, 285; D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, p. 230.

neared completion, about the same time as the commencement of the Propylaea, and some features in its Ionic architecture suggest that it too may have been designed by Mnesicles.¹

Apart from the architectural considerations, which, though highly suggestive, are not conclusive, there is no more positive testimony for this date than for the later one. Indirect confirmation, however, has been sought in the construction of the flight of steps leading from the terrace of the Chalcotheca to the higher terrace west of the Parthenon.² There is no direct evidence as to the time when these steps were constructed, but their obvious relation to the Parthenon, and the fact that their southern end was blocked by the portico of the Chalcotheca, which was probably built in the fourth century, warrant the conjecture that they were laid out when the temple was near completion and the ground about it was finally cleared and levelled. The steps are cut in the solid rock except at the southern end, where they were built of stone. Here the foundations only are preserved, consisting of blocks of Karà limestone which certainly once formed part of the stylobate of the peristyle of the Hecatompedon. Now, as we have seen (p. 15), this stylobate was removed from the eastern half of the north side when the Porch of the Maidens and the south wall of the Erechtheum were built, and it is argued that this is the source for the blocks used in the foundations of the steps, and that consequently, when these foundations were laid, work on the Erechtheum had already commenced, since otherwise this material would not have been available. Two facts may be cited in support of this view. First, the total length of the limestone foundations is but little less than the length of the stylobate removed to make room for the Erechtheum. Second, there is no indication of the use elsewhere of blocks from the stylobate, as, for example, in the walls of the Acropolis or in the foundations of the Propylaea. Hence it seems probable that the stylobate remained undisturbed, except for the removal of the blocks in question, at least during the fifth century, and, therefore, that when the steps west of the Parthenon were laid, the site of the Erechtheum had been definitely surveyed, even if the work of construction had not actually begun. This conclusion, however, cannot be regarded as fixing definitely the date of the Erechtheum, for while it is true that the steps may be as early as 435 B.C., it is also quite as possible that they belong to a somewhat later date. There is certainly some reason to believe that about 420 B.C. the Athenians appointed commissioners and voted a considerable sum of money to complete the task of beautifying the Acropolis.³ The steps may well have been included in this work.

¹ The arguments in favor of the earlier date for the Erechtheum and of its attribution to Mnesicles have been presented by Dörpfeld in a series of papers: *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, p. 166; XXVII, 1902, pp. 401, 414; XXIX, 1904, pp. 101-107; XXXVI, 1911, pp. 41, 42; *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, p. 13. Against a date approximately contemporary with the Propylaea is the extreme rarity, so far as can be seen, both in that building and in the slightly earlier Parthenon, of the T-dowels which are regularly used throughout the Erechtheum (see above, Ch. II, pp. 194, 195).

² On these steps, see Judeich, *Topographie*, p. 234; D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, p. 291, plan VII, No. 114; Cavvadias and Kawerau, pl. Z'.

³ These measures may fairly be deduced from the language of the inscription on the reverse of the well-known stele containing the decree of Callias (*I. G.*, I, 32 = I², 91, 92). The latter decree, on the obverse of the stone, was

From this examination of the evidence it appears that the earlier date, although perhaps the more probable on stylistic grounds, does not rest on much more secure foundations than the later. The general conditions at Athens, both political and economic — so far as they are known — are equally favorable for the commencement of the work at either time, and there seems no decisive reason for insisting on one hypothesis to the exclusion of the other. The unsatisfactory conclusion is thus inevitable that in the light of our present knowledge the year in which the Erechtheum was begun cannot be definitely determined.

2. THE PURPOSE OF THE TEMPLE. — Whatever uncertainties may hang over the date when the Erechtheum was planned, there can be little doubt as to the purpose of its builders. This is clearly indicated in the first line of the report of the commissioners of 409 B.C., where the new building is described as *ἡ νεὸς ἡ ἐμὴ πόλει ἐν ἧδὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα*, “the temple in the Acropolis for the ancient statue.” The epithet *ἀρχαῖον* shows that this was the old wooden image which was believed to have fallen from heaven, and since, later in the inscriptions, it is simply called *τὸ ἄγαλμα*,¹ it was probably intended to be the only statue in the building. Evidently, therefore, the temple was erected primarily to honor Athena by furnishing a fitting shrine for her most sacred image. Indeed so far as the contemporary records go, this was the only purpose, unless the single mention of the *Prostomiaion*² be understood to imply that the *θάλασσα* was included in the temple. It is true that the “sea,” the mark of the trident, the home of the sacred serpent, and the altars described by Pausanias were all in the lower part of the building, and that this part seems to have been practically complete, except for the roof and painting, in 409 B.C., so that there is no reason for surprise that none of these objects is named in the accounts of expenses incurred in finishing the building, especially as these expenditures are almost wholly confined to work on the upper part or on the exterior. Yet, if the erection of the Erechtheum introduced — or was expected to introduce — a marked change in the old relations by transferring the ancient image to a new site and by uniting in a double temple of Athena and Erechtheus cults hitherto adjacent but separated, it is strange that no hint of this twofold purpose should appear anywhere. There is, of course, no question that Erechtheus had a place in the building, and that later a part of it, or perhaps the whole, was called by his name. Yet the complete absence of any mention of him in all the inscriptions referring to the temple seems to show that the Athenians of the fifth century saw in their new building only a continuation of the old relation which was described in the *Iliad*; by the special favor of Athena Erechtheus was admitted to a share in her temple, — but it was all *her* temple. That this was taken for granted without explicit definition further suggests that the new

almost certainly passed in 435/4 B.C., or very shortly after that year. The date of the vote on the reverse is more doubtful. It may well be contemporary with the decree of Callias, but it is also quite possible that it is to be assigned to the same period as the engraving of the stele, that is, according to the palaeographical indications, to a year shortly after 420 B.C. See Cavaignac, *Trésor d'Athènes*, pp. xx-xxii, 138-140; Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II, pp. 88 ff.; Bannier, *Rh. Mus.*, LXX, 1915, pp. 397-400; Stevenson, *J.H.S.*, XLIV, 1924, pp. 1-11.

¹ Ch. IV, Inscription II, col. i, l. 75; XI, col. iii, ll. 42-46.

² Ch. IV, Inscription II, col. i, l. 71.

building involved no radical alteration in existing arrangements, but simply perpetuated the old situation whereby the cult of Erechtheus and the "sea" of Poseidon had always been within the sanctuary (*ιερόν*) of Athena, close to her ancient statue. Thus the only novelty would consist in the inclusion of statue and "sea" within a single building, or rather under a single roof; there would be no change in their relative positions.

From this point of view the references in the inscriptions to the statue appear in a new light. As has been said, these references are three in number: (1) II, l. 1: *ὁ νεὸς . . . ἐν ἡὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα*: (2) II, col. I, l. 75: *τὸ (τοίχο) πρὸς τὸ ἀγάλματος*: (3) XI, col. III, ll. 42-46: *καλύμματα . . . ἐπὶ τὲν ὀροφὴν ἐπὶ τὰς σελίδας τὰς ὑπὲρ [τὸ] ἀγάλματος*.¹ None of these passages necessarily implies the presence of the statue in the temple at the time. In (1) the missing verb may be *ἔσται*, as it must be in column I, line 42 of this same inscription, where the frieze is called *ὁ Ἐλευσινιακὸς λίθος πρὸς ἡὲ τὰ ζῶια*, although it is practically certain that none of the marble figures were yet attached. Also (2) and (3) can be interpreted without undue violence as referring to the place where the statue was to stand, since this would naturally have been fixed in the plans. In support of this interpretation it may also be urged that when the commissioners made their report in 409 B.C. the new temple was without a roof, and it is highly improbable that the wooden statue would have been placed in an open building, even though it may have been moved there later in the year, when the East Cella was already covered.² Obviously, however, all this argumentation becomes superfluous if the East Cella of the Erechtheum was built upon the site of the *ἀρχαῖος νεὸς*. In that case nothing hinders the assumption that the shrine with the ancient statue of the goddess, duly repaired after the Persian destruction, remained undisturbed until the new temple was sufficiently advanced to make its retention unnecessary.³ The statue then was actually in its proper place during the whole period of construction of the Erechtheum, and it is possible to understand literally the references in the inscriptions.

It appears, therefore, that the building inscriptions accord without difficulty with the theory as to the earlier conditions, already discussed in the preceding section and there shown to be wholly congruent with the existing evidence, according to which the "ancient temple" of Athena, containing the "ancient statue," occupied approximately the site of the East Cella of the Erechtheum, while in its precinct to the west were the shrine of Erechtheus with the "sea" and the olive. Yet although the tenor of the inscriptions, both in form of expression and in omissions, seems more easily intelligible on this hypothesis, the

¹ See above, Ch. IV, pp. 286, 290, 340 and Commentary, pp. 298 f.

² As is suggested by Frickenhaus, *A.J.A.*, X, 1906, p. 15.

³ A similar method was followed during the building of the new St. Peter's in Rome, where it was obviously desirable that the tomb of the Apostle should remain undisturbed and yet be as accessible to pilgrims as before. Contemporary drawings show the new walls rising outside and around the old basilica, part of which was not removed until early in the seventeenth century. Cf., e. g., Orbaan, 'Der Abbruch Alt-Sankt-Peters, 1605-1615,' *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXXIX, 1919, Beiheft; Egger, *Römische Veduten*, pls. XX, XXVI, XXVII; Hermanin, *Die Stadt Rom im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, pls. XLIV, XLV). In 1924 a modern example of the same process was afforded in Athens in the case of the church of St. Dionysius on the *Ὁδὸς Σκουφᾶ*. The old church was in daily use, although it was almost enclosed by the walls and roof of the new and larger church which was to replace it.

words do not contain anything which cannot be reconciled with the other view that the cult of Athena was from earliest times centred in the cella of the Hecatompedon, where stood the ancient statue, and that its transference to the Erechtheum and close union with the "tokens" embodied a distinctly radical departure from long-established custom — so radical in fact that, on this theory, it failed completely, since neither the cult of Athena nor her statue were ever more than temporarily absent from their old site.¹

There remains the question whether the Erechtheum as actually built corresponded fully to the intentions of those who first planned it. That the design underwent some modifications in detail during the progress of construction is probable enough; indeed we have seen good reason to believe that the position of the west wall was not that originally intended (pp. 167–169). Such modifications obviously left the general plan and especially the purpose of the building unaltered. On the other hand a complete change of view on the part of the Athenians is implied in the theory to which Dörpfeld has been led by his firm conviction that the Erechtheum was originally intended to replace the Hecatompedon (which nevertheless remained intact), and by his keen appreciation of some of the architectural irregularities in its construction.² In his opinion the original plan of the Erechtheum called for a much larger building, which may be somewhat loosely described as the two parts of the Hecatompedon placed on elevated terraces respectively east and west of a lower central area in which were the "tokens." This building was divided into five parts. On the eastern terrace was the cella of Athena Polias, intended to receive the ancient image. The adjoining room on the west was a single chamber (Dörpfeld does not accept the partition wall running from east to west), or rather court, without ceiling or roof, containing a *χάσμα* or *στόμιον*, the supposed subterranean abode of Erechtheus.³ This is the Prostomiaion of the Chandler inscription. On the west this court was bounded by a row of pilasters (rather than by a solid wall with doors), which separated it from the Parastas, or corridor, connecting the north and south porticoes and affording access to the rooms on either side. Beneath the Parastas was the "sea"; covered by the great blocks which formed the pavement of the corridor (cf. p. 161). This room was roofed by a low stone ceiling to which the slab in the niche at the southwest corner belonged. Up to this point there was no essential difference between the building as planned and as actually constructed, but the rest of the original design was never even begun. The western boundary of the corridor was to have been a row of pilasters, like those on the east, but placed three Attic feet farther west than the existing west wall, so that the axis of the two doors in the porticoes might also form the north and south axis of the room. Beyond these pilasters was, of course, the Pandroseum with the sacred olive, but this was to be altered to a court of the

¹ Cf. Dörpfeld, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, pp. 13–15, 20–23, 39.

² The theory was first published in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIX, 1904, pp. 101–107, and this article remains the most complete presentation of Dörpfeld's views. See also *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, pp. 14, 17, 18, 23, 35, 37; *Jb. kl. Alt.*, XXIV, 1921, pp. 433–439, where the theory is restated in part, with some modifications in details.

³ See Petersen, *Burgtempel*, pp. 61–93, 99–101, whose opinion on this point is adopted by Dörpfeld.

same size as the one adjoining the East Cella, and like it bounded on the north and south by high walls. West of this again was to be constructed an elevated terrace, corresponding to that at the east, and also occupied by a portico and cella. This building was to contain the treasury and replace the rear rooms of the Hecatompèdon, identified by Dörpfeld with the Opisthodomos of the inscriptions. The whole building would have been 120 Attic feet in length and symmetrical about the axis of the doors in the north and south porticoes. The position of the west wall shows that at an early stage in the work the architect recognized the impossibility of proceeding at that time with the execution of his plan, but he may have cherished hope of its revival in the future, and in any case the influence of the original design is visible in the construction of the pier at the southwest corner of the North Portico and of the horizontal cornice on the south side of this same corner, as well as in the junction of the roof of the Porch of the Maidens with the west wall of the main building (Fig. 81), and in other irregularities.¹ The abandonment of this elaborate plan for uniting in a single building the ancient cults which centred around this site was due to the opposition of the conservative opponents of Pericles and especially to the priests.² The movement was sufficiently strong to compel the retention of the Hecatompèdon as the old temple of Athena Polias and the adoption of the much curtailed scheme actually carried out, from which in the end Athena was practically excluded; for in the opinion of Dörpfeld the ancient statue, even if it was temporarily removed from the Hecatompèdon after the fire of 406 B.C., was speedily restored to its old place, and the East Cella of the Erechtheum, whatever its original destination, became in fact the sanctuary of the three *σύνναοι* of Athena — Poseidon-Erechtheus, Hephaestus, and Butes — and it was here that their altars were seen by Pausanias. A discussion of this theory is neither possible, nor wholly fair, since its author has only published it in outline, and has indeed withheld the full statement of his arguments until the drawings in this book should be available.³ Obviously until all his evidence has been presented and carefully examined, no final judgment should be pronounced. It may be pointed out, however, that the conclusions reached in earlier chapters tend to invalidate certain details in the proposed original plan, such as, for example, the existence of a low stone ceiling over the westernmost room (p. 171), the position assigned to the projected west wall (p. 168, note 1), and the lack of a normal ceiling and roof over all the western rooms (pp. 363 ff., 408 f.).

3. THE FIRE OF 406 B.C. — Whether the Erechtheum was built to replace the Hecatompèdon or not, its construction almost of necessity carried with it the removal — or at any rate the intended removal — of the latter. It is impossible to believe that the builders of the Porch of the Maidens expected their handiwork to remain almost completely hidden by a wall of stuccoed poros but little over two feet distant from its southeastern corner.

¹ On the difficulties which would have confronted any attempt to complete the building according to the original plan, see Weller, *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, pp. 130–141.

² On this supposed conservative opposition and the extent of its influence, see below, pp. 463 ff.

³ *Jb. kl. Alt.*, XXIV, 1921, p. 439.

Moreover there is a curious silence about the Hecatompedon in the building inscriptions. The situation of various parts of the new temple is indicated by references to the Pandroseum and Cecropium on the west, to the altar (i.e., the great altar of Athena) and the altar of Dione on the east, but nowhere is the Hecatompedon or any part of it used to define a position, although it was certainly the most conspicuous object in the immediate neighborhood. If the inscription was intended to furnish a permanent record, it is easy to see why no reference was made to a building which it was planned to remove at once and which would therefore be useless as a landmark for later generations.

In fact there would be good reason to suspect that the temple had never been rebuilt after its destruction by the Persians, or else had been removed during the construction of the Erechtheum, were it not for the explicit statement of Xenophon,¹ who among the events of the year 406/5 B.C. records that "the old temple of Athena in Athens took fire," or "was set on fire," — in view of the common meaning of the active of ἐμπύρημι, at least as probable a translation. Unless we assume that Xenophon was more careless than usual in his choice of words, the building thus designated is unmistakable. Work on the Erechtheum must have barely ceased, and although it is perfectly credible that the building with the ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα might well have inherited also the name of the ἀρχαῖος νεώς, as the existing representative of the oldest and most revered temple on the Acropolis,² it is hard to believe that Xenophon could have used the adjective παλαιός of a wholly new building, since the word contains no trace of the time-honored associations conveyed by ἀρχαῖος, but simply denotes that which has existed in the past and is now old.³ There is indeed at present little doubt that the burned temple was the Hecatompedon,⁴ and since its removal at this time was apparently contemplated, and perhaps met with opposition, there is some reason for seeing in the language of Xenophon a hint that this extremely opportune fire was not purely accidental.

The extent to which the temple was damaged does not appear, but unless very considerable harm was done, there is no obvious reason why the burning of the temple should have seemed worthy of mention, along with an eclipse of the moon, as one of the two distinctive events of the year, apart from operations connected with the war. If, however, Inscription XXVIII (*I. G.*, II, 829)⁵ is correctly restored and interpreted, during the year 406/5 or

¹ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, I, 6, 1: Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει ᾧ ἡ τε σελήνη ἐξέλιπεν ἑσπέρας καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπύρησθη. If this passage is an interpolation (cf. Beloch, *Gr. Geschichte*, II², 2, pp. 243 ff.), evidence for the rebuilding of the Hecatompedon is almost lacking.

² For a discussion of this question see below, pp. 465 ff.

³ On the distinction between ἀρχαῖος and παλαιός see Michaelis, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, pp. 22–23; Capps, *Cl. Phil.*, II, 1907, pp. 33 f.; Frickenhaus, *Bonn. Jb.*, 118, 1909, p. 28.

⁴ Cf. Michaelis, *l. c.*; Dörpfeld, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, p. 20. That the burned temple was the Erechtheum and that παλαιός is used loosely for ἀρχαῖος, is maintained by Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 566–567; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 437; D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, p. 382; Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, p. 238; Fowler, *A.J.A.*, VIII, 1893, pp. 7, 15.

⁵ See above, Ch. IV, p. 420, and Commentary, p. 416. This inscription and also XXVII (*I. G.*, II, 845) are assigned to the fourth century by Hiller von Gaertringen (*I. G.*, I², 374, *ad fin.*), because of the consistent use of the Ionic alphabet, and because of the improbability that the Athenians would have been able to afford the expense of rebuilding

405/4 B.C. parts of the Erechtheum which had been burned were under repair, so that the fire must have been sufficiently destructive to have spread from the old temple to the new. These repairs were of enough importance to attract, either then, or much more probably a few years later, the attention of some of the subject or allied cities, for the Eteocarpathians at the instance of a certain Hagesarchus contributed a cypress, cut in the sanctuary of Apollo, ἐπὶ τὸν νεὼν τῆς Ἀθηναίας τῆς Ἀθηνῶν μεδεούσης,¹ and the Athenians were so appreciative of the gift that they recorded Hagesarchus, his sons, and the Eteocarpathians as benefactors, and also recognized the autonomy of the community.²

before the victories of Conon had restored their prosperity. These reasons are not absolutely conclusive. Undoubtedly the redaction of official documents in the Ionic alphabet before 403 B.C. is exceptional, but it is by no means unknown, as may be seen from the list of nine datable, official, or semi-official inscriptions in the Ionic alphabet, belonging to the years preceding the archonship of Eucleides, as given by Larfeld (*Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, II, p. 445). Among these is the long decree in honor of the Samians, voted in the archonship of Alexias whose name is possibly to be restored in Inscription XXVIII. The alphabet alone, therefore, does not afford decisive evidence as to the date. The second reason seems more weighty. There can be no doubt that in 406 B.C. the financial resources of Athens were practically exhausted (see Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, IV, p. 643; J.-M., *Acta Arcis*, 130-132). If the golden statues of Nike and the silver vessels in the Parthenon had already been melted down to equip the fleet, the Treasurers of Athena are not likely to have had any considerable amount of money at their disposal for expensive repairs. It is by no means self-evident, however, that these inscriptions refer to the complete restoration of the damaged building. In their very fragmentary condition any inferences as to their contents can only be tentative. Indeed so far as XXVII is concerned, all that can be said is that it now contains a list of payments to individual metics for work the nature of which remains unspecified, except for the doubtful reference to painting in line 13. Only its junction with XXVIII (p. 416) connects it with the burned temple. In XXVIII the payments are arranged according to the days of the prytany, and apparently the nature of the work and the names of the workmen were also recorded. It is, however, to be noted that the entry for each day is brief, the sums expended are not very large, and the only piece of work which can be even approximately identified is the making of struts, or perhaps of water-channels, twenty feet long. In view of these facts, it seems reasonable to suppose that, if these two inscriptions really belong to the archonships of Callias and Alexias, they are not connected with restoration, but with the clearing away of débris and the provisional securing of the damaged portions of the building. Struts to prop weakened walls and beams or gutters to drain temporary roofs would be needed for such operations quite as much as for permanent constructions. If this solution is rejected and the inscriptions are interpreted as referring to a rebuilding rendered possible by the victories of Conon, it must be remembered that these victories and the consequent improvement in the position of Athens fall in the Attic year 394/3 B.C., and that, therefore, XXVIII cannot with consistency be assigned to the archonship of Diophantes (395/4 B.C.) and XXVII to the preceding year; in other words, on this hypothesis the date in line 25 is not that of the recorded payments but of some event mentioned in the little gap between XXVII and XXVIII, — an interpretation which is doubtless possible, but cannot be considered very probable.

¹ This epithet of Athena occurs in Plutarch's account of the decree of Themistocles (Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 10) providing that the Athenians should leave the city after entrusting it to Athena τῇ Ἀθηνῶν μεδεούσῃ, where it would seem that the actual words of the decree are preserved. The same phrase occurs in two boundary inscriptions from Samos (*Ath. Mitt.*, XLIV, 1919, pp. 2-3; *C. I. G.*, 2246), apparently designating land belonging to the goddess of Athens, and perhaps in a decree relating to the Colophonians (*I. G.*, I, 14, 15; Hondius, *Novae inscriptiones atticae*, pp. 7-15). Von Duhn (*Ath. Mitt.*, XLVI, 1921, pp. 70-75) has pointed out that in view of these facts the choice of this epithet in the Carpathian inscription shows that the temple was that of the old goddess of pre-Persian times. His further conclusion that it proves the rebuilding of the Hecatompedon naturally depends upon the assumption (by no means certain, as we have seen) that the Hecatompedon was the only pre-Persian temple. The connection of this epithet with Themistocles had already been pointed out by Szanto, *Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, XIV, 1891, pp. 118-119.

² *I. G.*, XII, 1, 977, and Foucart, *B. C. H.*, XII, 1888, pp. 153-161. It is certainly natural to connect this gift of a cypress for the temple of Athena and the gratitude of the Athenians with the fire of 406 B.C., but it is by no means easy to bring the political situation implied in the inscription into harmony with the conditions existing in either 406 or 405 B.C. The vote confers autonomy on the Eteocarpathians (ll. 11-12) and apparently places them under the protection of the neighboring allied cities, including Cos, Rhodes, and Cnidus or Lindus (ll. 28-33). Now granting autonomy to subject cities was no part of the Athenian policy even toward the end of the Decelean war, and moreover since 412/11 B.C. the Spartans had held the island of Rhodes. The position of Carpathos at this time

Before leaving this incident in the history of the Erechtheum, it is necessary to consider two questions which have arisen in connection with it. Is this fire the same as that in the Opisthodomos mentioned by Demosthenes in the oration against Timocrates (352 B.C.)? Was the "old temple" restored after the fire?

The argument of Demosthenes is directed against a proposal to release Androtion and his companions from imprisonment while awaiting trial, and in support of his thesis he cites a series of precedents, where distinguished men, without regard to their past services, were imprisoned when accused or suspected of crime. He expressly says at the beginning of his list that he will draw his examples from the years after the archonship of Eucleides, though there were plenty of earlier cases, and closes his catalogue of individuals with the words "all these men were imprisoned." Then, without any indication that he is about to change his point of view or to introduce a new series of examples, he continues "and the Treasurers in whose term of office the Opisthodomos took fire (*or* was set on fire), both those of the property of the goddess and those of the other gods, were in this building (i.e., the prison) until their trial."¹ The instance seems rather in the nature of a climax; not only individuals, but even whole boards had been imprisoned (Androtion and his colleagues had been members of a special commission). There is certainly nothing in the language of Demosthenes to warrant the belief that he has suddenly gone back to pre-Euclidian times, — indeed the very brevity of his allusion, as to an event familiar to all his hearers, points to a comparatively recent date.

Since the inscriptions show that between 406 and 385 B.C. the two boards of Treasurers were merged into one,² if the fire in the Opisthodomos was not that mentioned by Xenophon, it must have occurred after the latter year. There is no indication that the Opisthodomos was destroyed by the fire or even seriously damaged, so that the later date is quite compatible with the survival of the Hecatompedon — on the supposition that the Opis-

is not stated, but if it remained loyal to Athens, Rhodes would certainly not have supported its autonomy, nor would Hagesarchus have been in a position to ask the Lindians to place the cypress in the hands of the Athenians (II. 38-41). On the other hand after the battle of Cnidus (394 B.C.) conditions were very different. Cos, Rhodes, and for a time Cnidus were freed from Spartan garrisons, and the establishment of autonomous governments with freedom from foreign occupation was one of the features of the policy pursued by Conon and Pharnabazus. It would seem probable, therefore, that, even if repairs on the Erechtheum may have been begun at once, the fall of Athens brought the work to a standstill, and it was only resumed with the revival of Athenian prosperity which followed the return of Conon. The decree for the Eteocarpethians would then probably fall about 393 B.C.

In support of this date for the complete restoration of the ἀρχαῖος νεώς, it may be noted that in the inventory of sacred objects in this temple published by Van Hille ('Εφ. Ἀρχ., 1903, pp. 141 ff.; *Mnemosyne*, 1904, pp. 325 ff.) the oldest datable votive offerings are the crowns dedicated by Conon and by the Treasurers in the archonship of Eubulides (394/3 B.C.), and that these stand at the beginning of the list, which appears to follow a chronological order in its entries.

¹ Demosthenes, XXIV, 136: Καὶ οἱ ταμίαι ἐφ' ὧν ὁ Ὀπισθόδομος ἐνεπρήσθη, καὶ οἱ τῶν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι τούτῳ ἦσαν ἕως ἣ κρίσις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο. Apparently there was a suspicion that the Treasurers were responsible for the fire, and the scholiast reports that it was due to their wish to destroy the record of illegal loans. There is no other reference to this incident, and Demosthenes merely mentions their detention and trial without any intimation of their guilt or even of the charge against them.

² The consolidation may have been due to the burning of the Hecatompedon, if the treasury was in that building, or to the impoverishment of Athens caused by the war. For another view, see *Cl. Phil.*, XXI, 1926, p. 75.

thodomos was always the west part of that temple. On the other hand if the Opisthodomos was in the Parthenon, a fire might have consumed a considerable mass of records without notable injury to the walls or ceiling. There seems, therefore, no good reason, either in the language of Demosthenes or in the known conditions at the time, for identifying the fire mentioned by him with that of 406 B.C.¹

The answer to the question whether the Hecatompodon was restored after the fire depends in part upon the interpretation given to certain inscriptions of the fourth century, which will be discussed later; but without anticipating the results of this examination it may be well to consider first the situation created by the fire and the motives which may reasonably have influenced the Athenians in reaching a decision in regard to the future of the temple. There is no doubt that at first sight everything seems opposed to the idea of restoration. In fact the argument against it is overwhelming, if the Hecatompodon never sheltered the old statue and was only repaired after the Persian wars to serve temporarily as a treasury. Even if we adopt the theory that the temple had been carefully repaired after its destruction by the Persians in order to furnish a shrine for the sacred image and secure quarters for the treasury, it was no longer needed for either purpose, since the Erechtheum was now practically ready to receive the statue, which it had avowedly been built to house, while the great west room of the Parthenon was at least as secure as the west rooms of the old temple. Indeed there is some reason to believe that both statue and treasure had already left the Hecatompodon,² and that this fact accounts for the epithet chosen by Xenophon (παλαιός, not ἀρχαῖος), which suggests that the building had already lost its quality of ἀρχαιότης — if indeed it ever had possessed it — and was simply a somewhat outworn relic of the past. We have seen that the builders of the Erechtheum undoubtedly planned the removal of the Hecatompodon, and in this they would appear to have followed a traditional policy, since the failure to rebuild the peristyle after 479 B.C. furnishes strong evidence that the men of that time regarded their repairs on the main building, whatever their extent may have been, as merely temporary. Since the fire of 406 B.C. only carried out existing intentions, it is certainly natural to suppose that its verdict was accepted and the site duly cleared.

Against this view are urged certain later references to the Hecatompodon (identified with the ἀρχαῖος νεώς, and also supposed to contain the Opisthodomos), and the undoubtedly illogical reconstruction is attributed to the strong influence of a conservative reaction against any departure from the old conditions. Since these later references are, as will be seen, somewhat vague and capable of more than one interpretation, it may be well to inquire a little into the evidence for the existence of this conservative religious reaction and its manifestations on other occasions. This is the more necessary since in this case it produced such

¹ See the very satisfactory discussion of this question by A. C. Johnson (*A. J. A.*, XVIII, 1914, pp. 1–17), who gives good reasons for dating this fire in the archonship of Callesas 377/6 B.C.

² The former may well have been moved as soon as the ceiling above it had been painted (Inscription XI, col. III, ll. 42–46) in 408 B.C.; the latter at the time of the decree of Callias (*I. G.*, I, 32 = I², 91) about 435/4 B.C.

important results after a period of weakness. It was not strong enough to prevent the beginning of the Erechtheum to replace the ancient temple, nor to hinder the resumption and completion of this work, but during the three years of this last stage it must have become sufficiently powerful not only to forbid the removal of the Hecatompedon, but even, when this temple had been badly damaged by the fire, to force its reconstruction, although this seriously injured the architectural effect of the beautiful new temple, and practically consigned to obscurity the Porch of the Maidens, one of the most perfect monuments of Athenian art. Obviously such an effect can have been produced only by an appeal to very deep-seated feelings in the Athenian populace, and we should expect to find these feelings exhibited in like situations elsewhere. Yet even analogous cases are hard to find, to say nothing of close parallels, so that some uncertainty arises as to the validity of this argument.¹

There is no doubt, of course, that in the case of the Propylaea the original plan of Mnesicles was markedly curtailed, especially on the south, and it is possible that the compelling reason for this change and for the provisional treatment given to the southwest wing was opposition to the threatened encroachment upon the sacred precincts of Athena Nike and Artemis Brauronia, although the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War and consequent lack of money are quite as likely to have brought the work to a conclusion. The Propylaea, however, was essentially a secular building, and it is easy to see why the proposed trespass upon the space allotted to established cults might have been unwelcome to many devout Athenians. In the case of the Erechtheum the situation was entirely different. The building as erected did not, apparently, trespass upon any other cult, and the construction at the southwest corner points, as has been said,² to a modification of the plan in order to avoid injury to the Cecropium. Even the hypothetical "original plan" (pp. 458 f.), though it might have altered the north boundary of the Pandroseum, would not have diminished the sacred territory or have interfered in any way with the space available for religious rites.³ Nor is this conservative religious spirit manifested elsewhere in Attica during the fifth century.

¹ On the rebuilding of the Hecatompedon after the fire and the conservative reaction, cf. Dörpfeld, *Jb. Arch.* I., XXXIV, 1919, pp. 20, 21, 25, 39. He refers the inscriptions, *I. G.*, II, 829 (Ch. IV, Inscription XXVIII, p. 420) and *I. G.*, XII, 1, 977 (see p. 461, note 2), to the Hecatompedon rather than to the Erechtheum. There is nothing in the text of either inscription to prevent such a reference, but its correctness depends upon the proof of the continued existence of the Hecatompedon.

² See above, Ch. I, pp. 167-169.

³ It is a little strange that, if religious motives were so prominent in the opposition to the plans of Pericles, they are so rarely mentioned by the ancient authorities. According to Plutarch (*Pericles*, 12, 14), the attack was less upon the construction of the Parthenon and the Propylaea than upon the misuse of the funds of the League of Delos and the tribute of "the cities" in beautifying Athens. Extravagance, not impiety, is the burden of the charges, and they involve political policy, not the state worship. Even when impiety is alleged (Diodorus, XII, 39; Plutarch, *Pericles*, 31), the attacks are directed against the philosophy of Anaxagoras, or the misappropriation of sacred funds by Phidias, or his irreverence in placing his own portrait and that of Pericles on the shield of the goddess, not against any attempted interference with sacred places, though we might suppose such plans would have offered a better ground for an appeal to popular courts, — provided Athenian feeling in such matters was what it is sometimes affirmed to have been. Cf. the remarks of Keil, *Anonymus Argentinensis*, pp. 87 ff.

We have already seen that at Eleusis the ἀρχαῖος νεώς was treated as a convenient quarry.¹ It is true that at Rhamnus and in the precinct of Dionysus Eleuthereus at Athens the old temples remained beside the new. In both these cases, however, the new temples were not substitutes for the old, which still sheltered the ancient statues, but additions, and the parallel is rather with the Parthenon and the "temple of the ancient statue," whichever that was, than with the Erechtheum and the Hecatompedon. Moreover the insistence on the rebuilding of the Hecatompedon and on the return thereto of the ancient statue presupposes that the site itself had a peculiarly sacred character; but it may be questioned whether there is any proof that the Athenians or the other Greeks attached especial importance to the exact spot on which the temples stood, unless, of course, this was connected with some natural object which could not be moved. The grotto of the Pythia, apart from the natural features of the place, was enough to keep the temple of Apollo at Delphi on the same spot, but at the Argive Heraeum the new temple was built beside the ruins of the old, though there was room on the old site.² It looks a little as if the contents of the temple, the ancient statue and its belongings, were of the greater importance, and as if it was their presence which consecrated the building. At any rate this seems to have been the view of a considerable body of Athenians for some seventy years or more. The removal of the peristyle of the Hecatompedon is evidence that the restoration of the inner building — so far as it went — had only a temporary character, while the men who began and those who finished the Erechtheum fully intended to remove this temporary structure.

Yet conclusions drawn from *a priori* arguments must yield to any direct testimony, and the restoration of the Hecatompedon after the fire of 406 B.C. must be conceded, if clear evidence of its survival can be produced. Apart from the narrative of Pausanias and brief sentences in Strabo and Vitruvius which will be examined later, proof of this survival is derived chiefly from the appearance of an ἀρχαῖος νεώς on the Acropolis in a small number of inscriptions, and from references to the Opisthodomos, which, it has been claimed, must be identified with the western rooms in the Hecatompedon. But before considering this testimony in detail, it may be well to inquire whether the Erechtheum could ever have been known as the ἀρχαῖος νεώς, since if it could not, there is obviously no need of pursuing the inquiry further; the rebuilding of the Hecatompedon, however improbable in theory, must be accepted as a fact.

We have seen that the existing evidence makes it possible to identify the ἀρχαῖος νεώς of the fifth century either with an early temple on the site of the Erechtheum or, less probably, with the Hecatompedon. If the former hypothesis be adopted, the meaning of the term in the fourth century and later presents no difficulty. The old name was transferred to the new building, erected on the old site and containing the old image. The presence

¹ See p. 449, note 2. The only apparent instance of protection of ancient remains is the amendment of Lampon, forbidding the removal of stones or earth from the Pelargicon (*I. G.*, I, Suppl. 27 b, pp. 54 ff. = I², 76), and Lampon is said to have been a friend of Pericles (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 6; cf. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, III, pp. 515–516).

² Pausanias, II, 17, 7: "Ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν ναὸν τούτου τοῦ προτέρου ναοῦ θεμελίᾳ τε καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ὑπελίπετο ἢ φλόξ."

of the ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα would give it the quality of ἀρχαϊότης, which the adjective implies, even if this quality was not conferred by its position on the spot where the ἀρχαῖος νεώς had always stood. On the other hand if the "old temple" of the fifth century was the Hecatompedon, in which the old statue then stood, it is still conceivable that with the statue the name was transferred to the new building, and that the temple in which was the ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα became naturally the ἀρχαῖος νεώς, especially after the destruction of its predecessor. In fact, as has been pointed out, the use of παλαιός rather than ἀρχαῖος by Xenophon suggests that in his opinion the old building at the time of the fire no longer possessed any special value as a monument of the past. The appearance of the name ἀρχαῖος νεώς in the fourth century and later does not, therefore, in itself create any presumption in favor of the rebuilding of the Hecatompedon, since its application to the new Erechtheum is intelligible whatever the conditions in the fifth century.¹

In view of these considerations it is clear that only those references to the "old temple" which contain some indication of definite characteristics have any evidential value for the identity of the building; the rest simply prove its existence, which is not in dispute.² This

¹ Such an application of the adjective "old" to a new structure which may be considered as replacing an old one is natural in itself and by no means unexampled, as has been pointed out by Belger, *Berl. phil. W.*, XVII, 1897, cols. 1438 ff. He cites the cases of Civitā Vecchia and Orvieto (*urbs vetus*), where *new* cities on old sites were called *old*. The analogy of the "Old South" church in Boston, first suggested by Fowler (*A. J. A.*, first series, VIII, 1893, p. 13), is interesting. At the time of the great Unitarian controversy a part of the congregation seceded from the "South Church" and formed a new society. Since that time there have been two churches, the "Old South" (Orthodox) and the "New South" (Unitarian). A number of years after the secession the congregation of the "Old South" sold their eighteenth-century building to an association formed to preserve it as an historic monument, and built themselves a new church in another part of the city. This building obviously could not be called the "New South," since that title was already appropriated, while the familiar name of the "Old South" still belonged to the original building, though this was no longer used for religious purposes. For a considerable period, therefore, the new church was known as the "New Old South," though this somewhat contradictory name is now generally abbreviated to the "Old South," the context alone showing which of the two buildings is meant. There seems no reason to doubt that the new building would have been called the "Old South" from the beginning, in distinction from the "New South," had the old church been destroyed when the new one was built. It may be added that the adjectives "old" and "new" have never formed part of the legal name of either of the religious societies.

² A list of the negligible inscriptions may be added here as a matter of record.

(1) *I. G.*, II, 1, 163 (= II², 834), a decree regulating the celebration of the Lesser Panathenaea, where provision is made for two sacrifices by the Hieropoioi, one to Athena Hygieia, the other, according to Ussing's restoration, ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ νεῷ, a difficult reading because of the presence of ἐν, since victims were sacrificed, as Michaelis has pointed out, not *in* but *before* the temple. Other restorations are ἐν τῷ Ἀρ[ιστοπόλ] (Rangabé; cf. Pausanias I, 28, 5) and ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ ἱερῷ (Ziehen, *Leges graecorum sacrae*, II, No. 29, p. 93).

(2) *I. G.*, II, 464 (= II², 983), containing the vote for the erection of an equestrian statue [παρὰ τὸν | νεῶν τὸν ἀρχαῖον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος]. It may be noted that, if this inscription is correctly referred by Ferguson (*Klio*, VIII, 1908, pp. 338 ff.) to the reign of Ptolemy VI, Philometor I (181–145 B.C.), it is the only one certainly later than the fourth century referring to the ἀρχαῖος νεώς, and apparently the only one of any age which mentions an *old* temple of Athena Polias. Elsewhere the temple of the Polias has no descriptive epithet. This departure from established usage is avoided by Petersen's conjecture τὸν ἐν ἀκροπόλει (*Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1887, p. 48).

In the following inscriptions the ἀρχαῖος νεώς is mentioned in connection with objects belonging to Artemis Brauronia, and it has been suggested that in these passages the building thus designated is the old temple of Artemis at Brauron (Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 312; Lehner, *Die athenischen Schatzverzeichnisse des vierten Jahrhunderts*, p. 79). A more probable explanation is that the reference is to the Old Temple of Athena on the Acropolis, where we may suppose some of the more valuable objects belonging to Artemis were stored — as they certainly were in both Parthenon and Opisthodomos (see below, Nos. 4 and 8) — presumably because the stoas in the precinct of the Brauronia on the Acropolis did not afford sufficient security (Hondius, *Novae inscriptiones atticae*, pp. 65–67, 70). The

criterion reduces still further the already small number of inscriptions in which an "old temple" appears, and practically limits the inquiry to certain inventories of the treasures contained *ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ νεῷ*.¹ It is true that the crowns, phialae, and other votive offerings might have been deposited in either temple,² and even the list of the ornaments worn by the statue of the goddess is not conclusive, although if this statue were the *ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα* — and it is very hard to see what else it can be,³ — its presence certainly raises a strong presumption in favor of the Erechtheum, since in default of other evidence it is surely reasonable to suppose that the statue was in the temple which had been especially built to receive it, and to which it must have been removed — if it were originally in the Hecatompedon — at least as early as the fire of 406 B.C. It is necessary, however, to test this presumption by considering how far the references to the several parts of the interior,

first four citations are from inventories of the property of Artemis Brauronia; of the last three, two are certainly and the third probably from reports of the Treasurers of the other gods, but the objects catalogued apparently belong to the same goddess.

(3) *I. G.*, I², 386, A; Hondius, *op. cit.*, X, A. One of the fragments of an opisthographic stele. Much of the text is missing, but it is clear that in lines 9, 12, 13, and perhaps 14, certain objects were described as *ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαίου νεῷ*, and it is probable that *ἐκ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος* should be restored in line 15. The inscription is well written in good characters of the latter part of the fifth century, and may be dated about 420–410 B.C. (Hondius, *op. cit.*, p. 64). It throws no direct light on the identity of the "Old Temple," though it is tempting to see in the phrase *ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαίου νεῷ* evidence that work on the Erechtheum had rendered the "Old Temple" on the site of the later East Cella an unsafe place of deposit. It must be admitted, however, that the same phrase occurs in reports from the middle of the fourth century (see below, Nos. 4 and 5), when, so far as we know, there was no such reason for removing valuables from the Erechtheum, or for that matter from the Hecatompedon, if it was still in existence.

(4) *I. G.*, II, 2, 758, A, II, ll. 7–10: *Τὰδ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαίου νεῷ παρέδωκεν ἡ ἱέρεια τοῖς ἐπιστάταις τοῖς ἐπὶ Θουδήμου ἀρχοντος* (353/2 B.C.) *εἰς τὸν Παρθενῶνα Κλειτίμῳ Ἀ[τ]ηνεῖ [καὶ συν]άρχουσιν κ. τ. λ.*

(5) *Ibid.*, 751, B, d, l. 19: *ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαίου νεῷ χαλ[κ-*

(6) *Ibid.*, 752, ll. 11–12: [*ἡ ἱέρεια παρέδωκεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαίου νεῷ*] or perhaps *τοῦ Παρθενῶνος*.

(7) *I. G.*, II, 2, 672, l. 43 (376/5 B.C.): *ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ νεῷ το(ῦ) χρυσο(ῦ) ἐγ χυτ[-*

(8) *I. G.*, II, 5, 672 c, l. 6 (not dated): *ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ νεῷ τοῦ χρυσοῦ*. Since the first part of this inscription contains the same items as the last part of No. 7, the restoration may be considered certain. Lehner (l. c.) would read *ὁ δεῖνα εὐρών ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ νεῷ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐν χύτρῳ* on the analogy of 672, l. 35. . . . *ψ παρέδωκεν εὐρών ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ*. He also points out that many of the objects in 672 c appear at the beginning of the fourth century *ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τῆς Βραυρωνόθεν* (*I. G.*, II, 2, 652, of 398/7 B.C.; 660, of 390/89 B.C.).

(9) *I. G.*, II, 2, 650, a fragment from an inventory. Line 2 may be restored to read *ἐκ τοῦ νεῷ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἀπενεγ[κ-*, and interpreted as referring to some such transaction as is recorded in No. 4, above. If the restoration is correct, this is the only departure in the inscriptions of the fourth century from the order *ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεῷς*.

In *I. G.*, II, 1, 74, l. 14: *-τα τοῦ ἀρχαίου νεῷ* has been incorrectly restored, as is clear from another copy of the same decree (*I. G.*, II, 5, 74 b), which reads *μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκ[τονος]*. See *I. G.*, II², 216, 217.

¹ Petersen, *Burgtempel*, pp. 119 ff., published with a full commentary four of these inventories — *I. G.*, II, 2, 733, A, II, 6–24; *ibid.*, 735 (obverse); *ibid.*, 706, A, B; Έφ. Ἀρχ., 1903, pp. 141 ff. = *Mnemosyne*, 1904, pp. 325 ff. To these Frickenhaus, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIII, 1908, pp. 17 ff., added three much damaged fragments in which he was able to detect remains of the list of ornaments belonging to the statue of the goddess — *I. G.*, II, 2, 677, II, col. III, 1–22; *ibid.*, 679, col. II, 8–31; unpublished, Athens, Nat. Mus., *ined.* 192. Still another incomplete list (34 lines) has been published by Hondius, *Novae inscriptiones atticae*, IX. The text agrees closely with that published in the Έφήμερις, but is earlier — probably belonging to the year 374/3 B.C., or a little later.

² Apparently no existing inventory, whether of the fifth or fourth century, records *ἱερὰ χρήματα* belonging to the other deities of the Erechtheum. The names of Poseidon-Erechtheus, Pandrosus, Cecrops, and Butes nowhere appear, and though Hephaestus is mentioned, there is nothing to show his connection with the Erechtheum rather than with his own temple in the lower town.

³ Whatever may have been the case in the sixth century, after the Persian wars there is no evidence that there were any other temple statues of Athena on the Acropolis than the old image of olive wood, the chryselephantine Parthenos of Phidias, and the statue of Athena Nike.

where the various objects were exhibited, are consistent with what is known of the two buildings in question.

Such references are extremely rare or altogether lacking in the majority of these inscriptions. In the best preserved inventory, first published by Van Hille,¹ and containing the report of the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ for 368/7 B.C., the objects in the ἀρχαῖος νεώς are recorded at the end of the inscription (col. III, ll. 72–124), after those ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῷ Ἑκατομπέδῳ (the east cella of the Parthenon) and ἐκ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος (the western room). The only indication of the places occupied by these objects is in lines 113–115, where we find ξιφομάχαιρα χαλκ[ῆ] | πρὸς τῇ παραστάδι[ι], | ξίφη δύο πρὸς τῇ π[αραστάδι].² The παραστάς also appears, as the sole indication of place, in another fragmentary inventory of twenty-eight years later (*I. G.*, II, 2, 706)³ where lines 18–19 and 25–27 may be very plausibly restored as πρὸς τῇ π[αραστάδι φιάλιον] μικρὸν ἀργυροῦν, and ἀριστ[ερᾶς] | εἰσίωντι πρὸς τῇ πα[ραστάδι] ξιφομάχαιρα | ἐλεφαντίνῃ, μικρὰ φ[ιάλη] ἀργυρᾷ λεία. Very different in this respect are two other reports, perhaps the latest in the group, which are contained in *I. G.*, II, 2, 733, A, col. II, ll. 6–24 and 735, ll. 1–42.⁴ The former contains the heading ΑΡΧΑΙΟΣ ΝΕΩΣ and the first part of the list; the latter, which is broken on all sides except along a considerable part of the right edge, begins with the articles in line 11 of 733, but continues the list much farther, though like the other it is imperfect at the end. Where the two inscriptions overlap, the text is almost literally identical. Both of them generally record the place of the articles, and since some of the designations recur at irregular intervals, it is probable that the yearly additions to the temple treasures were not listed among the earlier possessions according to their locality, but simply added at the end of the existing inventory.

The places mentioned include the παραστάς, which is here sometimes further defined as ἀριστερᾶς or δεξιᾶς εἰσίωντι, the ὑπερτόναιον, and the φάτνη, while certain φιάλαι are described as ὀπισθεν τῆς θύρας (733, l. 16; 735, l. 7), and others as ἀπαντροκὺ τῶν ἱερῶν (733, ll. 13–14). These last two phrases are obviously appropriate to almost any temple, and possess no

¹ Van Hille, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1903, pp. 141 ff.; *Mnemosyne*, 1904, pp. 325–348, 420–434. The portion of the inscription relating to the ἀρχαῖος νεώς is published by Petersen, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 126–127. Cf. also Frickenhaus, *l. c.*, B, pp. 18 ff.

² *I. G.*, II, 2, 677 (367/6 B.C.) and 679 (probably about 365 B.C.), slightly later inventories, are also shown by the presence of the ornaments of the statue (677, 1–5; 679, 15–20; Frickenhaus, *l. c.*, C and D) to have included the objects in the “Old Temple”; but both are very fragmentary, and although the ξιφομάχαιρα and the ξίφη δύο appear (677, 15–16; 679, 29–30), it is impossible to say whether the παραστάς was mentioned. It is strange to find that in these two reports the contents of the ἀρχαῖος νεώς followed directly upon those ἐν τῷ Ἑκατομπέδῳ and before those ἐκ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος, a peculiarity which led Lehner (*op. cit.*, p. 98) into the natural mistake of adding these articles to those listed in earlier inscriptions as ἐκ τοῦ Ὀπισθοδόμου. The ξιφομάχαιρα also appears in the inventory published by Hondius (l. 20). The end of the line is missing, but there is room to restore πρὸς τῇ παραστάδι.

³ Petersen, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 125 ff.; Frickenhaus, *l. c.*, E, p. 19. The inscription apparently contained part of the report of the ταμίαι οἱ ἐπὶ Νικομάχου (341/40 B.C.), or at any rate included the dedications transmitted by them to their successors (B, ll. 4–6: τὰδ[ε] | προσπαρέδωσαν] ταμίαι οἱ ἐπὶ Νικομά[χ]ου ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἀνατε[θέντα]).

⁴ Petersen, *op. cit.*, I, II, pp. 124 ff.; cf. Frickenhaus, *l. c.*, pp. 29 ff. Neither inscription can be dated with certainty. The back of 733 contains an inventory of military engines, probably in the Chalcotheca, and mentions the archon Coroebus (306/5 B.C.), but, according to Köhler, this may be a later addition, as it is not written στοιχηδόν, like the obverse, and the hand is different. The change in the objects listed and in the form of the record would appear to indicate a considerably later date than the other reports. It is to be noted that these two inscriptions contain nothing about the statue of the goddess.

distinctive quality. Nor does the *φάτνη* help toward a solution. In ordinary parlance the word means a "crib" or "manger," and here must denote a piece of temple furniture of similar form, perhaps a sort of trough or, as Petersen has well suggested, a table with a high border or frame around the top. Four silver *φιάλαι* were kept in it (733, l. 12) and two little shields, helmets, and spears, also of silver, were apparently suspended against it from a nail (735, ll. 26–31).¹ There is nothing in the name or use that associates it with any cult or yields any clue to the identity of the building in which it was found.

There remain the *παραστάς* and *ὑπερτόναιον*. The meaning of the former word has been already briefly discussed in connection with a troublesome passage in the report of the commissioners of 409/8 B.C.,² where it almost certainly denotes one of the inner walls in the western part of the Erechtheum. The whole context makes such an interpretation impossible here, nor is there any adequate reason for supposing that the word is used with the same signification in two inscriptions nearly a century apart, which do not refer to the same room, even if it be granted that both refer to the same building. The word itself is a fairly common architectural term and normally denotes something which "stands against" or "beside" a wall, such as the jamb of a door, an anta, or a pilaster, whence it is a natural extension to such a meaning as seems required in the earlier inscription, — a wall either decorated with pilasters or jutting out like a pilaster from another wall. Since the treasures were inside the temple, there can be no question here of an anta, and there is no architectural or other evidence for the presence of pilasters in the East Cella of the Erechtheum, although in the cella of the Hecatompedon pilasters ranging with the two rows of interior columns may well have projected from the east and west walls. The *παραστάς* here may be, therefore, either one of these pilasters or the jamb of the door,³ and the latter supposition is strengthened by the mention of the *ὑπερτόναιον*, which is certainly the lintel. This interpretation is also wholly consistent with the inscriptions, which show that only small objects such as *φιάλαι* were attached to the *παραστάδες* and *ὑπερτόναιον*.⁴ It must be admitted, however, that it does not contribute to the solution of the problem of the

¹ Πρὸς τῇ | [φάτνηι ἀσπίδες ἀργυραὶ μικρὰ] [αἱ δύο καὶ] κρανίδια μικρὰ ἀργ[υρὰ :||: δοράτια μι[κρὰ ἀργυρ[αῖ :||: περὶ τὸν ἥλον περ[ι]επιλιγμένα κ. τ. λ. On the interpretation, cf. Petersen, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 129. The same sets of diminutive weapons seem to appear in *I. G.*, II, 2, 706, ll. 9–11, and Van Hille, ll. 89–90, but without any indication of their position.

² Ch. IV, Inscription II, col. 1, ll. 73 ff.; Commentary, pp. 312–314.

³ The old argument, first advanced by Dörpfeld (*Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1887, pp. 196–197; cf. Miss J. E. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 506), but now abandoned by him, that since in Ionic buildings the frame of the door was of stone to which votive offerings could not easily be attached, while in the older Doric temples it was of wood, therefore the *παραστάδες* must have been in the Doric Hecatompedon rather than in the Ionic Erechtheum, falls with the discovery that in the East Cella of the Erechtheum the jambs and lintel of the door probably had a facing of metal, or of wood sheathed with metal (Ch. I, pp. 34, 35). It would also lose its force if, as Dörpfeld has argued (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, p. 41; *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, p. 10), the reconstructed Hecatompedon was an Ionic prostyle temple, since in that case there would be no reason to assume that the door was framed in wood.

⁴ Besides *φιάλαι* there were attached to the *παραστάδες* *φιάλια*, *ἀσπίδια μικρά*, *ἀν ἀσπιδίσκιον* (these latter objects probably differed little in size or shape from the *φιάλαι*; cf. Petersen, *op. cit.*, p. 128), *ξίφοι*, *μάχαιραι*, *ἐπιπικῆ*. A *φιάλιον μικρόν* and a *κύλιξ* hung on the *ὑπερτόναιον*.

ἀρχαῖος νεώς, for jambs and a lintel belong to any door, and are found in both Erechtheum and Hecatompodon.¹

From this examination it appears that the testimony of the inscriptions does not determine the identity of the ἀρχαῖος νεώς. If there is nothing in them inconsistent with the survival of the Hecatompodon, it is equally true that there is nothing which cannot easily be interpreted as referring to the Erechtheum.

A further argument for the survival of the Hecatompodon has been drawn from the identification of the rear rooms of this temple with the Opisthodomos, which undoubtedly existed in the fourth century. It must be admitted at once that the problem of the Opisthodomos is by no means simple and that it has not yet received a thoroughly satisfactory solution.² However, it is not necessary to decide here between the various theories which have been propounded, since we are merely concerned with the question whether the existing evidence requires the proposed identification.

We have already seen (p. 446) that before the Persian invasion these rear rooms were

¹ The interpretations of παραστάς proposed by Petersen and Dörpfeld, if either could be accepted, would afford an answer to the question. Petersen (*Burgtempel*, pp. 115 ff.), starting from the use of the word to denote the projecting arms of the antae, and of ἐν παραστάσιν (Euripides, *Iph. Taur.*, 1159) for the space enclosed between these arms, concludes that both in the report of the commissioners and in the inventories παραστάς is the niche or *aedicula* at the rear of the cella in which the ancient image stood. That the two projections (παραστάδες) formed one body (παραστάς) he infers from a late inscription at Mylasa (*Ath. Mitt.*, XV, 259, 12) ἱερὸς Ἀφροδείτης Σὺ[ρί]ας τὴν πα[ρ]αστάδα ἀνέθηκεν where, however, the meaning of "niche for the image" cannot be regarded as certain; it might well denote a pedestal for the statue, set as a pilaster against the wall, as in an inscription from Smyrna (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², II, 583, ll. 14-15: ἄγαλμα μαρμάρινον Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ παραστάδι μολύνῃ). It may be conceded that the sides of such a niche might be called παραστάδες — though it is much less certain that the whole structure would be called παραστάς — and that they would serve well for displaying votive offerings, but since the only evidence for the existence of such a niche in the Erechtheum (which Petersen identifies with the ἀρχαῖος νεώς) depends upon this interpretation of παραστάς, and since this interpretation is itself an hypothesis devised in order to explain the word in the same manner in both report and inventories, there seems no valid reason for adopting it, when the inscriptions can be understood without attributing to the word any unusual and practically unsupported meaning.

The same objection of an interpretation *ad hoc* may be urged against the theory recently put forward by Dörpfeld (*Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, pp. 17-18). Comparing προσκῆνιον, the space in front of the σκηνή, and παρασκήνια, the wings at the side, he argues that as προστάς or πρόστασις is the portico at one end of a temple, and περίστασις the colonnade surrounding the building, so παραστάς is the corridor along one side, or, within the building, an aisle. In the report of the commissioners it refers to the western room of the Erechtheum, which was considered as a corridor connecting the two porticoes. In the inventories it denotes side aisles in the cella, and since such aisles existed in the Hecatompodon, but not in the Erechtheum, the Hecatompodon is the ἀρχαῖος νεώς. In accordance with the objection already noted, it may be urged against this view that such a meaning for παραστάς cannot be proved for any other Attic inscription, though it may perhaps be consistent with some of them, where the context gives a certain latitude to interpretation. Moreover, in the inventories at any rate, the prepositions employed are fatal to any such meaning as "corridor" or "aisle." The usual formula is πρὸς τῇ παραστάδι, which may be compared with πρὸς τῷ ὑπερτοναίῳ and πρὸς τῇ φάτνῃ (of the objects hung upon the "manger," while ἐν τῇ φάτνῃ is used of the φιάλαι within it); once (*I. G.*, II, 2, 733, l. 7) we find ἀσπιδίσκιον χρ[υσοῦν ἀπηρημένον] ἀπὸ τῆς παραστάδος. Neither πρὸς nor ἀπὸ can denote a position in the aisle, while, if the objects described were hung within the aisle, we should expect some indication of the walls or columns from which they were suspended. For these reasons it seems hardly permissible to interpret the παραστάς of the inscriptions either as an *aedicula* in the Erechtheum, or as an aisle in the Hecatompodon.

² On the Opisthodomos see, for example, Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1881, pp. 33-39; XV, 1890, pp. 436-437; XXIV, 1897, pp. 168-170; *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, pp. 20-22; Milchhöfer, *Philologus*, LIII, 1894, pp. 352-361; White, *Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.*, VI, 1895, pp. 1-53; E. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II, pp. 137-141; Michaelis, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, pp. 24-31; Petersen, *ibid.*, XXII, 1907, pp. 8-18; Judeich, *Topographie*, p. 230; Van Hille, *Mnemosyne*, XXXII, 1904, pp. 427-430; D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, pp. 376-381; Hondius, *Novae inscriptiones atticæ*, pp. 81-83.

probably used for the keeping of valuable offerings, and also (p. 451) that this part of the building may well have been restored after the retreat of Xerxes in order to serve its ancient purpose, and later may have received the funds of the Delian League, when the treasury was removed from Delos to Athens. Nor is there any doubt that these rooms could properly be called an opisthodomos, since the word in its original meaning denotes the back part of a temple or other building, even as *πρόδομος* denotes the vestibule.¹ When, therefore, the Opisthodomos appears in the later fifth and the fourth centuries as the place where the money belonging to Athena, and also apparently to the State, was deposited, it seems at first sight probable enough that this is the name of the old treasury.

Yet on examination the argument from probability proves to rest on somewhat slender foundations. In the Hecatompædon inscription the rooms in question are simply τὰ οἰκέματα and in the later inscription, which apparently provides for the transfer of money from Eleusis to Athens and its deposit on the Acropolis, it is at least clear that the Opisthodomos was not mentioned, even though the exact place where the money was to be kept is undetermined.² The first appearance of the Opisthodomos is in the decree of Callias,³ which is certainly not earlier than the year 435/4 B.C. It is, therefore, later than the completion of the Parthenon, in which the great western chamber with its portico formed an opisthodomos admirably adapted to the safe-keeping and administration of the public funds, and one which by its size might well become at once "the Opisthodomos" κατ' ἐξοχήν. The text of the inscription opposes no obstacle to this identification. On the obverse, where the new board of Treasurers of the other gods is instituted, it is provided that, after these officials have received from the State the money owing to the gods, they shall administer these funds ἐμ πόλει ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ, and that they shall open, close, and seal the doors of the Opisthodomos in company with the Treasurers of Athena. On the reverse — possibly a later addition — greater precision is given to this arrangement by the following enactment: — [ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκ τῶν διακοσίων ταλάντων, ἡ ἐς ἀπόδοσιν ἐφ[σέφισται ἡ δέμος τοῖς] ἄλλοις θεοῖς, ἀ[ποδοθ]εῖ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα, τα[μεινέσθ]ο τὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθ[η]ναίας χρήματα [ἐν τῷ] ἐπὶ δεξιά τῷ ὀπισ[θοδόμ]ῳ, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀρ[ιστερ]ά. This has been interpreted as a direct reference to the two rooms in the central division of the Hecatompædon (PLATE I), one of which would be assigned to each board.⁴ The Greek can doubtless bear this interpretation, although the omission of the vital word, οἰκέματι, is somewhat peculiar.⁵ The phrase, however, as it stands conveys no necessary suggestion of two chambers. It is a perfectly

¹ Pollux, I, 6: τὸ δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ (sc. σηκοῦ) πρόδομος, καὶ τὸ κατόπιν ὀπισθοδόμος. *Etym. Magn.*: ὀπισθοδόμος· τὸ ὀπισθεν παντὸς οἰκήματος. See also White, *Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.*, VI, 1895, p. 38.

² On the Hecatompædon inscription, see pp. 445 f.; on the inscription concerning the money from Eleusis, see pp. 450 f. The fact that Herodotus (V, 77) apparently refers to the rear rooms of the Hecatompædon as the "megaron facing the west" is hardly significant, since he avoids in general merely local appellations; see p. 437.

³ On this decree (*I. G.*, I, 32 = I², 91, 92) see above p. 455, note 3. For the identification of the Opisthodomos it is immaterial whether the ordinances on the two sides of the stone are contemporary, and whether either or both belong to 435/4 B.C. or fifteen years later.

⁴ Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1887, pp. 38, 39, 210; XXII, 1897, p. 170.

⁵ Michaelis, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, p. 25; D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, p. 377.

natural and proper Greek expression for the right and left sides of a single room, and furnishes no argument in itself for placing the Opisthodomos in the Hecatompodon. All that can be gathered from the language of the decree of Callias is that "the Opisthodomos" was a sufficiently well-established name, whether popular or official, to need no further definition, and that the Treasurers of Athena were already installed there, as they certainly would have been whether the Opisthodomos was in the Parthenon or in the Hecatompodon.

In other inscriptions of the fifth century the Opisthodomos appears as a place from which money is drawn and in which bullion is kept, but it is not mentioned in the treasure-lists.¹ This is what we should expect from the decree of Callias, which only refers to the Opisthodomos in connection with the keeping of money,² and, although it directs the preparation of detailed inventories of the *ἱερὰ χρέματα* belonging to Athena and to the other gods, says nothing about the place where these treasures are to be stored. It is a familiar fact that the sacred treasures of Athena in the Parthenon were duly catalogued, on separate stelae, under three heads, according as they were in the "Pronaos," the "Neos Hecatompodos" (the east cella, one hundred feet long), and the "Parthenon," which must be the western room. It has been maintained that this nomenclature proves that the "Opisthodomos" was not in the Parthenon,³ for, if it were, it must be identified with the western portico, and although this portico was certainly an opisthodomos in the strict sense of the word⁴ and although its intercolumniations were effectively closed by high metal grilles with a gate in the centre,⁵ it was hardly such a place as would be chosen for the storage of large sums of money. This last statement may well be accepted,⁶ but it by no means follows that the Opisthodomos was not a part of the Parthenon. In its general sense the Opisthodomos of the Parthenon included all the space behind the cella,⁷ and it may well be used in this sense

¹ Payments from the Opisthodomos are recorded by the Logistai in 425/4 B.C. (*I. G.*, I, 273, l. 20 = I², 324) and by the Treasurers about 406/5 B.C. (*ibid.*, I, 191, = I², 305, l. 13), but in the accounts it is very rare to find any mention of the place from which the money was taken. Bullion was stored in the Opisthodomos according to the report of the Epistatai of the sanctuary at Eleusis for 408/7 B.C. They transferred to their successors, among other things, *ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ χρυσίον ἐν κοίτῃ χαλκῇ ἐκ τῆς τετάρτης θέκης σεμε[ῖον]* (*I. G.*, I², 314, ll. 14 ff.). From their account of expenses (*ibid.*, 313, ll. 173 ff.) it appears that this gold was security for a loan made to the Treasurers in accordance with a vote of the assembly.

² Petersen, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXII, 1907, pp. 13, 14.

³ Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1887, pp. 35, 36, 204.

⁴ Cf. e. g., Pausanias, V, 10, 9; 16, 1. He applies this name to the western porticoes of the temples of Zeus and of Hera at Olympia. See also the other references given by White, *Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.*, VI, 1895, p. 38.

⁵ Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pp. 22, 115, 116; D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, pp. 132, 133; Collignon, *La Parthénon*, ed. min., pp. 59, 127.

⁶ Michaelis (*Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, p. 25) and Collignon (*Le Parthénon*, ed. min., p. 59), who identify the Opisthodomos of the inscriptions with the western portico of the Parthenon, interpret *ταμείν* in the decree of Callias as referring solely to the administration of the funds; the money was kept in the "Parthenon," but the offices and records of the two Boards of Treasurers were in the portico. It is doubtful, however, whether *ταμείν* can be thus restricted to administration only, apart from safe-keeping; see Petersen, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXII, 1907, p. 13.

⁷ Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 23: *τὸν ὀπισθοδόμον τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἀπέδειξαν* (sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) αὐτῷ (sc. Δημητρίῳ) κατὰ λυσιν κάκεῖ δίαίταν εἶχε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς λεγομένης ὑποδέχασθαι καὶ ξενίζειν αὐτόν, κ.τ.λ. There is no need to explain the addition of *τοῦ Παρθενῶνος* as due to the necessity of distinguishing the Opisthodomos of the Parthenon from "the Opisthodomos." The words are introduced to mark the very strong contrast between the character of the guest and the place allotted to his entertainment, and perhaps also to define the locality to non-Athenians to whom *τὸν ὀπισθοδόμον* alone would convey no definite meaning.

in the decree of Callias and in the records of payments. In the inventories, on the other hand, it was necessary to distinguish the central room from the rear portico, so that a term which might have included both was plainly undesirable. There was certainly ample room in this "Parthenon" both for the money-chests of the Treasurers and for the somewhat miscellaneous collection of sacred objects which were stored there.

In the fourth century the references to the Opisthodomos become somewhat more numerous though hardly more definite. In 388 B.C. Aristophanes (*Plutus*, 1193) marked the return of prosperity to Athens by bringing Plutus back to his old place, τὸν ὀπισθοδόμον ἀεὶ φυλάττων τῆς θεοῦ. Later, as has been said (p. 462), it was the scene of a fire, which apparently destroyed the records of the Treasurers. Obviously nothing here can be used to fix its position. If we turn to the inscriptions we find that, in contrast to the fifth century, the Opisthodomos is not mentioned as a place where money is kept, but that it now appears in the treasure lists. The inventories in the opening years of the century are still on separate stelae, but the objects are now catalogued as ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῷ ἑκατομπέδῳ, ἐκ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος, and ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου.¹ As the treasures in the temples had been very largely sacrificed to the needs of the State in the last years of the Peloponnesian War, and as new gifts during the next years were naturally few, it is reasonable to believe that the articles were now all collected in the east cella of the Parthenon, though recorded according to the original place of keeping. At the same time, however, in two lists of objects in the Neos Hecatompedos, belonging respectively to 398/7 and 390/89 B.C., after the additions of the year (τὰ ἐπέτεια) we find a record of things in the Opisthodomos.² It is clear, therefore, that whatever the motive which may have led to the removal of the sacred treasures from the "Parthenon" and the Opisthodomos, it was not the abandonment of the latter.³ If there is nothing in these inscriptions which proves that "Parthenon" and Opisthodomos were parts of the same building, there is certainly nothing which requires them to belong to different structures. The objects transferred from the Opisthodomos include an incense-burner, baskets,

¹ Fragments of inventories ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου are preserved in *I. G.*, II, 5, 645 b (399/8 B.C.), II, 2 and 5, 653 (398/7 B.C.), where the name can be restored with confidence since the objects are the same as in 645 b, and perhaps in II, 2 and 5, 685. In the later inventories, where the objects are classified somewhat differently and recorded on a single stele, the Opisthodomos is not mentioned; see, on these lists, A. C. Johnson, *A. J. A.*, XVIII, 1914, pp. 1-17. In *I. G.*, II, 2, 720, 721, objects in the Opisthodomos appear in lists referring to the Chalcotheca; here it is probably a part of the latter building.

² *I. G.*, II, 2, 652, B, l. 23: τὰδε ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ (398/7 B.C.). In *I. G.*, II, 2, 660, l. 61 (390/89 B.C.) these words are surely to be restored in the missing part of the line, as the list of objects is almost identical. It is to be noted that in these inscriptions the objects in the Opisthodomos are recorded on the same stele as those in the Neos Hecatompedos without a new heading or even a break in the line. It is hard to believe that this method would have been followed, if the Opisthodomos had been in another building. It is to be observed that from 398/7 B.C. we also have the beginning of an inventory of objects ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου (*I. G.*, II, 2 and 5, 653).

³ Dörpfeld (*Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1887, pp. 203-206; *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, p. 22) has explained the removal as due to the burning of the Hecatompedon (identified by him with the Old Temple) in 406 B.C. The objects formerly kept in the "Parthenon" and the Opisthodomos (in the Hecatompedon) were now moved to the east cella of the Parthenon, and the treasury was established in the "Parthenon," where it remained until the Hecatompedon was rebuilt. The completion of this work and the return of the treasury to its former place were celebrated by Aristophanes in the lines of the *Plutus* already quoted. The inscriptions, however, show that the Opisthodomos was in use ten years before the *Plutus* was performed.

silver pitchers, seals, and rings. Many of them are of gilded wood or bronze, and none seem to be of great value. The things left in the Opisthodomos were all in chests (κιβωτός, κιβώτια), and comprised small objects in gold and ivory, seals, rings, and so forth, belonging in part to Artemis Brauronia. Everything here mentioned might have been safely kept in a well-protected portico.

While all this evidence, epigraphical and literary, contains nothing which directly prohibits the identification of the Opisthodomos with the rear rooms of the old Hecatompedon, it is also perfectly intelligible, if we suppose, as we very reasonably may, that the Opisthodomos was the general and popular name for that part of the Parthenon which lay behind the cella, but that, when for official purposes it was necessary to distinguish between the great western room and its portico, the former was called the "Parthenon," the latter the "Opisthodomos," — its natural designation to a Greek.¹ The conclusion, therefore, agrees with that already drawn from the inscriptions referring to the ἀρχαῖος νεώς: — If the Hecatompedon was rebuilt after the Persian Wars and again restored after the fire of 406 B.C., sundry passages in literature and inscriptions *may* be interpreted as referring to it, but all of these supposed references are perfectly intelligible and capable of reasonable explanation without resorting to this hypothesis, which we have found somewhat improbable in view of our information as to the intentions of the Athenians when they planned and built the Erechtheum.

It remains to inquire whether more definite information can be gleaned from the statements of later writers. The chief source here is, of course, Pausanias, but his contribution on this point cannot well be separated from his general description of the Erechtheum, which will be treated in the following section. There are, however, three other passages which have been often cited in this discussion, and which call for some consideration.

The first is the account of a prodigy which occurred in 306 B.C., as recorded by a contemporary, Philochorus, who was himself called upon to interpret its significance. His own words are cited by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *περὶ Δεινάρχου*, 3, who first quotes from the eighth book of Philochorus a brief account of the arrival of Demetrius Poliorcetes in Athens during the archonship of Anaxicrates (307/6 B.C.), and the consequent flight of many Athenians, and adds: — 'Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐνάτῃ φησί· Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ τοῦδε διελθόντος, ἑτέρου δ' εἰσιόντος, ἐν ἀκροπόλει σημεῖον ἐγένετο τοιοῦτον· κύων εἰς τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος νεῶν εἰσελθοῦσα καὶ δῶσα εἰς

¹ This is substantially the view of Petersen (*Jb. Arch.* I., XXII, 1907, pp. 14–16). It seems to offer a reasonable and probable explanation of the Greek texts and inscriptions, although, like all the other theories about the Opisthodomos, it lacks conclusive proof and can only be accepted as presenting on the whole fewer difficulties than any other solution yet offered.

The theory, suggested by Curtius (*Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, pp. 132, 152) and developed independently by White (*Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.*, VI, 1895, pp. 1–53), which identifies the Opisthodomos with the western rooms of the Hecatompedon, but holds that this was the only part of the temple which was rebuilt after the Persian invasion, and that it continued to exist as a detached building south of the Cecropium and Pandroseum, rests chiefly on the statements of scholiasts and lexicographers who describe the Opisthodomos as a building behind the temple of Athena (i. e., the Erechtheum). Its validity need not be considered here, for if it be accepted, it implies the disappearance of the cella of the Hecatompedon and, consequently, the identification of the Erechtheum with the ἀρχαῖος νεώς of the fifth and fourth centuries, and it is only with this identification that we are now concerned.

τὸ Πανδρόσειον, ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβᾶσα τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ ἐλαίᾳ κατέκειτο. πατριὸν δ' ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κύνα μὴ ἀναβαίνειν εἰς ἀκρόπολιν. The extract then relates another wonder, the visibility of a star in bright sunshine, and the interpretation of these signs by Philochorus as portending the peaceful return of the fugitives, an event which duly occurred after a short interval.

According to this story the dog went into the temple of the Polias and then into the Pandroseum where it jumped upon the altar of Zeus Herceus beneath the olive and lay down. The brief and simple narrative certainly gives the impression that the Pandroseum was entered directly from the temple of the Polias, — a course which is perfectly intelligible if this temple were the Erechtheum, since the dog could enter by either the North Portico or the Porch of the Maidens and pass by the west door from the Prostomiaion into the Pandroseum. If on the other hand the Hecatompedon is meant, it becomes necessary to suppose either that the dog first ran into and out of its cella and then descended through the Porch of the Maidens into the Pandroseum, or else, if this route is deemed unduly circuitous, that there was a side door on the north side of the cella and steps down into the Pandroseum.¹ The brevity of the passage certainly makes it somewhat vague, but so far as it admits of any conclusion, it favors the identification of the Erechtheum with the temple of the Polias, that is, with the ἀρχαῖος νεώς.

The second passage, and the only one in Greek literature in which the name ἀρχαῖος νεώς appears, occurs in Strabo's very brief account of Athens. After describing the desolate condition of Munychia and Piraeus, and the destruction of the Long Walls, first by the Spartans and later by Sulla, he speaks thus of the city (IX, 16, C 396): Τὸ δ' ἄστυ αὐτὸ πέτρα ἐστὶν ἐν πεδίῳ περιρικουμένη κύκλῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ πέτρᾳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν ὃ τε ἀρχαῖος νεώς ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἄσβεστος λύχνος καὶ ὁ Παρθενὼν ὃν ἐποίησεν Ἰκτῖνος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ Φειδίου ἔργον ἐλεφάντινον ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς πλῆθος ἐμπίπτων τῶν περὶ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ὑμνουμένων τε καὶ διαβωμένων ὁκνῶ πλεονάζειν, μὴ συμβῇ τῆς προθέσεως ἐκπεσεῖν τὴν γραφὴν. ἔπεισε γὰρ ὃ φησιν Ἑγησίας "ὁρῶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὸ περιττῆς τριαίνης ἐκεῖθι σημεῖον, ὁρῶ τὴν Ἐλευσίνα, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γέγονα μύστης· . . ." οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐνὸς ἐμνήσθη τῶν ἐν ἀκροπόλει σημείων, Πολέμων δ' ὁ περιγηγῆτης τέτταρα βιβλία συνέγραψε περὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τῶν ἐν ἀκροπόλει. Overcome by the difficulty of selection amid the innumerable monuments and legends of Athens, Strabo confines himself to a mere mention of two temples of Athena on the Acropolis, — the old temple of the Polias with the ever-burning lamp, and the Parthenon with the chryselephantine statue by Phidias. This restraint is justified by the example of Hegesias, who mentioned only one object on the Acropolis, τὸ περιττῆς τριαίνης ἐκεῖθι σημεῖον — though Polemon had filled four books with a description of its votive offerings — and only one deme, Eleusis, out of one hundred and seventy-four rich in legend and history. In view of Strabo's extreme brevity and the probability that the buildings are not chosen for their intrinsic interest but rather for the lamp and the

¹ Cf. Dörpfeld, *Jb. Arch.* I., XXXIV, 1919, p. 35. There is no other evidence for the existence of such a door and steps.

statue within them, it cannot be argued that the ἀρχαῖος νεώς must be the Erechtheum because so beautiful a building would not be passed over in silence, if the Parthenon were mentioned. All that can be gleaned from this passage is that the ἀρχαῖος νεώς contained the golden lamp, also described by Pausanias.¹ Its identity depends upon the interpretation of the latter's narrative. Strabo by himself contributes nothing to the solution of the problem.²

The third passage, which approaches more nearly to direct evidence than any of the inscriptions or other references yet considered, is found in Vitruvius, IV, 8, 4. The author discusses in the opening sections of the chapter various forms of circular temples and the arrangement of their columns with reference to principles already stated, and continues:

Item generibus aliis constituuntur aedes ex isdem symmetriis ordinatae et alio genere dispositiones habentes, uti est Castoris in circo Flaminio et inter duos lucos Veiovis, item argutius³ Nemori Dianae, columnis adiectis dextra et sinistra ad umeros pronai. Hoc autem genere primo facta est, uti est Castoris in circo, Athenis in arce et in Attica Sunio Palladis Minervae. Earum non aliae sed eadem sunt proportiones; cellae enim longitudinibus duplices sunt ad latitudines uti reliquae; ex is omnia⁴ quae solent esse in frontibus ad latera sunt translata.

"There are also other kinds of temples, constructed in the same symmetrical proportions and yet with a different kind of plan: for example, the temple of Castor in the district of the Circus Flaminus, that of Vejovis between the two groves, and still more ingeniously the temple of Diana in her sacred grove, with columns added on the right and left at the flanks of the pronaos. Temples of this kind, like that of Castor in the Circus, were first built in Athens on the Acropolis, and in Attica at Sunium to Pallas Minerva. The proportions of them are not different, but the same as usual. For the length of their cellae is twice the width, as in other temples; but all that we regularly find in the front of others is in these transferred to the sides." (Morgan's translation.)

¹ The extinction of this lamp during the occupation of the Acropolis by Ariston (86 B.C.) is noticed by Plutarch (*Sulla*, 13; *Numa*, 9), but without mention of the temple in which it stood.

² The appearance of the words ἀρχαῖος νεώς in Strabo alone among Greek writers is curious, more especially as by his time, if we may judge from the inscriptions, this name was no longer in official use. The probable explanation is that he derived it from his source. Long ago Niese pointed out that Strabo had very little personal knowledge of Greece apart from Corinth (*Hermes*, XIII, 1878, pp. 42-43), and further that the description of Greece and the islands (Books VIII-X) was very largely drawn from the commentary on the Homeric Catalogue by Apollodorus of Athens (*Rh. Mus.*, XXXII, 1877, pp. 267 ff.; cf. Schwartz, *Pauly-Wissowa*, I, cols. 2863-2871, especially 2868). Although nothing else in this section on Athens can be surely assigned to Apollodorus, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the unusual ἀρχαῖος νεώς is derived from him. In commenting on the reference to Athens and Erechtheus in the Catalogue (see above, p. 432) the Athenian would be more than likely to apply this name to the building which he regarded as the successor of the Homeric temple, whether Hecatompædon or Erechtheum.

³ *argutius*, codd.; *augustus*, Krohn.

⁴ *uti reliqua ex isona*, codd.; *reliquae; ex is omnia*, Krohn; *reliquae; etsi omnia*, Choisy.

The distinguishing feature of these temples is evidently the addition of columns on the right and left "*ad umeros pronai*." This phrase is usually understood to mean that the front portico was carried around the corners for a short distance along the sides, but it has been suggested with much probability by Petersen¹ that the columns were added on the right and left sides of the portico between the antae and the corner columns, so that the portico was not broadened but deepened by them, as for example in the North Portico of the Erechtheum. Since the three Roman temples have disappeared, it is impossible to verify the meaning of the passage from their plans. Vitruvius next points out that the first examples of this type — that of the temple of Castor in the Circus — were at Athens on the Acropolis and in Attica at Sunium. In both these temples the proportions were normal, the length being twice the breadth, but "what is wont to be on the fronts has been transferred to the sides." This last statement at once identifies the temple on the Acropolis with the Erechtheum,² since it obviously describes the substitution of the porticoes on the north and south for the usual one at the west end.³ Under these circumstances the exact force of the words *Palladis Minervae* becomes of considerable importance. It is the general practice of Vitruvius in referring to a temple to name the deity to whom it belonged, as a modern writer naturally gives the saint's name or other title in mentioning a church, and, quite apart from this obviously desirable habit, the ordinary reader would surely understand from the phrase "*Athenis in arce et in Attica Sunio Palladis Minervae*" that both temples were dedicated to Pallas. Therefore, unless we limit *Palladis Minervae* solely to the second member and leave the temple on the Acropolis anonymous, in violation both of Vitruvian usage and ordinary intelligibility, or else assume a mistake in nomenclature,⁴ this passage contains a direct statement by Vitruvius, or more probably by his Greek source, that the Erechtheum was a temple of Athena. Since apparently no one believes that there were three temples of Athena on the Acropolis at the same time (Erechtheum, Hecatomb-

¹ Petersen, *Burgtempel*, pp. 143–144. The same idea was put forward in 1806 by Thomas Gabb in his *Finis Pyramidis; or, Disquisitions concerning the antiquity and scientific end of the great Pyramid of Giza, etc.*, pp. 268–269; but his comments, which contain some just criticism of Stuart, seem to have remained unnoticed.

² This identification seems to have been first made by Thomas Gabb in his *Finis Pyramidis*, pp. 267–272, in contradiction to Stuart, who had endeavored to refer this passage to the Parthenon: cf. also Stuart and Revett², II, p. 37, note b.

Since the discovery that the great temple at Sunium was dedicated to Poseidon, the temple of Athena has been identified with the building excavated by Stais (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., XVIII, 1900, cols. 122–131, pl. 8; XXXV, 1917, pp. 178–187, pls. 5–7, with restorations by Orlandos). It was a semi-peripteral Ionic temple, 14.78 m. by 19.34 m. on the peristyle, and 8.60 m. by 13.40 m. inside the cella, with ten columns across the east front and thirteen along the south side, counting the corner column twice. There was also a single column between the corner column and the anta (*ad umrum* according to Petersen's interpretation) at the west end of the south side, and at the north end of the east front. There were antae at the southwest and at the northeast corners, but none at the southeast. The proportions of the temple are wholly different from those given by Vitruvius, since the ratio for the peristyle is 1 to 1.3, and for the cella about 2 to 3.

³ It seems unnecessary to limit this statement to the North Portico only (Petersen, *op. cit.*, p. 144) on the ground that, as it contains the principal entrance to this part of the temple, it alone has been really transferred from the west end.

⁴ Cf. Dörpfeld, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, p. 26.

pedon, and Parthenon),¹ this statement, if it be accepted as accurate — and we have been unable as yet to find any conclusive evidence to the contrary, — creates at least a very strong probability, if not an absolute certainty, in favor of the identification of the ἀρχαῖος νεώς with the Erechtheum, and if that is once admitted, any reconstruction of the Hecatompelon after 406 B.C. becomes at once very unlikely, since the chief reason for believing in its survival is its supposed identity with the ἀρχαῖος νεώς.

4. THE HISTORY OF THE TEMPLE AND THE DESCRIPTION OF PAUSANIAS. — On the history of the Erechtheum after its completion our authorities are almost wholly silent. Indeed, if it be not the same as the old temple of the Polias, it receives little more than a passing mention,² except in the description by Pausanias and in the pseudo-Plutarchian life of the orator Lycurgus.³ The latter passage tells us nothing about the building itself, but shows that toward the end of the fourth century B.C. Habron, son of Lycurgus, dedicated a panel, painted by Ismenias of Chalcis,⁴ on which were represented those Butadae who had held the hereditary priesthood of Poseidon, and, apparently at the end, Habron himself handing to his brother Lycophron the symbolic trident in token of his surrender of the priesthood which had fallen to him.⁵ To the same period, if not to the same dedication, may be assigned the wooden statues of Lycurgus and his three sons, the work of the sons of Praxiteles. A genealogical painting of the Butadae is noticed by Pausanias, but he says nothing about the statues, which had probably perished long before his visit. For it is clear from a study of the building that an event of considerable importance in its history has left no trace in the records which have come down to us.

This event was the fire which seriously damaged the interior of the building, and necessitated extensive repairs, especially at the west end and in the North Portico.⁶ We have

¹ Those who maintain that the Hecatompelon survived as the temple of Athena in which was the ancient statue, hold also that the Erechtheum, whatever the original intention of its builders may have been, never became in fact a temple of Athena but only of her σύνναοι, Poseidon-Erechtheus, Hephaestus, and Butes; see Dörpfeld, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, pp. 24, 33.

² Such, e. g., as Plutarch, *Sympos. Quaest.*, IX, 6, of Poseidon: ἐνταῦθα (at Athens) νεώ κοινωνεῖ μετὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς; Hesychius, s. v. οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν· τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος φύλακα δράκοντα . . . ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως; Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.*, III, 49: *Erechtheus cuius Athenis et delubrum vidimus et sacerdotem*. It is clear that Plutarch regarded the temple as belonging jointly to Athena and Poseidon.

³ *Vitae X Orat.* 843 E: Κατήγον δὲ τὸ γένος ἀπωτάτω μὲν ἀπὸ Βούτου καὶ Ἐρεχθέως τοῦ Γῆς καὶ Ἡφαιστοῦ· τὰ δ' ἐγγυτάτω ἀπὸ Λυκομήδους καὶ Λυκούργου, οὗς ὁ δῆμος ταφαῖς ἐτίμησε δημοσίᾳ· καὶ ἔστιν αὕτη ἡ καταγωγὴ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερασαμένων τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐν πίνακι τελείῳ, ὃς ἀνακεῖται ἐν Ἐρεχθείῳ, γεγραμμένος ὑπ' Ἰσμηνίου τοῦ Χαλκιδῆος· καὶ εἰκόνες ξύλιναι τοῦ τε Λυκούργου καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ, Ἀβρωνος Λυκούργου Λυκόφρονος, ὃς εἰργάσαντο Τιμαρχος καὶ Κηφισόδοτος, οἱ Πραξιτέλους υἱεῖς· τὸν δὲ πίνακα ἀνέθηκεν Ἀβρων ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ, λαχὼν ἐκ τοῦ γένους τὴν ἱερωσύνην, καὶ παραχωρήσας τῷ ἀδελφῷ Λυκόφρονι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πεποιήται ὁ Ἀβρων προσδιδούς αὐτῷ τὴν τρίαιναν. On the source of this passage, see above, p. 452, note 6.

⁴ Ismenias of Chalcis is known only from this passage; Overbeck, *Antike Schriftquellen*, p. 369, No. 1974; A. J. Reinach, *Recueil Milliet, textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture antique*, I, pp. 304–305, No. 386.

⁵ On the possible character of this genealogical painting, see Petersen, *Burgtempel*, pp. 107–112. He compares the grouping of figures on the great amphorae of southern Italy. Reinach (*l. c.*) limits the painting to seven figures, beginning with Lycomedes (ca. 450 B.C.).

⁶ On the damage wrought by this fire and on the later repairs, see above, Ch. I, pp. 178–180; Ch. II, pp. 223, 224. In such a fire the wooden statues by Timarchus and Cephisodotus may well have perished. This fire cannot be that of 406 B.C. Such an identification implies that the western part of the Erechtheum, if not the whole building, was left under a temporary roof for nearly four hundred years, — surely a most improbable supposition. It seems in-

already seen that the carving and general workmanship in these repairs display a marked similarity with the remains of the temple of Rome and Augustus, and that the date thus suggested is confirmed by the presence in the foundation of this temple of a block from the Greek cornice of the Erechtheum (p. 75). The dedication of the new temple¹ shows that it is later than the year 27 B.C. in which the emperor assumed the title of Augustus (Σεβαστός), but it is probably not much later, since, as Graindor has pointed out,² the Athenians, who had sided with Antony, had every reason to propitiate Augustus without delay. We may then fairly assume that the repairs on the Erechtheum were undertaken not far from 25 B.C. There is no clue to the year of the fire, but the fact that temporary repairs were undertaken at the west end (pp. 178–180) indicates that the Athenians did not feel able to rebuild the temple immediately, and it is very possible that a number of years elapsed between the fire and the Roman restoration.

About one hundred and eighty years later Pausanias composed the description of the Erechtheum, which from the first identification of the temple by Spon has occupied a chief place in the numerous attempts at its restoration and interpretation. Although the discovery of the inscriptions relating to its construction and especially the increasingly intensive study of the actual remains have introduced new factors into the problem of the Erechtheum and rendered obsolete many earlier opinions, yet from first to last conformity with the supposed testimony of Pausanias has been generally regarded as the final and conclusive test of each new theory. Nor does such a test appear in any way unreasonable. It may fairly be argued that the explicit statements of one who saw the temple in its ancient condition ought not to be disregarded without very positive evidence of their error. It is in the practical application of this principle that difficulties begin to arise, for it must be admitted that the closer and more accurate analysis of the style of Pausanias which has developed in recent years, however much it may have contributed to a better understanding of the peculiarities of the author, has done very little to advance our knowledge of the Erechtheum. In fact an examination of the successive and widely divergent restorations which have been proposed during the past hundred and fifty years, and each of which is carefully, and often very successfully, shown by its author to be in exact accord with the testimony of Pausanias, suggests that this testimony is itself by no means free from ambiguity, and that, while Pausanias undoubtedly furnishes information of great value on certain points, it is often quite as necessary to explain Pausanias from the Erechtheum as the Erechtheum from Pausanias. The primary source must always be the building itself;

credible that Lycurgus, the hereditary priest of Poseidon-Erechtheus, should have permitted the “sea” of this god to remain in such a condition, and that too at a time when, under his administration, the temple treasures and the sacred vessels were greatly increased, much money accumulated on the Acropolis, and many public buildings erected.

¹ *I. G.* III, 63. Θεῶ Πώμῃ καὶ Σεβαστῶ Καίσαρι.

² P. Graindor, ‘Chronologie des Archontes Athéniens sous l’Empire,’ *Mémoires de l’Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres, etc.*, in 4°, Sér. II, Tome VIII, p. 34. The archon Areios appears again in the inscription from the wall of the Cecropium (*I. G.*, III, 1276; see above, Ch. I, p. 183, Fig. 84), but his year of office can be fixed only as falling between 27/26 and 18/17 B.C.

next may properly rank the accounts of the commissioners who superintended its erection. The evidence of Pausanias is highly important as confirmation, supplement, or explanation of these sources, but it cannot rightly be admitted in contradiction to them, except so far as it may be possible here and there to explain a divergence as due to alterations introduced during the Roman repairs. Bearing these limitations in mind we may now examine this description in detail.¹

In his account of the Acropolis Pausanias after leaving the Parthenon notices first several statues, which apparently stood southeast or south of that temple, and then the groups of combatants presented by Attalus of Pergamon, some of which certainly stood along that part of the south wall of the Acropolis which was above the theatre of Dionysus.² Next the presence of a statue of Olympiodorus leads to a somewhat lengthy account of his services to Athens. Returning from this digression he mentions a neighboring bronze image of Artemis Leucophryene dedicated by the sons of Themistocles, and then, evidently feeling that his enumeration of the wonders of the Acropolis is becoming too detailed, he checks himself with the remark that he must push on with his subject since he has to traverse the whole of Greece.³ There follows a brief sentence about the sculptor Endoios and his statue of a seated Athena dedicated by Callias,⁴ and then we are at the Erechtheum. It thus appears that in all that portion of the Acropolis lying east of the Parthenon and the Erechtheum Pausanias selects for notice only three statues, and even for these gives no hint of their position. He therefore arrives at the Erechtheum without furnishing any information as to the route he has followed since leaving the south wall of the Acropolis, or as to the situation of the building, which he proceeds to describe as follows:

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ οἶκημα Ἑρέχθειον καλούμενον·
πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου Διὸς ἐστὶ βωμὸς Ὑπάτου, ἔνθα
ἔμψυχον θύουσιν οὐδέν, πέμματα δὲ θέντες οὐδέν
ἐπὶ οἴῳ χρήσασθαι νομίζουσιν. ἐσελθοῦσι δὲ
εἰσι βωμοί, Ποσειδῶνος, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Ἑρεχθεὶ
θύουσιν ἔκ του μαντεύματος, καὶ ἥρωος Βούτου,
τρίτος δὲ Ἡφαίστου. γραφαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων
τοῦ γένους εἰσὶ τοῦ Βουταδῶν. καὶ (διπλοὺν γὰρ
ἐστὶ τὸ οἶκημα) καὶ ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἔνδον θαλάσσιον
ἐν φρέατι (τοῦτο μὲν θαῦμα οὐ μέγα· καὶ γὰρ
ὅσοι μεσόγαιαν οἰκοῦσιν ἄλλοις τε ἐστὶ καὶ

“There is also a building called Erechtheum; and before the entrance is an altar of Zeus Hypatos, where they offer nothing that has life, but it is their custom to place cakes thereon and not even to add any wine. On entering there are altars, one of Poseidon on which they also make offerings to Erechtheus in consequence of an oracle, another of the hero Butes, and a third of Hephaestus. There are also on the walls paintings of the family of the Butadae.

¹ On the fallibility of Pausanias see the remarks of Holleaux, *Mélanges Henri Weil*, p. 206; Lechat, *Au Musée de l'Acropole*, p. 419, who roundly declares “Pausanias n'était qu'une bête.” Robert, *Pausanias als Schriftsteller*, p. 40, notes that detailed descriptions of buildings are extremely rare in Pausanias.

² Plutarch, *Antonius*, 60. A gale blew into the theatre the statue of Dionysus from the Gigantomachia.

³ Pausanias I, 26, 4: Δεῖ δὲ με ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ λόγου πρόσω, πάντα ὁμοίως ἐπεξιόντα τὰ Ἑλληνικά.

⁴ On this statue and its sculptor, see Lechat, *Au Musée de l'Acropole*, pp. 415-441 (= *R. Ét. Gr.*, V, 1892, pp. 385 ff.; VI, 1893, pp. 23 ff.).

Καρσὶν Ἀφροδισιεύσιν· ἀλλὰ τόδε τὸ φρέαρ ἐς συγγραφὴν παρέχεται κυμάτων ἤχον ἐπὶ νότῳ πνεύσαντι) καὶ τριαίνης ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ σχῆμα· ταῦτα δὲ λέγεται Ποσειδῶνι μαρτύρια ἐς τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν τῆς χώρας φανῆναι.

Ἱερὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἢ τε ἄλλη πόλις καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ὁμοίως γῇ (καὶ γὰρ ὅσοις θεοὺς καθέστηκεν ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς δήμοις σέβειν οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ), τὸ δὲ ἀγιώτατον ἐν κοινῷ πολλοῖς πρότερον νομισθὲν ἔτεσιν ἢ συνηλθον ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει, τότε δὲ ὀνομαζομένη πόλει· φήμη δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπέξειμι, εἴτε οὕτως εἴτε ἄλλως ἔχει· λύχρον δὲ τῇ θεῷ χρυσοῦν Καλλίμαχος ἐποίησεν. ἐμπλήσαντες δὲ ἐλαίου τὸν λύχρον τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔτους ἀναμένουσιν ἡμέραν· ἔλαιον δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸν μεταξὺ ἐπαρκεῖ χρόνον τῷ λύχνῳ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ φαίνονται. καὶ οἱ λίνου Καρπασίου θρυαλλὶς ἔνεστιν, ὃ δὴ πυρὶ λίνων μόνον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλώσιμον. φοῖνιξ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λύχνου χαλκοῦς ἀνήκων ἐς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνασπᾷ τὴν ἀτμίδα. ὃ δὲ Καλλίμαχος ὁ τὸν λύχρον ποιήσας, ἀποδέων τῶν πρώτων ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν τέχνην, οὕτω σοφία πάντων ἐστὶν ἄριστος ὥστε καὶ λίθους πρῶτος ἐτρύπησε, καὶ ὄνομα ἔθετο κατατηξίτεχρον ἢ θεμένων ἄλλων κατέστησεν ἐφ' αὐτῷ.

And (for the building is double) there is also sea water within in a well. (Now this is no great marvel; for it occurs also at other inland places, as for example at Aphrodisia in Caria; but this well here is noteworthy for a sound of waves when a south wind has blown.) And there is the form of a trident in the rock; it is said that these appeared as evidence for Poseidon in the dispute about the country.

“While the rest of the city and indeed the whole land is sacred to Athena (for even those who in the demes are wont to worship other gods, none the less hold Athena in honor), still the object which by common consent was held to be the holiest many years before the people came together from the demes [into Athens] is a statue of Athena on the present Acropolis, then called Polis; legend declares that it fell from heaven. I shall not enter on the question whether this is so or not; but Callimachus made a golden lamp for the goddess. They fill the lamp with oil and then wait until the same day of the following year; and that supply of oil suffices during the entire interval for the lamp, although it burns perpetually by day and by night. The wick is of Carpasian flax, which is the only kind of flax that does not catch fire. A bronze palm tree above the lamp, reaching to the ceiling, draws off the fumes. Callimachus, who made the lamp, though falling behind the leaders in art itself, in dexterity is so far the best of all, that he first used the borer on marble, and gave himself the name of “extreme refiner of art,” or when others gave it to him, he appropriated it to himself.

Κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἑρμῆς ξύλου, Κέκροπος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάθημα, ὑπὸ κλάδων μυρσίνης οὐ σύνοπτος.

Ἀναθήματα δὲ ὅποσα ἄξια λόγου, τῶν μὲν ἀρχαίων δίφρος ὀκλαδίας ἐστί, Δαιδάλου ποίημα, λάφυρα δὲ ἀπὸ Μήδων Μασιστίου θώραξ, ὃς εἶχεν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς ἵππου, καὶ ἀκινάκης Μαρδονίου λεγόμενος εἶναι. Μασίστιον μὲν δὴ τελευτήσαντα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἶδα ἱππέων· Μαρδονίου δὲ μαχесσάμενον Λακεδαιμόνιοις ἐναντία καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου πεσόντος οὐδ' αὖν ὑπεδέξαντο ἀρχήν, οὐδὲ ἴσως Ἀθηναίοις παρήκαν φέρεσθαι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν ἀκινάκη.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίας οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν ἄλλο εἰπεῖν ἢ τῇ θεῷ μαρτύριον γενέσθαι τοῦτο ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε, κατακαυθῆναι μὲν τὴν ἐλαίαν, ἥνικα ὁ Μῆδος τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησεν Ἀθηναίοις, κατακαυθεῖσαν δὲ αὐθιμὲρὸν ὅσον τε ἐπὶ δύο βλαστήσαι πῆχεις.

Τῷ ναῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχής ἐστι· καὶ ἐστὶ Πάνδροςος ἐς τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἀναίτιος τῶν ἀδελφῶν μόνη. (I, 26,5–27,2).

That Pausanias in this passage — at any rate in its earlier portion — is referring to the building which we call the Erechtheum cannot be doubted, although the identification rests, as will appear on further examination, rather upon a combination of his statements with other evidence, than upon any precise description given by him of the striking or characteristic features of the temple.¹ In fact the vagueness, already noticed, which leaves undetermined the position of the Erechtheum with reference to other monuments, pervades

“Then there is in the temple of the Polias a wooden Hermes, said to be a dedication of Cecrops, invisible under branches of myrtle. There are other dedications worth notice, — among the antiquities a folding stool, the work of Daedalus, and spoils from the Medes, the corselet of Masistius, who commanded the cavalry at Plataea, and what is said to be the dagger of Mardonius. Now I know that Masistius was killed by the Athenian cavalry; but since Mardonius fought against the Lacedaemonians, and fell by the hand of a Spartan, the Athenians would not have received this dagger originally, nor are the Lacedaemonians likely to have given it to them.

“About the olive tree they have nothing else to say than that it came into being as evidence for the goddess in the contest about the country. They tell this story too, that the olive tree was burned up, when the Medes set fire to Athens, but though burned up, it put forth on the same day a new shoot two cubits long.

“Adjoining the temple of Athena is a temple of Pandrosus; and Pandrosus is the only one of the sisters blameless in the matter of the charge entrusted to them.”

¹ It is significant of this lack of precision that the first identification of the Erechtheum rested upon misinterpretation both of the text of Pausanias and of the remains of the building. The words *διπλοὺν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ οἶκημα* were understood to describe two separate, but adjoining, temples, and these were found in the North Portico — then walled up and resembling a small temple, — and in the main building, or, according to others, in the Porch of the Maidens: see below, pp. 530, 533 f., and the passages quoted in Appendix A, III-IX.

the whole narrative, perhaps under the influence of that need for compression of which Pausanias had so recently become aware. Thus at the very outset the position of the entrance is not stated, and uncertainty on this point naturally renders impossible any conclusive interpretation of the description of the interior.

In seeking to determine the way by which Pausanias probably entered, we may dismiss the door in the west wall, since this communicated solely with the enclosed Pandroseum, which is not mentioned until the end of the description and was surely not the starting point of the visit. Nor does an entrance through the Porch of the Maidens, which was favored by Michaelis,¹ seem very probable. The chief arguments in its support are that, assuming the three altars and the "sea" to have been in the western part of the building, it offers a more convenient access to one coming from the Parthenon than does the North Portico, and secondly, that if Pausanias had entered by the North Portico, he would have noticed at once the so-called "marks of the trident" in the crypt, since they were visible through the opening in the pavement. As regards this last argument it may be remarked that it is by no means certain that the marks in the crypt are those of the trident, and that, even if they are, it is perfectly natural for Pausanias to postpone noticing them until he describes the "sea" with which they were so closely connected by tradition. The first argument would be stronger, if we knew that Pausanias crossed directly from the Pergamene groups to the Erechtheum. If he followed the line of the wall of the Acropolis and approached the building from the east, the Porch of the Maidens was not much nearer than the North Portico. It is also to be kept in mind that the Porch of the Maidens was probably not an entrance for the general public (p. 111), such as an ordinary visitor like Pausanias would use, and such as is suggested by his use of the definite article (*πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου*) in describing it.

There remain as possible entrances the doors in the East and North Porticoes, each of which is plainly the chief entrance to one of the two main divisions of the building. The former would naturally be reached first by any visitor approaching from the east or south-east, and it is not surprising that from the days of Stuart and Chandler it has been frequently assumed to be the entrance used by Pausanias, — a view recently defended at considerable length by Dörpfeld.² The North Door can claim in its favor that as an entrance it was certainly larger and more imposing, and thus more likely to be called *the* entrance *κατ' ἐξοχήν*; but its choice implies a departure from the direct route, a passing of the East Portico, and a return thereto after visiting the western part of the building. General considerations of probability, however, cannot here lead to any definite results. It is necessary first to examine the rest of the description independently of any hypotheses as to its point of departure or its applicability to the existing remains.³

¹ Michaelis, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, pp. 16, 81–84. He admits (p. 84) that it is hard to find room for the ancient altar of Zeus Hypatos, between the Hecatompedon and the Erechtheum east of the Porch of the Maidens.

² Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, p. 48; *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, pp. 32 ff.

³ The question would be settled in favor of the North Portico, if we could be sure that by the *οἶκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον* Pausanias meant only the western part of the building. This part alone is almost certainly called *οἶκημα*

In front of the entrance stood an altar of Zeus Hypatos, on which only cakes were offered, unaccompanied even by libations of wine. From another passage in Pausanias¹ we learn that the surname Hypatos and the ritual with its exclusion of bloody sacrifices were both attributed to Cecrops, and that the cakes were called *πέλαντοι* by the Athenians. This altar does not appear, at least under this name, in any other document relating to the Erechtheum. Near the East Portico stood in the fifth century an altar of Dione, and in the North Portico the altar of the Thyechoüs.² It is hard to believe that an altar devoted to a very ancient cult, associated with Cecrops, could ever have borne the name of Dione, and although, as will appear later, there is no difficulty in identifying the altar of Zeus Hypatos with the altar of the Thyechoüs, there is no compelling reason for doing so, unless Pausanias entered by the North Door. The mention of this altar, therefore, furnishes no sure clue to his choice of an entrance.

Inside the building were three more altars, dedicated to Poseidon-Erechtheus, Butes, and Hephaestus. On the walls were paintings of the family of the Butadae, that is, in all probability, of the succession of hereditary priests of Poseidon-Erechtheus. These paintings would seem to have replaced the work of Ismenias of Chalcis, dedicated by Habron, which can hardly have survived the great fire which led to the Roman repairs. The altars have long since disappeared, but two thrones, for the priests of Butes and Hephaestus, have survived, and were joined together in April, 1918 (Fig. 206).³ They were originally carved from a single block of marble, 1.30 m. (4 At. ft.) long. The bottom is roughly dressed, as if for contact with earth, or perhaps with poros (not marble), and on the right end is anathyrosis (Fig. 206 c) showing that the block was in contact with another on that side. The left end is damaged. The throne of the priest of Butes is said to have been found near the Erechtheum;⁴ that of the priest of Hephaestus has stood for some time on the terrace of the Hecatompedon, but the circumstances of its discovery are

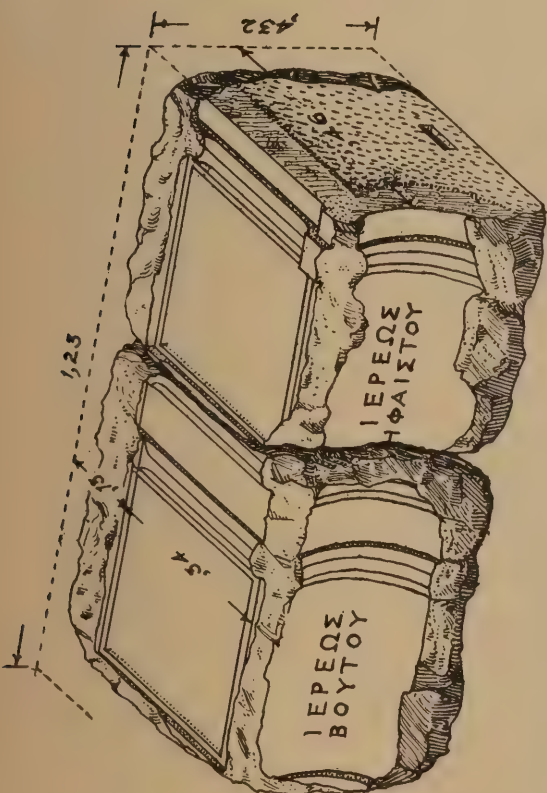
a few lines below, and it is natural to take the word in the same sense in the two neighboring sentences. Yet it would be strange, if Pausanias at the very outset limited his description to one part of the building without any indication that he was not describing the whole.

¹ Pausanias, VIII, 2, 3. The human sacrifices of Lycaon are here contrasted with the gentler rites instituted by Cecrops: *ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δία τε ὠνόμασεν Ὑπατον πρῶτος καὶ ὅποσα ἔχει ψυχὴν τούτων μὲν ἤξιωσεν οὐδὲν θύσαι, πέμματα δὲ ἐπιχώρια ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καθήγγισεν, ἃ πέλανους καλοῦσιν ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι.*

² On the altar of Dione, see Ch. IV, Inscription XVII, col. I, ll. 37, 65; col. II, ll. 49, 64. On the altar in the North Portico, Ch. I, pp. 107-109, Ch. IV, Inscription II, col. I, l. 79, and Commentary, p. 318.

³ *I. G.*, II, 3, 1656 (= III, 302): *ιερέως βοῦτον*. The stone was discovered by Stuart, who considered it part of a sarcophagus (Stuart and Revett, II, pp. 16, 22). It again disappeared, but was rediscovered in 1836; see Ross, *Kunstblatt*, 1836, p. 347 (*Arch. Aufs.*, I, p. 116); Schöll, *Archäologische Mittheilungen aus Griechenland*, p. 120, No. 167; Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique, Inscriptions*, I, pl. VIII, 6. The inscription on the other block, *ιερέως Ἡφαίστου*, seems never to have been published, though the throne has long been in plain view. A similar pair of thrones, inscribed *ἄρχοντος* and *πυρφόρου* (*I. G.*, II, 5, 1656, b, c), lie on the terrace of the Chalcotheca. It is improbable that these four thrones were originally in the theatre of Dionysus, although in dimensions and mouldings they closely resemble those in the orchestra. The inscriptions upon them are surely of the fourth century B.C., while those in the theatre are Roman or, rarely, Hellenistic. Moreover thrones inscribed *ιερέως Ἡφαίστου*, *ἄρχοντος*, and *ιερέως πυρφόρου ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως* (*I. G.*, III, 288, 254, 264) are still in the theatre.

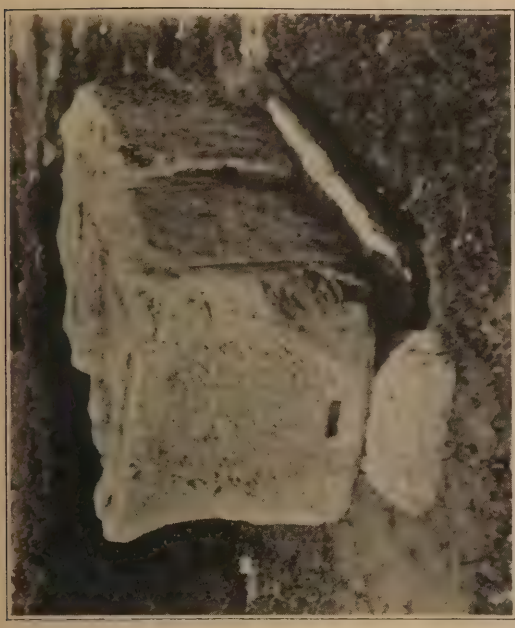
⁴ Stuart (*l. c.*, p. 16) says distinctly "near these ruins," not *in* them. The statement of Dittenberger (*I. G.*, III, 302) that the throne was found "in Erechtheo" is wrong; Koehler (*I. G.*, II, 3, 1656) says correctly "ad Erechtheum."



A



B



C

FIGURE 206. THE THRONES OF THE PRIESTS OF BUTES AND OF HEPHAESTUS. A, ISOMETRIC DRAWING. B, FRONT OF THRONES (APRIL 4, 1918). C, BACK AND RIGHT END OF THRONES (APRIL 4, 1918)

unknown. There is no reason to suppose that these thrones ever stood inside the Erechtheum although they are certainly connected with its cults.

The interpretation of the next sentence in the description involves the discussion of three questions: What is the meaning of the phrase διπλοῦν γάρ ἐστι τὸ οἶκημα? What is the force of ἔνδον? What is the σχῆμα τριαίνης?

If the answer to the first question were to be determined solely from the use of διπλοῦν in similar phrases elsewhere in Pausanias, it would present no great difficulty. In four other passages¹ a building is described as "double," and in each case the context indicates that one of the rooms was behind or beside the other and differentiated in its use or dedication, but apparently on the same level. It must be remembered, however, that these limitations are by no means inherent in the word διπλοῦν, which simply denotes the division into two parts without any indication of the relative position of these parts, and in fact Lysias uses the word to describe a little house with two stories.² It has been argued that any such interpretation here is excluded,³ because of the language of Pausanias in describing the ancient temple of Aphrodite-Morpho at Sparta.⁴ He does not call this a double building, and he distinctly states that it was the only temple known to him with an upper story (ὑπερφῶν). This is, perhaps, a sound objection to some of the earlier reconstructions of the Erechtheum, such as that so vigorously defended by Bötticher, which filled the western half of the building with an upper floor at the level of the column bases on the west wall, as well as with stairways and crypts, but it appears to overlook the fact that a temple with a crypt is not the same as a temple with an upper story.⁵ From the Greek words alone, therefore, no positive conclusion can be drawn beyond the presence of two rooms. Indeed this parenthetical remark about the division of the building would seem to be inserted here chiefly to emphasize the fact that the three altars and the μαρτύρια of Poseidon were in

¹ The four passages are as follows: (1) II, 10, 2; at Sicyon in the sanctuary of Asclepius: Παρελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν περίβολον ἐν ἀριστερῇ διπλοῦν ἐστὶν οἶκημα· κείται δὲ Ὕπνος ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ, καὶ οἱ πλὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔτι λείπεται. τὸ ἐνδοτέρῳ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνέεται Καρνεῖω, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐκ ἐστὶ πλὴν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔσοδος. Here the second room was plainly behind and entered from the first.

(2) II, 25, 1; on the road from Argos to Mantinea: Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ἱερὸν διπλοῦν πεποιήται, καὶ πρὸς ἡλίῳ δύνοντος ἔσοδον καὶ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἑτέραν ἔχον. Here the two cellae are back to back with separate entrances; in the eastern was a ξόανον of Aphrodite, in the western, one of Ares.

(3) VI, 20, 3; at Olympia on the side of Mt. Cronion: Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῷ ἔμπροσθε τοῦ ναοῦ (διπλοῦς γὰρ δὴ πεποιήται) τῆς Εἰλειθυίας βωμός . . . ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐντὸς ὁ Σωσίπολις ἔχει τιμὰς. The arrangement would seem to be that of the building at Sicyon, but Sosipolis was a snake-god, and it would be only natural if his sanctuary was a cave or subterranean chamber in the hillside. The sacred serpent of the Erechtheum, unnoticed by Pausanias, affords a striking parallel (cf. Petersen, *Burgtempel*, pp. 99–100).

(4) VIII, 9, 1: Ἔστι δὲ Μαντινεῦσι ναὸς διπλοῦς μάλιστα· πού κατὰ μέσον τοίχῳ διεργόμενος· τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ τῇ μὲν ἀγαλμά ἐστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τέχνη Ἀλκαμένους, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Λητοῦς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ τῶν παίδων. Here the two temples may have stood side by side or back to back; κατὰ μέσον leaves the direction of the wall uncertain.

² Lysias, I, 9: Οἰκίδιον ἐστὶ μοι διπλοῦν, ἴσα ἔχον τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω.

³ Cf., e.g., Schubert, *Philologus*, XV, 1860, p. 394; Petersen, *Burgtempel*, p. 99.

⁴ III, 15, 10: Προελθοῦσι δὲ οὐ πολὺ λόφος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ναὸς ἀρχαῖος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ξόανον ὠπλισμένης. ναῶν δὲ ὧν οἶδα μόνῃ τούτῳ καὶ ὑπερφῶν ἄλλο ἐπωκοδόμεται Μορφοῦς ἱερὸν.

⁵ Cf. Nilsson, *J. H. S.*, XXI, 1901, p. 333.

separate rooms, and that these rooms were of potentially equal importance, that is, did not stand to one another in the relation of *pronaos*, or vestibule, and *cella*.

Nor is much more light thrown on the problem of the line of division by the presence of *ἔνδον* in the phrase *καὶ ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἐνδον θαλάσσιον ἐν φρέατι*. If we assume that the two rooms were at the same level, the language of Pausanias implies that the second room was entered from the first, but there seems no good reason why these words might not be used with equal right, if the second chamber were below and only accessible, or visible, from the first. No one, of course, doubts that the "sea" itself was subterranean, though it is almost equally certain that it was seen and heard through an opening in the pavement, surrounded by a curb — the *προστόμιον*,¹ — and it is to the situation of this curb that at first sight the words of Pausanias appear to refer.

Whether this view is correct becomes a little less certain when we examine the clause commencing *καὶ τριαίνης ἐστίν*, which follows the parenthetical comment on the peculiarity to which this salt water owed its special reputation. Here the *καὶ* is naturally taken as connecting what follows with the clause ending *ἐν φρέατι*, if the intervening words are parenthetical. Even if they are not, the conjunction brings the *σχῆμα τριαίνης* into close connection with the *φρέαρ*, and contains no indication that the visitor has entered another room. The second room, therefore, is said to contain not only the "sea" *ἐν φρέατι*, but also *ἐν πέτρᾳ* the *σχῆμα τριαίνης*. The *σχῆμα* or "form" of the trident could be either a representation of a trident in the rock² — perhaps the most natural interpretation of the word, — or merely the marks of the prongs, which is the meaning usually given it since the discovery of the holes in the rock beneath the pavement of the North Portico. Whatever the exact meaning of *σχῆμα*, the fact that this mark was "in the rock" shows that either the floor of this room was at this point close to the level of the Acropolis rock — that is, that it was below the level of the pavement in the western part of the building³ — or else that like the "sea" the rock was visible through an opening in the floor. Certainly the language of Pausanias, if taken in its natural meaning, connects very closely the mark of the trident with the "sea," and conveys the impression that both were in the second room shown to the traveller after entering the building, though it leaves entirely open the question whether this room was an inner or a subterranean chamber.

There follows a surprising and apparently unmotivated break in the description. Without any warning Pausanias suddenly recalls the special and universal reverence felt for Athena throughout Attica, and then, recurring to his proper subject, points out that the holiest image of the goddess, which had been generally honored even before the foundation

¹ See above, Ch. IV, Inscription II, col. I, l. 71; Commentary, p. 312.

² Such a representation of the head of a trident has been found by M. P. Nilsson "in the corner between the west transverse wall and the (more recent) north long wall, just in front of the so-called 'postern' in the north wall" (*J.H.S.*, XXI, 1901, p. 326). Later visitors have found it impossible to identify this mark, and it is very doubtful whether it could ever have been easily seen from above in a dim light. Cf. also Michaelis, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, p. 82, note 2.

³ See Ch. I, pp. 158-159, 162-164.

of the city of Athens, was preserved on the Acropolis, although he discreetly declines to endorse the legend of its heavenly origin. For this statue, which is undoubtedly the ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα of the inscription of 409 B.C.,¹ Callimachus² had made a golden lamp, which was kept burning night and day, while above it a bronze palm tree, reaching to the ceiling, served as a chimney to carry away the fumes and smoke. Where were the statue and the lamp? There has been no intimation of a passage to another building or even to another room, and we might easily suppose that we were in the same room with the "sea" and the trident, and that the old statue and the golden lamp stood beside the "tokens" of the defeated Poseidon. Against this view may be urged not only its improbability, but the opening words of the next section: — κείται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος. Here, as so often in Pausanias, δέ introduces a new item in his enumeration,³ but the addition of ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος seems to imply that this was also the place of its predecessor; the Greek is not necessarily, or even probably, equivalent to ἔστι δὲ ὁ ναὸς τῆς Πολιάδος ἐν ᾧ κείται. We may fairly assume, therefore, without doing violence to the language of Pausanias that the old statue and the lamp were also in the ναός of the Polias.

This raises a new difficulty, for this ναός may be the cella of the Polias in the Erechtheum, or a separate temple. Those who, like Dörpfeld, believe in the survival of the Hecatompedon as the ἀρχαῖος νεὸς naturally adopt the second alternative, but nothing in the Greek militates against the former. Here, as elsewhere, the interpretation of the passage depends upon considerations wholly apart from the indications furnished by Pausanias.

The remainder of the description contributes little to our knowledge of the Erechtheum and its surroundings. The sacred olive is mentioned as the "token" of Athena, and there follows an improved version of the miraculous recovery after its burning by the Persians,⁴ but there is no hint of its position with reference to any building. In conclusion we learn that the temple of Pandrosus was contiguous (συνεχής) to the temple of Athena, which is, of course, the temple of the Polias just mentioned. Since we know that the Pandroseum lay just west of the Erechtheum (p. 119), we may fairly see in συνεχής a reference to the relative position of the two shrines rather than an assertion of the actual contact of their walls. The latter interpretation, indeed, is possible only on the double hypothesis that the whole Erechtheum was the temple of Athena, which is probable enough, and that the temple of Pandrosus occupied the position assigned to the Cecropium, which is very unlikely. The adjective seems more appropriate if the Erechtheum is meant by the temple of Athena, since the Pandroseum was certainly in contact with most of the west end of that building and was entered both from the North Portico and from the Prostomiaion (PLATE I). On

¹ See Ch. IV, Inscription II, l. 1; also pp. 298, 433, 456.

² The date of Callimachus cannot be determined by the presence of this lamp in the Erechtheum. Even if it were made just after the Persian Wars, it could perfectly well have been transported to the new temple along with the ancient image.

³ On δέ in Pausanias, see Belger, *Berl. phil. W.*, XII, 1902, col. 100; Lechat, *Au Musée de l'Acropole*, p. 425, who well translates ἔστι δέ by "*Et puis il y a.*"

⁴ Herodotus, VIII, 55; see above, p. 436.

the other hand it was separated from the cella of the Hecatompelon, if this were the temple of Athena, by the Erechtheum and the Cecropium, and could have been *συνεχής* — if at all — only with the terrace wall north of the rear room of that temple. Moreover there is no evidence for a connection between the terrace of the Hecatompelon and the Pandroseum; rather they would seem to have been separated by the marble wall along the stylobate of the pre-Persian peristyle.¹

After this analysis of the description of Pausanias we may now endeavor to follow his route on the known plan of the Erechtheum, and to determine, amid his numerous ambiguities and uncertainties, which interpretation best harmonizes with the conclusions deduced from other evidence. We may begin by considering the consequences of an entrance through the eastern door.² In this case the altar of Zeus Hypatos stood somewhere east of the temple, or, if the words *πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου* are taken in the strictest sense, actually within the East Portico, where, however, it has surely left no trace. The room of the altars and paintings is the East Cella, which with three unbroken walls and the abundant light furnished by the two windows and the door was certainly well adapted for such a display. For the second room in the double building we must either assume a crypt beneath the East Cella or suppose that at this point Pausanias passes into the western part of the building. The former hypothesis falls since it is in contradiction with all that is known of the rock at the eastern end, where it is not only higher than farther west, but contains no especially deep cavities in which water might once have gathered. As to the other supposition, it has been already pointed out (p. 150) that there are no signs of stairs along either side wall, nor is there any reason — except perhaps this passage — to assume the existence of any internal communication between the east and west parts of the building. Pausanias may have passed out of the East Cella after seeing the altars and entered the western rooms through the North Portico, but if he did, his form of expression is condensed to the point of obscurity and even eccentricity. Moreover, on this theory Pausanias leaves the Erechtheum after the mention of the mark of the trident, and passes to the temple of Athena, i. e., the rebuilt Hecatompelon. If it were clearly proved that this temple had ever been restored, such an interpretation of his route, although not free from difficulties, would have much to commend it and might perhaps be considered acceptable.³ We have seen, however, that the other evidence for the survival of the Hecatompelon after 406 B.C. is very far from conclusive, and that, although certainty may not at present be attainable, the balance of probability is decidedly in favor of identifying the temple of Athena with the Erechtheum.

¹ Ch. I, pp. 132 ff. Any opening in this wall would have led to the terrace of the Cecropium, not to the Pandroseum.

² It is unnecessary to cite here the numerous early theories of the division of the temple and the localization of its contents based on the belief in the eastern entrance of Pausanias. The interior was then so encumbered with débris that these reconstructions were largely hypothetical and consequently possess little practical value for the correct interpretation either of Pausanias or of the Erechtheum, although often of decided interest and importance for the history of archaeological criticism.

³ See the full discussion by Dörpfeld, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, pp. 28–39. He interprets the words *διπλοῦν οἶκημα* as referring to the East Cella and the western rooms.

If this be true, the choice of the eastern entrance for the starting point involves serious difficulties, for since the "sea" cannot have been under the East Cella, it seems necessary to believe that Pausanias, after visiting the eastern division of the temple, passed by the North Portico into the Prostomiaion, where he described the "sea" and in connection with it the marks of the trident, and finally came to the cella of Athena in the central chamber, — or chambers, if there were still two after the Roman restoration. This would be a conceivable route, provided there were other grounds for believing that the cella of Athena was in the centre of the building; it is not sufficiently plausible to stand alone.

To sum up: it may fairly be said that, if the Hecatompodon were still standing, it would be possible to suppose that Pausanias began his description of the Erechtheum with the East Cella. If, however, the Hecatompodon had disappeared, this supposition involves such difficulties in route and such discrepancies with the conclusions drawn from the building, that it is necessary to consider whether a better result cannot be obtained if the North Portico be considered the point of entrance.

In that case it seems easy and natural to identify the altar of Zeus Hypatos with the altar of the Thyechoüs of the inscriptions. This identification is greatly strengthened by secondary evidence, which harmonizes perfectly with this supposition, though not perhaps conclusive in itself.¹ In the first place the offerings to Zeus Hypatos were *πέμματα*, which the Athenians called *πέλανοι*. Now the *πέλανος* was a mixture of meal, honey, and oil,² and was, on some occasions at any rate, sufficiently liquid to be poured, so that the officiating priest might properly be described as "the pourer of the offering" (*θυηχός*).³ It is also significant that while neither Zeus Hypatos nor his priest appears in Attic inscriptions, the Thyechoüs was seated in the central division of the theatre on the left of the priest of Dionysus, from whom he was separated only by the priest of Zeus Polieus,⁴ — an appropriate place if he was associated with what was traditionally the oldest cult of Zeus in Athens. If, however, the altar in the North Portico was dedicated to Zeus, and has been correctly placed above, or in close proximity to, the opening in the pavement, certain conclusions as to the nature of the crypt and of the openings above it logically follow. It is hard to believe that the altar of Zeus stood above the token of the power of Poseidon, or that, if the marks of the trident were visible only through the pavement in the portico, and not from the interior beside the sacred "sea," Pausanias would have omitted to notice this fact. There is absolutely no reason for placing these marks in the North Portico except the presence of the decidedly irregular groups of holes in the rock, for the small entrance into the crypt beneath the north wall does not prove a connection with the "sea," even if the

¹ Cf. Petersen, *Burgtempel*, pp. 96, 97, to whom this discussion owes much.

² Cf. Timaeus, *Lexicon vocum Platoniarum*, s.v. *πέλανοι*: *πέμματα ἐκ παιπάλης καὶ ἐλαίου καὶ μέλιτος πεποιημένα πρὸς θυσίαν*. Plato, *Laws*, VI, p. 782 c: *θύματά τε οὐκ ἦν τοῖς θεοῖσι ζῶα, πέλανοι δὲ καὶ μέλιτι καρποὶ δεδεύμενοι, καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα ἀγνὰ θύματα*.

³ Aeschylus, *Choephoroi*, 92: *χέουσα τόνδε πέλανον ἐν τύμβῳ πατρός*.

⁴ *I. G.*, III, 244. There is a word erased above *θυηχόν*.

latter were in the centre of the building, much less if it were in the west room with the foundations of the western cross-wall between it and the little doorway. The most probable purpose of the doorway seems to be to afford access to the crypt from the interior of the building in order to remove the πέλανοι, if these were thrown into the opening above.¹ That the marks in the rock, whether attributed to Zeus or Poseidon, were venerated long before the building of the present Erechtheum hardly admits of doubt, and it is easy to believe that the present arrangement merely replaces an earlier one of the same general character. The age of the crypt, however, furnishes no ground for associating it with Poseidon rather than Zeus, since the institution of the cult of Zeus Hypatos was attributed to Cecrops, as we have seen, and it was in his reign that Athenian tradition placed the contest of the gods for the land.² Moreover, the fact that even in early times the crypt was presumably outside the enclosure within which were the olive and the "sea" (p. 426) speaks strongly against any original connection with the latter. It seems necessary, therefore, to give up the theory that the marks in the rock within the crypt are the σχῆμα τριαίνης of Pausanias, and to see in them the marks — real or traditional — of the fall of a thunderbolt, which would render the spot sacred, an ἡλύσιον or ἐνηλύσιον, and inaccessible (ἄβατον), but yet one to be kept open to the sky by means of the aperture above in the ceiling and the roof (p. 89).³

If we follow Pausanias into the interior of the building, the course of his narrative would at first sight seem to place the three altars and the paintings in the west room, the Prosthomaion and the "sea" with the σχῆμα τριαίνης in the interior. Such a distribution, however, conflicts with the evidence furnished by the slope of the rock and by the building itself (p. 170), nor is it a necessary consequence of the statements of Pausanias. His narrative is by no means always arranged in strict topographical order,⁴ and his fondness for grouping effectively and contrasting similar objects is quite sufficient to account for the mention of the three altars within following immediately on the mention of the altar outside,⁵ even though the former were in the central room or rooms. The reference to the διπλοῦν οἶκημα may then indicate a return to the west room with the προστόμιον, but more probably emphasizes the crypt in which was the "sea" with the mark of the trident in the rock beside

¹ It is perhaps allowable to see in the crypt beneath the North Portico and in its probable extension along the inside of the north wall the reputed dwelling-place of the sacred serpent (οἰκουρὸς ὄφης; cf. J.-M., p. 70, note 8), — if indeed the serpent had any real existence, and was not a mere hypostasis of the chthonic divinity, Erechtheus (Petersen, *Burgtempel*, pp. 61–93). The serpent was offered honey cakes, which must have been very similar to the πέλανοι.

² Apollodorus, III, 178.

³ For this well-known usage and for the citation of ancient authorities, see Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1903, pp. 466–468; Petersen, *Burgtempel*, pp. 61–93; Usener, 'Keraunos,' *Rh. Mus.*, LX, pp. 8–11, 23 (= *Kleine Schriften*, IV, pp. 477–480, 490); Elderkin, *Problems in Periclean Buildings*, pp. 32–36, with a strong statement of the reasons for seeing here the marks of a thunderbolt. The fragmentary inscription from the Acropolis, ἄβατον Διὸς Καταιβάτου (*I. G.*, II, 1659 b), does not seem to be connected with the Erechtheum.

⁴ Robert, *Pausanias als Schriftsteller*, pp. 71 ff., 113–114.

⁵ Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 198; *Masterpieces*, p. 435.

it.¹ This certainly seems the natural place for such a mark, since it was an additional proof of the divine agency which had produced the "sea." Both "sea" and mark have naturally disappeared in the construction of the great cistern.

Having thus described first the most striking objects in the Erechtheum, Pausanias turns to the east room, the cella of Athena, still containing the ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα for which it had been built, and also a number of old and prized dedications. Since the course of his narrative now takes him toward the Propylaea, he naturally notices next, but in a very brief and perfunctory manner, the Pandroseum on the west with its sacred olive and shrine of Pandrosus, and then tells with evident satisfaction the story of the curious mission to the shrine of Aphrodite in the Gardens which was entrusted to the Arrephori on the last night of their year spent on the Acropolis in the service of Athena.

III. THE ERECHTHEUM AS A CHRISTIAN CHURCH

DURING the fifteen centuries which elapsed between the visits of Pausanias and of Spon, the scanty records of the Acropolis contain no explicit mention of the Erechtheum, nor indeed any direct reference thereto, unless one be found in the obscure passage of the Vienna Anonymous discussed below. The history of the changes which transformed the temple of the second century into the Turkish house of the seventeenth is preserved only in the building itself, and must be gleaned from the existing ruins, with the aid of such meagre information in regard to earlier conditions as may be derived from descriptions and drawings made before the later additions had been so largely removed, but also unfortunately before there was sufficient interest in these additions to secure any detailed and accurate record of their appearance.

In fact, before the partial clearing of the Erechtheum, which began in 1837, references to the actual condition of the interior or to its vicissitudes are very rare and very vague.² This silence is due in great part to the natural concentration of attention upon the beauty and novelty of the Greek building and upon the numerous problems which it presented, while the prevailing indifference to Byzantine art and history made it easy to neglect later elements as devoid of significance. Moreover, the interior was then so encumbered with the fallen walls and other débris,³ that any thorough examination was impossible without

¹ The order of narration thus resembles that followed in the account of the Parthenon, where the statue of Iphicrates near the entrance is only mentioned after the description of the Parthenos (I, 24, 7).

² For example, apart from allusions to the Turkish house of Spon's time, later phases in the history of the building are passed over in silence by Le Roy, Stuart, Chandler, Leake, Joseph Woods, Wolfe (in his manuscript notes), Wilkins (*Atheniensiæ*), and H. W. Williams. Inwood is practically alone in referring existing remains to post-Hellenic alterations. He regarded the western cross-wall as an addition (*Ed. min.*, p. 4, text to pl. II) and noted its obviously late door-posts (p. 6, text to pl. XIV) but he does not mention the Christians, and in his larger edition (Bk. XXIV, p. 112) speaks of "the Roman division walls . . . in the interior." Rangabé (*Ath. Mitt.*, VII, 1882, p. 263) considered that the western cross-wall was constructed for a church. On the date of this wall, see Ch. I, pp. 151-156.

³ Stuart and Revett, II, p. 18, "The pavements are so encumbered with large blocks of marble and variety of rubbish, as to render the inside almost impassable, and a more particular disquisition there fruitless." So also Le Roy, *Ruines*, p. 11, mentions "monceaux de marbre qui couvrent le pavé du Temple."

extensive clearing operations, for which the visiting architects had neither time nor money, even if permission could have been obtained from the Turkish governor. It was of course obvious that Christians¹ and Turks had not left the temple untouched, and, even without exact knowledge of the nature and extent of their changes, it was reasonable to suppose that, like the Parthenon and the Theseum, the Erechtheum had been preserved through its transformation into a church.² While this seems to have been the prevalent opinion, it was apparently accepted without argument, and no special proofs were offered in its support, until Tétaz published the results of his careful study of the building after the repairs and excavations of 1837–46.³ The facts there presented were deemed conclusive, and since that time there has been such general agreement on this point,⁴ that the existence of a church has been taken for granted in the previous description, and many of the marks left by its construction have been already mentioned. It remains to justify this assumption by presenting the evidence on which it rests.

The exterior of the building, except at the east end, shows few traces of deliberate alteration, and these, with the exception of the windows,⁵ are of no apparent significance for the church, so that information must be sought from the interior. Here, however, the evidence even to-day is fairly abundant and clear. At the east front the original wall has been destroyed and the foundations removed in the centre, so as to form a niche⁶ from 5.78 m. to 4.37 m. wide and 1.93 m. deep (PLATE II). Practically all traces of later construction in this niche have now disappeared, but in 1848 Tétaz found a bit of curved brick wall at the north side, which indicated plainly that the interior had the form of an

¹ The earliest mention of the work of the Christians seems to be in a letter of Fauvel to Choiseul-Gouffier (App. A, XIV, 5). In February, 1787, Fauvel had reported the discovery of the pavement at a considerable depth, and in the following year (October 12, 1788) he wrote that this pavement was not the original one, but due to the Christians, who had disfigured the building in every way.

² This view is first stated by Prokesh von Osten (II, p. 648) in a letter dated August 25, 1825, "Die jetzt vermauerte Thüre in der Westfronte ist neuer, da auch dieser Tempel in eine Kirche verwandelt gewesen war." In 1835 Pittakis (*L'ancienne Athènes*, p. 396) writes: "Ce temple a servi d'Eglise en 1220." This date would be important, if it rested on any ascertainable contemporary authority; as, however, Pittakis cites no evidence for his statement, its accuracy must remain more than doubtful. Other early references are Von Quast (1839), *Erechtheion*, p. 82, "In eine christliche Kirche verwandelt blieb der Bau wohl im Wesentlichen unverändert" (!); and Rangabé, *R. Arch.*, II, 1845, p. 321, who argues that the vault in the North Portico was built after the Turkish conquest, "car, avant cette époque, le temple d'Erechthée avait servi d'église." In 1838, the Athenian paper *Σωτήρ* published a report of recent discoveries in the Erechtheum and noted that the divisions of the church were now clear. See *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg), 16 Juli, 1838, Beilage, where, however, the obscurity and lack of detail in the report are severely censured.

³ *R. Arch.*, VIII, 1851, pp. 1 ff., 81 ff., pls. 158, 159. See also for the new and old evidence proving the transformation into a church, Raoul-Rochette, *Journal des Savants*, 1850, p. 656; 1851, p. 32.

⁴ Semper, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 165 (originally written in 1852) seems the only doubter. His scepticism was based on the supposed lack of Byzantine ornament and of traces of paintings on the walls. Compare, however, Rangabé, *Ath. Mitt.*, VII, 1882, p. 263, "Dass das Gebäude diese neue Bestimmung (i. e., a church) erhielt, dafür sind untrügliche Beweise die Spuren der Heiligenbilder, die wie im Parthenon, so hier auf den Wänden noch zu sehen sind." All traces of these Christian paintings have now vanished, and the silence of other writers indicates that they were never very distinct.

⁵ On these windows see pp. 513 ff.

⁶ The rectangular character of the niche at present is in great part due to the modern wall across its east end (PLATE IX). In *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 47, it is stated that the stones of the original foundation had been roughly cut into a curve.

apse about 4 m. in diameter (PLATE XXXI).¹ Since the marble pavement of the East Portico has been cut away in an irregular curve (Fig. 30), it seems probable that the exterior above the pavement, where alone it was visible, was also rounded.

From the extremities of the apse two longitudinal walls extend to the foundations of the west cross-wall, into which, however, they are not bonded (PLATE XXXI; Fig. 207). They were built of material taken from the Erechtheum, chiefly poros blocks from the eastern foundations, but fragments of frieze, cornice, and other mouldings were used to fill gaps, while the upper course of the north wall was composed in great part, if not wholly, of architrave blocks. The early drawings,² the Report of the Greek Commission, § 32, and the traces still remaining on the marble sill of the west cross-wall show that three openings in this wall gave access to the three divisions formed by these two longitudinal walls. About 3 m. from the inner face of the eastern foundation another marble sill, slightly raised above the pavement and also bearing clear traces of three openings, crosses the building from north to south (PLATE XXXI; Fig. 207).

Such a division of the interior obviously corresponds exactly with the typical plan of the early Byzantine basilica. From the ancient Prostomiaion, now transformed into the narthex, the usual three doors led into the nave and aisles. At the end of the nave was the iconostasis, a carved fragment of which still remains, with the *ἱερὰ πύλη* in the centre, and beyond, doubtless, the altar and, in the apse, the bishop's throne flanked by the seats for the clergy. At the ends of the aisles doors gave access to the customary Prothesis (north) and Diaconicum (south), and longitudinal walls to the east of the screen separated these rooms from the altar. Further evidence for the sacred character of the building, if it were needed, is found in the Christian cemetery, which occupied the old Pandroseum, and in the graves, which filled the south aisle and even extended into the sanctuary.³

This church, however, has been studied hitherto chiefly to determine the effect which its construction produced on the original building, and with little attention to its own form.⁴ It is true that the evidence is scanty and on many points entirely lacking, yet when all the data are collected, including those furnished by other churches of similar type, it seems possible to reconstruct the probable appearance of the interior.

With this object in view we may now proceed to a more detailed examination of the Christian alterations. At the west end the outer doors already existing furnished ample

¹ *R. Arch.*, VIII, 1851, pl. 158, III; also in D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, p. 202, fig. 92. The original drawing, which differs in some minor details from the engraving, is now in the library of the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, and is reproduced in D'Espouy, *Mon. ant.*, pl. XXXVI, a.

² For example, Inwood, pl. XIV; Penrose, *Ath. Arch.*, pl. XLI, which is based on drawings made by T. Hayter Lewis in 1842; Tétaz, *l. c.*

³ *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 35; Bötticher, *Untersuchungen*, p. 211; Kawerau, *Berl. phil. W.*, VIII, 1888, col. 155 (= *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, XXII, 1888, pp. 2-5).

⁴ Only Michaelis (J.-M., *Acta Arcis*, p. 23, No. 251) has attempted a plan, and he was not familiar with all the evidence. Clearly wrong, for example, are the omission of the small doors and the adjacent rooms at the east end of the aisles and the closing of the great door from the North Portico.



FIGURE 207. INTERIOR OF THE ERECHTHEUM FROM THE EAST, SHOWING THE WALLS OF THE CHURCH
(JANUARY, 1922)

means of access to the narthex. All the thresholds show late cuttings for sockets, the door in the west wall has been slightly enlarged, and the great North Door lined with a lintel and jambs, which are shown by their mouldings to belong to Christian times.¹ We are, therefore, warranted in believing that these doors continued in use for some time, especially as the changes need not have been contemporary with the first transformation. It may, however, be doubted whether the same reasons which have already been urged (p. 111) against the use of the Porch of the Maidens as a main entrance to the temple, are not equally valid in the case of the church. The step could indeed have been lowered by placing a stone in front of it, though on the sides of the Parthenon the more permanent method of cutting the new step in the original high block was preferred, but in any case the reeding on the base moulding would hardly be so well-preserved after several centuries of passing feet. Moreover, the fact that the opening in the podium was not detected by Stuart and Revett or the other early students of the Erechtheum² points to a somewhat neat and careful closing, since it is unlikely that mere rubble filling would have been thought ancient. It is, therefore, quite possible that the podium was walled up and the Porch converted into an adjunct of the church — perhaps the baptistery — accessible only through the narthex.

The changes in the Prostomiaion itself need have amounted to little more than the removal of the puteal or other mark of the "sea" as the bench along the west wall would have been only a convenience in the vestibule of the church. The date of the cistern, which once filled the space below the floor, is, as has been said (p. 169), uncertain, but the vault which covered it rose above the sill of the North Door,³ and cannot have been constructed while this entrance was in use. In its final form, therefore, the cistern is probably later than the church.

To prepare the entrance to the church proper the Roman cross-wall was entirely destroyed above the marble threshold, and in turn modern clearing and restoration have removed most of the Christian construction. All that now remains is shown in Figures 97 and 208. In each aisle wall the western block of the upper course extends across the sill and thus bonds these walls into the new cross-wall. Next to each of these blocks, toward the centre, is a narrow course of poros, and next to this again another poros block, *ca.* 1.30 m. high, placed on end, leaving a space of about 2.76 m. vacant between the uprights. Fortunately we are not obliged to rely for the reconstruction solely on what is now visible. When Inwood visited Athens in 1819 the central space still contained the jambs of the door. His drawings (pl. XIV, 4, 5, 6) represent the greater part of the threshold as covered with earth, which at the sides rose to a considerable height. One jamb, or pilaster, however, was cleared to the bottom. It was placed on a step or sill 7.1 inches high, but its own height

¹ For these alterations, see Ch. I, pp. 59 (West Door); 103, 104 (North Door); 119 (Porch of the Maidens).

² Ch. I, p. 110, and note 7.

³ *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 33, and pl. IV. It was the height of this vault, combined with an unshakable belief in its antiquity, that enabled Forchhammer to maintain as late as 1887 that the great door had been from the beginning walled up. Cf. his letter in *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Munich), 18 Okt., 1887, No. 289, cols. 4257-58.

is not figured.¹ The lower part of the other jamb, which was the higher, was buried, but the visible portion had a height of 4 feet, 10 inches (*ca.* 1.50 m.).² These jambs were formed from old architrave blocks set on end and so carelessly adapted to their new use that they apparently overhung the step beneath on both sides. Twenty years later they had fallen, but seem to have remained where they fell³ until the later clearing. They show two fasciae of unequal height surmounted by an egg moulding, though the latter has been in great part broken away. The lower side has a slightly sunk convex moulding along its length, showing that this side was visible and hence that the blocks originally formed part of the architrave of a colonnade.⁴ One fragment formerly lay on the north aisle wall (Fig. 101) near the middle, the others near the south end of the west cross-wall (Figs. 99, 208). The three fragments now (1925) lie together on the west end of the south aisle wall.

When the Erechtheum was partially cleared about 1837, the openings leading into the aisles were disclosed.⁵ The pilasters, which lined the openings, had disappeared, except the lower part of the southern one in the north doorway, which, as the Report of the Greek Commission, § 32, and Skene's drawing (Fig. 227) show, was still in place. It is apparently the same block that now stands on the threshold against the north wall (Fig. 208). The four bases of the pilasters, however, were undisturbed⁶ and can still be identified (Fig. 209), although three of them have been removed to the Epigraphical Museum, since they were carved from inscribed stelae. The southern base of the southern doorway has on its back (not its bottom) *I.G.*, I, 31, B (I², 45), the amendment of Phantocles to the decree establishing the colony of Brea; the northern on its bottom the longer fragment, 31, A, from this decree. On the bottom of the southern base of the northern doorway is *I.G.*, II, 2, 963.⁷

¹ Inwood speaks of these jambs as placed on a "step" or a "cill" (text to pl. XIV), but this "step" is very nearly two inches lower than the marble sill of the west cross-wall, and about the same height as the bases from the entrances to the isles (Fig. 209), so that it is possible that it too was a base.

² That this is only the visible height seems certain, since the shorter of the two large blocks is 1.75 m. long.

³ See Skene's drawing (Fig. 227), made in 1841, where the long fallen block seems to be one of these jambs.

⁴ The longer of the jambs now measures *ca.* 2.75 m. in length, the shorter, which has been broken in two, *ca.* 1.75 m. The fasciae are respectively 0.11 m. and 0.16 m. high; the soffit with the convex moulding is 0.54 m. wide. East of the Erechtheum are four pieces from a similar architrave with fasciae 0.14 m. and 0.18 m. high and a soffit 0.485 m. wide. These four pieces have a total length of 4.30 m. and seem to have formed originally a single block.

⁵ Traces on the marble sill show that these openings were at some time closed by doors (PLATES II, XXXI), but the fact that the mouldings on the bases continue through the openings suggests that originally curtains may have been employed.

⁶ Tétaz (1848) shows the four on his plan, *R. Arch.*, VIII, 1851, pl. 158. T. Hayter Lewis (1842), as reported in Penrose's plan (*Ath. Arch.*, pl. XLI), omits the northern base in the southern doorway, but this is clearly an oversight, for *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 32, explicitly declares that this base was seen in 1851. Lewis himself, in discussing Fergusson's paper on the Erechtheum (*Sessional Papers, R. I. B. A.*, 1876, p. 153), described the wall as he had seen it thirty-five years before as having "three openings (one in the centre and one on each end), not doorways, for they had the usual bases of antae, showing that they were pilasters without windows or door." It is curious that neither Fergusson, nor the participants in the discussion, nor even Penrose in the second edition of his *Principles of Athenian Architecture* (1888) knew anything about the inscriptions which proved the late date of these bases, although they had been published in 1853. All assumed that these four bases were *in situ* and had belonged to the original Greek structure.

⁷ On the discovery of the Brea inscriptions see Pittakis, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, Nos. 1102, 1103 bis (pp. 640, 641), 1616, p. 687; Rangabé, *Ant. hellén.*, II, Nos. 770h, 785b, pl. XIV; *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 32, and pls. VII, VIII (Greek edition), pp. 51, 53 (German edition). Pittakis claimed to have discovered B in 1833 and A on July 24, 1847, but concealed both



FIGURE 208. WEST END OF THE ERECHTHEUM FROM THE SOUTHEAST, SHOWING REMAINS OF INNER WEST WALL OF THE CHURCH (MARCH, 1913)

The northern base of this doorway now (1925) lies north of the North Portico. It was not inscribed. The bases are rectangular, with an Attic Ionic moulding, two tori separated by a scotia, on three sides and are approximately of the same size, though with no precise agreement in dimensions.¹ In spite of the use of old inscriptions the workmanship is fair, and it seems probable that like the jambs of the central door these bases were transferred from another building.

The remains indicate that the Christian cross-wall was of poros, and if the conjectural restoration of low roofs over the aisles and narthex (PLATE XXXII) is correct, it was probably carried across the full width of the building to the height required by the roof of the narthex; above that point it would naturally be given the width of the nave.

In the interior nothing now remains from entrance to iconostasis except the walls between nave and aisles and a small bit of pavement in the southeast corner of the nave. As we have seen, the pavement of the nave was first discovered by Fauvel in 1787, and its depth below the bases of the eastern columns determined as 8 feet, 6 inches (French).² It seems to have been fully cleared in 1837 and the following years (Fig. 227), and to have remained untouched³ until the investigations of the Greek Commission in 1852, when a trench was dug to the rock and it was found that the pavement consisted of thin slabs of marble set in a bed of mortar, resting on a filling of red earth and mortar (*Report Gr. Comm.*, § 35). At the same time the existing breach in the north aisle wall (Figs. 93, 101) was opened in a search for the foundations of the Greek east cross-wall. The trenches were refilled, but the pavement was not replaced, for in 1862 Bötticher found it preserved only at the eastern end.⁴ He re-excavated the nave to the native rock, leaving merely a bit of pavement in place in the southeast corner (Figs. 210, 215).

The aisles were apparently never paved, but simply filled with earth. The south aisle was excavated by Pittakis in 1837 and found to contain Christian graves (*Report Gr. Comm.*, § 35),⁵ and about the same time, in the north aisle, the passage to the crypt under the

until the investigations of the Greek Commission in 1852. On the third inscription, see Pittakis, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., No. 1400; Rangabé, *op. cit.*, No. 1298.

¹ The dimensions are:	I, 31, B	I, 31, A	II, 963	Uninscribed
Length of bottom	ca. 0.70 m.	ca. 0.68 m.	0.705 m.	0.71 m.
Depth of bottom	0.345	0.31	ca. 0.317	0.35
Length of lower torus on front	0.745	0.725	0.735	0.732
Depth from front of lower torus to smooth back	0.36	0.335	0.33	0.36
Length of upper torus on front	0.66	0.66	0.665	0.67
Length of top bed = length of scotia	0.65	0.63	0.62	0.633

² Page 493, note 1. It is doubtful whether Fauvel's pavement was in the nave or in the sanctuary. He believed the east end of the building contained the Erechtheis, and was planning a search for the well (App. A, XIV, 4), which was later, in his absence, undertaken unsuccessfully by the Turks (*ibid.*, 5). The latter certainly did not dig in the nave, but may well have worked farther east.

³ Rangabé to Thiersch, *Erechtheum*, I, p. 182: "Das Marmorpflaster ist noch ganz erhalten in dem mittleren Theile des grösseren Tempels, fehlt aber ganz auf den beiden Seiten, die tiefer als der Boden ausgegraben sind."

⁴ *Untersuchungen*, p. 193.

⁵ During the excavations of the American School in 1914 a Christian grave was discovered at the eastern end of the south aisle in front of the entrance to the Diaconicum.

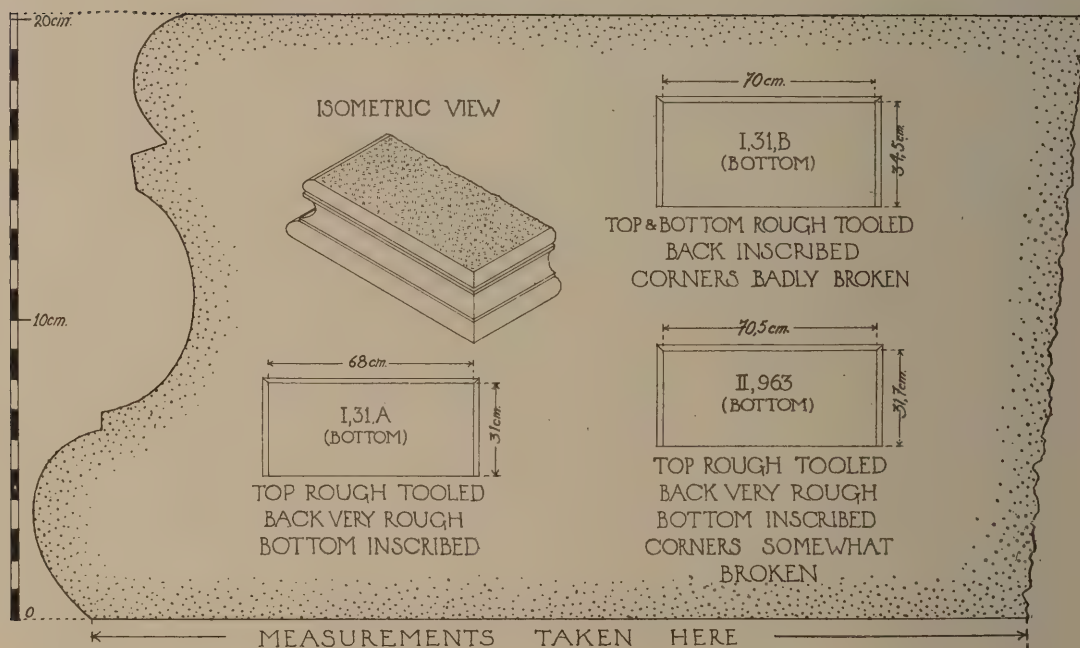


FIGURE 209. BASES FROM THE INNER WEST WALL OF THE CHURCH. ABOVE: THE UNINSCRIBED BASE ON THE ACROPOLIS (1925). BELOW: THE INSCRIBED BASES IN THE EPIGRAPHICAL MUSEUM

North Portico was discovered, though this part of the temple was first thoroughly examined by Tétaz ten years later. Both aisles must have been fully cleared by the Greek Commission, as is implied, though not directly stated, in their *Report*, §§ 44, 45, 46,¹ since in 1862 Bötticher found them free from earth. This combination of a marble pavement in the

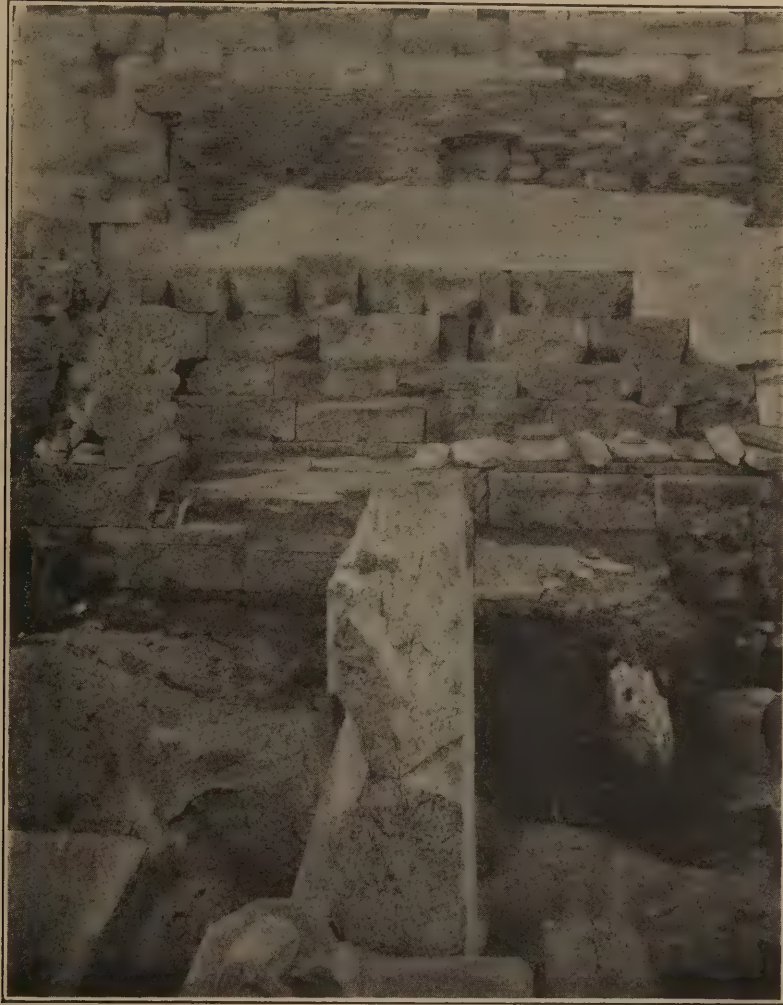


FIGURE 210. SOUTHEAST CORNER OF NAVE AND DIACONICUM, FROM NORTH. (JANUARY 26, 1914)

nave and beaten earth in the aisles occurs also in the Byzantine church at Olympia,² which, as we shall see, furnishes other interesting analogies to conditions in the Erechtheum.

Further light is thrown upon the construction of the interior by certain peculiarities, hitherto neglected, in the aisle walls. The south wall, which is wholly of poros, has ap-

¹ Nothing in the *Report* justifies Thiersch's statement (*Epikrisis*, p. 28 (360), § 4 = *Sendschreiben an Böckh*, p. 7) that these graves were carefully constructed in the aisles at the time the church was built, so as to be ready for future use. No graves seem to have been found in the north aisle.

² *Olympia*, II, p. 95.

parently remained undisturbed during the various explorations of the interior. It rises about 0.40 m. above the pavement of the nave.¹ In the upper surface are eight roughly cut dowel holes with pour channels, grouped in four pairs at somewhat irregular intervals, and between 0.17 and 0.24 m. from the south edge of the wall (PLATES II, XXXI). The north wall, in addition to the breach already mentioned, has lost the greater part of the upper course (Fig. 101),² which is preserved only where the stones of the eastern³ and western cross-walls of the church project into the aisle wall, and at the western end where there is a fragment of marble epistyle with a dowel cutting, like those just mentioned, 0.205 m. from its north edge (PLATES II, XXXI; Fig. 208). The presence of similar dowel cuttings in two other marble epistyle blocks identifies them as also part of the missing course. Further examination shows that three normal epistyle blocks, eight Attic feet (*ca.* 2.62 m.) long, will just fill the existing gap. If the large block, now in the apse (p. 52), is placed at the east end in contact with the fragment from the eastern architrave in the iconostasis, its dowels correspond with the first pair in the southern wall (PLATE XXXI). The next block would have had three dowels, two near the east end and one at the west. If the fragments northwest of the Erechtheum (p. 52) belong to this block, the single dowel in the preserved portion corresponds exactly with the eastern dowel of the third southern pair (PLATE XXXI). The third block with one dowel near each end has not yet been identified, if indeed it still exists.

According to all analogy such interior aisle walls must have supported piers or, more probably, columns. These columns may perhaps be identified. Within the Erechtheum there have been found two types of column which may naturally be associated with the church. One group is represented by a few fragments of variegated marble (*pavonazzetto*) about 0.27 to 0.29 m. in diameter. The other group is of dark green marble (*verde antico*) and contains one complete column and many fragments.⁴ The diameter varies slightly in

¹ The height above the present fragment of paving, none of which is close to the wall, is *ca.* 0.39 m. The mortar bed of the pavement at the wall is 0.42 m. below the top of the wall.

² This course had disappeared before 1848. Cf. Rangabé to Thiersch, *Erechtheum*, I, p. 175: "Von diesen Pfeilern (i.e., the poros blocks east of the iconostasis) an laufen zwei Mauern, 3 Schritte von den resp. Mauern (the exterior walls) entfernt, denselben parallel. Die südliche erhebt sich ein paar Fuss über dem Boden und reicht bis an die Scheidungswand der Querhalle. Es ist schwer zu sagen wie weit die nördliche reichte. Sie liegt meistens tiefer als die Oberfläche des Pflasters, und ist nicht überall sichtbar." Rangabé considered these walls ancient.

³ The block at the intersection of the eastern cross-wall and the north aisle wall is a fragment of an architrave block from the east wall of the Erechtheum (p. 45).

⁴ These green marble columns early attracted the attention of the indefatigable collector Fauvel, who secured at different times one complete column and five fragments for his employer, the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier. Three small fragments formed part of the shipment on the *Arabe*, which was captured by the English and her cargo dispersed (App. A, XIV, 11). The complete column and two large fragments were sold with the rest of Choiseul's collection in 1818, and have since disappeared. According to the sale catalogue by J. J. Dubois, the complete column (No. 463) was 2.94 m. high, and 0.33 m. in diameter; the larger fragment (No. 464), which was broken at the top, measured 2.17 m. and 0.37 m., and the smaller (No. 465), 1.35 m. and 0.36 m.

Only one other visitor to Athens seems to have thought the broken green marble worth collecting. E. D. Clarke in 1801 bought from the Disdar "the broken shaft of a *verd-antique* pillar of uncommon beauty" (App. A, XV). It was presented with many other antiquities to Cambridge University, but apparently was not transferred with the rest of the collection from the University Library to the Fitzwilliam Museum, and cannot now be identified. Accord-

the different specimens, but is generally about 0.36 to 0.38 m. There were certainly more than two of these green columns, and this fact, coupled with their greater size, justifies the belief that they separated the nave and aisles, and that the smaller columns stood on either side of the central door in the iconostasis. There is no reason to suppose that any of these columns was made expressly for the church. Like the bases on the inner west wall, they were probably brought from an older building. At the same time there is no ground for assuming, with some of the early travellers¹ that they originally formed part of the decoration of the Erechtheum itself, although there is, of course, nothing impossible in the use of colored marbles in the reconstructed Roman interior.

Whether these columns stood on bases or rested directly on the wall cannot now be determined with certainty. In 1913 an Ionic base, similar in profile to those which stood on the interior west wall, lay in the north end of the apse. Its rectangular plinth measures about 0.49 m. by 0.48 m.; the circular top (excluding the torus) is 0.377 m. in diameter, so that its size is not against its use with the columns. There are other similar bases scattered over the Acropolis, and also a number of small and late Ionic capitals, but there is no evidence that any one of these was actually found in the Erechtheum,² so that any connection with the church must remain purely conjectural.

At the west end of each aisle the blocks of the cross-wall of the church project into

ing to Kinnard (Stuart and Revett², II, p. 71, note b), its diameter was 1 ft., 6 in. (ca. 0.45 m.). If this is correct, it was considerably larger than the other known fragments.

At least six fragments still remain in Athens. At the west end of the nave in the Erechtheum are three fragments, ca. 1.20 m., 0.95 m., and 0.84 m. long, and ca. 0.38 m. in diameter; one has an astragal at one end, another a congé and fillet. In the south aisle is another fragment, also with an astragal at the upper end (Fig. 215). It is 1.07 m. long, 0.38 m. in diameter at the lower (broken) end, and 0.37 m. across the astragal. In this end is a small broken conical hole, probably cut for the lathe, as it is too small for a dowel. Two more fragments lie outside the west wall of the Belvedere. One, 1.03 m. long and ca. 0.35 m. in diameter, is apparently from the bottom of a column, though it lacks the moulding. It has in its lower end a circular dowel hole, 0.04 m. in diameter, and 0.45–0.48 m. above the base a square cutting, which may have held the horizontal end of a clamp in the form of a half hook, the bent end being fixed in the top of an adjacent slab. About 60° on one side of this hole is a vertical series of six narrow cuttings ca. 0.01 m. wide and 0.035 m. long, at an average distance of 0.15 m. apart; the bottom of the lowest cutting is 0.015 m. above the base of the fragment and the top of the uppermost 0.04 m. from the broken end. It seems probable that these holes served to secure a metal grille. Unfortunately it does not seem possible to fix the position of this column in the church. The second fragment is 0.45 m. long and 0.31 m. in diameter. One end has an astragal moulding and in the centre a circular dowel hole, 0.045 m. in diameter and 0.05 m. deep, with a pour channel. A third fragment of *verde antico* close by, 0.45 m. long, is only 0.19 m. in diameter, so that it evidently did not come from the same series of columns as the other fragments. There is no reason for connecting it with the Erechtheum.

¹ Thus Dodwell, *Tour*, I, p. 350: "The interior of the cella of the Erechtheum was anciently richly ornamented; a column of *verde antico* and some fragments of the elegant frieze which I saw lying amongst the ruins, have since been removed and brought to this country." Inwood, text to pl. II (the restored plan): "The steps down and the colonnade forming the division of the two cells, are entirely imaginary, with the exception of a column of green or Lacedaemonian marble found by Dr. Clarke within the temple, which was considered by Mr. Fauvel to have belonged there." G. Semper, *Vorläufige Bemerkungen über bemalte Architektur und Plastik bei den Alten*, p. 12, note, refers these columns to the original Greek building.

² During his exploration of the interior in 1862 Bötticher discovered two Ionic capitals which he assigned to original Greek interior columns, since they were found below the Christian pavement (*Untersuchungen*, p. 194). If this is correct, they cannot have belonged to the church. As the pavement, however, had by that time disappeared, it is far from certain that all the objects discovered by Bötticher had been concealed beneath its slabs. These capitals do not seem to have been marked in any way and are no longer to be identified.

the interior, forming somewhat deep piers (PLATE XXXI), which were probably faced with marble, since a narrow space, 0.11 m. deep, for such a revetment has been left between the blocks of the piers and the upper course of the aisle walls. In PLATES XXXI and XXXII a pilaster has been restored in front of this revetment, but it is possible that this place was occupied by a column instead of a pilaster, since the revetment covered the entire eastern face of the pier. It is reasonable to suppose that there were shallow pilasters at the eastern end of the aisle walls on either side of the iconostasis (PLATES XXXI, XXXII), but the existing remains do not afford conclusive evidence on this point.

It remains to consider the significance of the dowel cuttings in the upper surface of the aisle walls.¹ At first thought it might seem obvious that these dowels secured the columns or their bases. Such a theory, however, is hardly consistent with the position of the cuttings. On each aisle wall the columns, and consequently their bases — assuming that bases were present — must surely have stood on the axis of the wall, and, if they were dowelled, the dowels also would have been on, or close to this axis. Now the cuttings are not on the axis of the wall, but distinctly nearer to the aisles than to the nave (PLATE XXXI), and, therefore, any connection with either columns or bases becomes extremely doubtful, if not quite impossible.

Another solution may, therefore, be presented, which at least avoids this difficulty. The dowels secured four stone slabs (the presence of the pour channels makes the use of wooden screens less probable), which filled the intercolumniations and formed a barrier between aisles and nave. Such slabs need not have been wide, and consequently on the north wall it was only necessary to cut away the moulding of the architrave blocks to the level of the upper fascia in order to obtain an adequate bed. Nor does the width of the intercolumniations present any difficulty, for both architrave and frieze of the Erechtheum, to say nothing of the many stelae on the Acropolis, furnished an ample supply of blocks quite long enough for this purpose. Thus the low wall and the slabs upon it provided a seat with a back on each side of the nave and at the same time formed a complete barrier between this part of the church and the aisles.

The purpose of such a barrier is not far to seek. In the early church, apart from the separation of the catechumens from those who had been admitted to full membership, the congregation was divided according to sex, age, and official position, and the special groups duly assigned to special places at the services.² The system is clearly defined, though with many differences in detail, in the several documents which, under various names and in diverse languages, have apparently preserved large parts of an order and a liturgy of the

¹ These cuttings have apparently been entirely neglected hitherto. They do not appear on any known plan, nor are they mentioned in any discussion of the Erechtheum. Michaelis in his plan of the church (J.-M., *Acta Arcis*, No. 251) restores four columns on each side of the nave, but without apparent reference to the actual position of the cuttings.

² On the general subject of the division of the congregation, see Crostarosa, *Le basiliche cristiane*, pp. 63 ff.; Holtzinger, *Altchristliche Architektur*, pp. 175–177; V. Schultze, *Archaeologie der christlichen Kunst*, p. 52; F. X. Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, I, p. 295; Lemaire, *L'Origine de la basilique latine*, pp. 80 ff. and 102 ff.

Oriental church originally in use in pre-Constantinian times.¹ It is true that they make no mention of artificial barriers but carefully prescribe the direction and oversight needed for all to find and keep their proper places. By the end of the fourth century, however, a wall separated the women from the men in the Greek church, according to Chrysostom,² and scattered references show that a place for the women, and especially for the consecrated virgins, was fenced or screened from the rest of the congregation in the West.³ The early statements are not very definite as to the position of the places assigned to the two sexes, but both the life of St. Ambrose by Paulinus and the *Liber Pontificalis* imply that the *matroneum* was near the *presbyterium* and the pulpit,⁴ while the testimony of Symphorius Amalarius and Leo Allatius⁵ definitely assigns the men to the south or right side and the women to the north or left.⁶ There is thus in Christian usage ample authority for separating aisles from nave, and although with changing customs the screens and partitions naturally disappeared,⁷ a few widely scattered monuments still show such barriers as seem once to have existed in the Erechtheum.

¹ The *Testamentum Domini*, *Canones Hippolyti*, *Traditio Clementis*, *Didascalia*, *Apostolical Constitutions*, etc., in Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic, Greek, and Latin. A convenient summary of this literature is given in J. Cooper and A. J. Maclean, *The Testament of Our Lord*, pp. 3–14. The most important passage is in *Const. Apost.*, II, 57, 2 ff. (Funk). The parallel passages are translated in M. D. Gibson, *Horae Semiticae*, II, p. 65, Ch. XII (Syriac); T. P. Platt, *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, p. 93, Ch. XII (Ethiopic); Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles*, pp. 194–195 (Ethiopic and Arabic).

² Chrysostom, *Homil. in St. Matth.*, LXXIII (LXXIV), 3 ad fin. (Migne, 58, col. 677): Ἐχρῆν μὲν οὖν ἐνδὸν ἔχειν τὸ τεῖχος τὸ διείργον ὑμᾶς τῶν γυναικῶν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ βούλεσθε, ἀναγκαῖον ἐνόμισαν εἶναι οἱ πατέρες, κἂν ταῖς στανίσιν ὑμᾶς ταῦτα διατειχίσαι· ὡς ἔγωγε ἀκούω τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἦν τὰ τεῖχια.

³ Somewhat later the Greek church set apart the galleries for the women, and this practice still continues in many places.

⁴ Ambrose, *De lapsu virg. consecr.*, VI, 24 (Migne); Paulinus, *Vita S. Ambrosii*, 11 (Migne); *Liber Pontificalis*, Gregory IV (Duchesne, II, p. 80), Paschal I (*ibid.*, II, p. 61), and Symmachus (*ibid.*, I, p. 262).

⁵ Symphorius Amalarius (or Ammularius), *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, III, 2 (Migne): "In conventu ecclesiastico seorsum masculi et seorsum feminae stant, quod accepimus a vetere consuetudine. . . . Masculi stant in australi parte et feminae in boreali." Leo Allatius, *Tractatus de Templis Graecorum*, *Epist.*, I, 21: After discussing the separation of the sexes in the Eastern Church and saying that the women usually were placed in the narthex, he continues: "Ubi narthex nullus fuerit, ecclesia tabulato dividitur; pars, quae ante Bema recta procurrit, viris, obliqua mulieribus conceditur; quam si Gynaeconitum dices, non aberrabis a scopo." See also *Testamentum Domini* (Syriac), I, 19, as translated by Cooper and Maclean, *op. cit.*: "Let that house have two porches, on the right and on the left, for men and for women." The Syriac leaves it uncertain whether this refers to the exterior or the interior; if the latter, as is perhaps more probable, the "porches" are the side aisles and the arrangement of the sexes is the same as is found in the Greek and Latin churches.

⁶ The custom continued long in some parts of the West. According to Rivoira, *Orig. Archit. Lomb.*, I, p. 176: "Lo storico della città di Viterbo, il Pinzi, mi ha assicurato che nel Viterbese la separazione dei sessi nelle chiese, col mezzo di parapetti od anche col rialzo delle navatelle, fu mantenuta fin verso il Rinascimento." In the parish church of Ariano near Lucca, of the early eighth century (*ibid.*, I, p. 117), the left aisle is wider than the right, as if to give more space for the women. It should be added that Holtzinger and Schultze believe that the nave, as well as the aisles, was open to the laity, and that the division between the sexes was down, or across, the centre of the church. Whatever may have been the case in some of the large basilicas, the monuments show that the nave was sometimes separated from the aisles, while there seem to be no remains of either longitudinal or lateral barriers in the nave.

⁷ The barriers were not necessarily fixed partitions of stone. Movable screens of wood or even curtains may well have been employed. Indeed Crostarosa (*op. cit.*, pp. 65, 69–73) and Lemaire (*op. cit.*, pp. 107–108) hold that the latter were commonly used, and that the holes in which the sustaining rods were placed can still be seen in S. Maria Maggiore and other Roman churches.

The low wall beneath the columns is found in the ruined church at Nemea,¹ at Olympia² (early fifth century), at Theotokou in Thessaly³ (before 580 A.D.; probably fifth century), in the ruined basilicas of Zenica and Dabravina in Bosnia⁴ (ca. sixth century), in the early basilica of Santo Stefano on the Via Latina near Rome (Fig. 211),⁵ in the rock-cut church of the Madonna del Parto at Sutri,⁶ and at Zana (Diana) in Algeria.⁷ For the addition of



FIGURE 211. INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF SANTO STEFANO ON THE VIA LATINA, ROME

¹ This church was cleared by the American School at Athens in 1924. The wall between the nave and the aisles is preserved on both sides, and near the east end of the south aisle wall there is a bench facing the nave.

² *Olympia*, II, pp. 93 ff., and fig. 52, pls. VIa, LXVIII, LXIX. The wall on which the columns stood is ca. 0.50–0.60 m. high. Adler dates the church shortly after the earthquake of 426 A.D. In *Röm. Quart.*, IV, 1890, p. 7, Strzygowski maintained that there was also a low screen between the columns, as shown by the oblique cutting of the bases. No remains of such a screen have been found, and as neither bases nor columns were made originally for the church, this inference seems of very doubtful validity.

³ Wace and Droop, 'Excavations at Theotokou, Thessaly,' *B.S.A.*, XIII, 1906–07, pp. 309 ff., pl. X: "The walls between the nave and aisles still stand to a height of about half a metre" (p. 318).

⁴ Ciro Truhelka, *Röm. Quart.*, IX, 1895, pp. 211–222, especially p. 214. There are fragments of carved marble slabs in these churches, but it does not appear that they were placed between the aisles and nave.

⁵ See Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma*, pp. 887–888; Noack, *Die Römische Campagna*, fig. 174; Nesbitt, *Archaeologia*, XL, 1, p. 168. For the discovery of the church and its history, see Fortunati, *Relazione generale degli scavi e scoperte fatte lungo la Via Latina* (1859); Tomasetti, 'La Via Latina nel Medio Evo,' *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, VIII, pp. 42 ff.

⁶ Frothingham, 'An Early Rock-cut Church at Sutri,' *A.J.A.*, first series, V, 1889, pp. 320–330, pl. X. In the basilica of S. Valentino on the Via Flaminia the columns of the interior stood on a special wall, but it is not clear that this wall projected much, if at all, above the level of the pavement (Marucchi, *B. Arch. Com.*, XVI, 1888, pp. 434–435, pls. XIX, XX; *Guida delle Catacombe Romane*, p. 607; *Il Cimitero e la Basilica di S. Valentino*, pp. 118 ff., pl. IV).

⁷ *Mél. Arch. Hist.*, XIV, 1894, p. 542: "A l'intérieur la nef était séparée des bas côtés par deux mauvais murs en pierres de taille, qui ne s'élèvent pas actuellement à plus de 0.50 m. au-dessus du sol primitif. On avait sans doute disposé sur chaque mur une rangée de piliers, car on ne rencontre aucun vestige de colonnade."

a screen between the columns the existing parallels are much less satisfactory,¹ though it is possible to cite a few cases where such a division may be traced. The nave and aisles at Lamiggiga in Algeria were apparently completely separated by a double colonnade with a wall between the columns,² and at Siagu (Bir bou Rekba near Hammamet) Gauckler notes that balustrades inserted between the columns shut off the aisles from the nave,



FIGURE 212. INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF SAN PIETRO AT TOSCANELLA, ITALY

which was reserved for the choir.³ In the church at Sutri the rock between the pillars is so cut as to furnish a low back to the seat in the nave formed by the wall. In San Pietro at Toscanella⁴ (probably of the eighth century) the bases of the columns are for the most part on the level of the pavement, but the intercolumniations are filled by a low wall, which

¹ The Choir or *Schola Cantorum*, extending into the nave and enclosed by marble slabs, such as still exists in the Roman churches of S. Clemente and S. Maria in Cosmedin and may be traced in the remains of many African churches, is not strictly analogous, unless indeed it may be thought probable that in so small a church as the Erechtheum the entire nave was reserved for the choir.

² *Mél. Arch. Hist.*, XIV, 1894, pp. 513 ff.: "La nef centrale était séparée des bas côtés par une double colonnade, dont il reste seulement en place les deux bases . . . et par des murs en moellons, bâtis entre les colonnes." Cf. also on this feature in North African churches, S. Gsell, *Monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, II, pp. 147 ff.

³ *Basiliques chrétiennes de Tunisie*, p. 18: "Deux colonnades la divisent en trois nefs d'inégale grandeur. Celle du centre, très large, est réservée au chœur. Des balustrades, insérées entre les colonnes, l'isolent des bas-côtés."

⁴ Rivoira, *Orig. Archit. Lomb.*, I, pp. 146 ff., especially p. 150: "Tra i sostegni ricorre un piccolo muro di tufo con sedile, che forma la separazione delle navi." See also E. Gentile, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, II, 1889, pp. 361 ff.; Venturi, *Stor. Art. Ital.*, II, p. 123, fig. 98; Jackson, *Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture*, I, p. 216, pl. V.

shuts off the aisles and at the same time provides a bench with a back in the nave (Fig. 212). The church at Miletus, according to Wiegand,¹ had "choir benches" between the columns on the north side of the nave. These last three buildings are perhaps the best analogies to the Erechtheum. If it be said that all these parallels are somewhat far afield, there is in Greece the bench in the church at Nemea, and also a probable example of closed intercolumniations in Athens itself. In 1881, there were uncovered on the slope of Lycabettus (22 Ὀδὸς Τσακάλωφ) the remains of an early church. According to Strzygowski,² who was able to examine the site soon after, the building was of the fifth century, and had the form of a small basilica with an apse. The interior columns stood on high pedestals and the intercolumniations were closed by stone slabs set in slots cut in the sides of these pedestals.³

In view of all these facts the restoration proposed for this part of the interior of the Erechtheum, though it must remain conjectural so long as the slabs are not identified, is in accordance with the indications furnished by the remains and with the testimony as to Christian practice given by literature and the monuments.

At the east end of the nave was the usual screen before the altar. Only the threshold and one of the carved slabs have survived. The threshold, 0.51 m. wide and 0.196 m. thick, is composed of two blocks (Fig. 207). The northern one is 1.233 m. long, and a cutting for a  clamp⁴ on the bottom of the eastern face shows that it was once part of a lining or facing. The southern block is 3.181 m. long. A moulding on the western edge of the top has been cut away, and further evidence of previous use is supplied by a lewis hole⁵ near the centre and two cuttings for  clamps near the ends⁶ of the east face. It thus seems to have formed part of a facing with a moulding at the bottom. In the threshold are two shallow circular depressions, 0.355 m. in diameter, for columns. As has been said, it is probable from the dimensions⁷ that the fragments of *pavonazzetto* found in the Erechtheum are from these columns. Two small shallow holes, 0.97 m. apart, one behind each cutting, obviously held the pivots of the doors of the *ἱερὰ πύλη*.

The slab from the screen (Fig. 213) is 1.655 m. long, 0.975 m. high, and 0.312 m. thick. Experiment showed that it belonged north rather than south of the door, and it was replaced in 1914.⁸ It has suffered somewhat in the course of time. There is a crack across the centre, the front surface of the left upper corner has been broken away and so has the right upper corner, though two large fragments, not yet re-attached, supply a large part of the

¹ 'Sechstes vorläufiges Bericht über die Ausgrabungen zu Milet,' *Abh. Berl. Akad., Phil.-hist. Cl.*, 1908, Suppl. p. 31.

² *Röm. Quart.*, IV, 1890, pp. 3 ff. The remains were discovered in building a private house, and are now concealed.

³ It would seem at first sight more probable that these slabs separated nave and apse, but the dimensions given by Strzygowski, whose accuracy there is no reason to distrust, exclude such a disposition.

⁴ The cutting is 0.096 m. long and 0.455 m. from the south end.

⁵ The lewis hole is 1.51 m. from the north end, 0.15 m. long, 0.038 m. broad, and 0.09 m. deep.

⁶ One is 0.402 m. from the south end, and the other 0.50 m. from the north.

⁷ The fragments are from 0.27 to 0.29 m. in diameter, but allowance should be made for a low moulding at the bottom of each column.

⁸ It was seen in its present position in 1861 by E. Breton (*Athènes décrite et dessinée*, p. 169).

missing portion. The stone was originally an inscribed stele, and the opening letters of many of the lines are preserved near the bottom of the western face; single letters are also faintly visible here and there on the raised portions of the surface.¹

The decoration is simple. Within a rectangular field is inscribed a rhombus, or lozenge, composed of four flat bands in relief, separated by shallow depressions with a heart-shaped leaf at the angles. In the centre of the rhombus are two interlaced squares surrounding a "transenna" pattern. To the right and left of the squares are four intertwined circles,

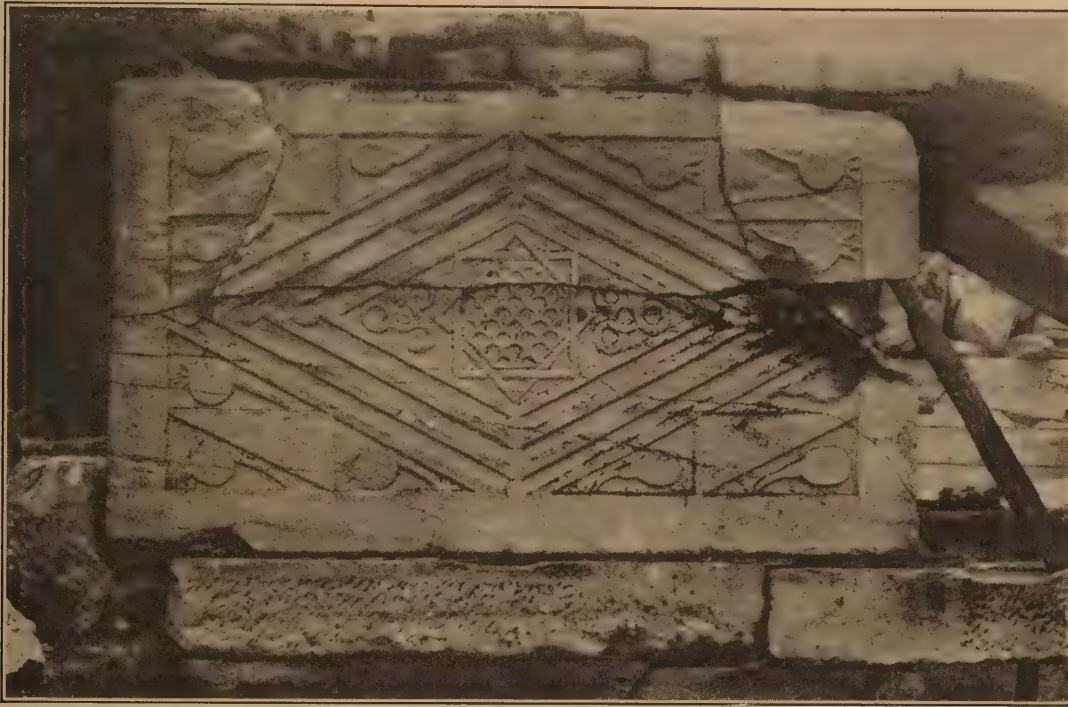


FIGURE 213. CARVED SLAB FROM THE ICONOSTASIS

The broken corners are replaced.

grouped three about one. The triangular spaces outside of the rhombus are divided by inverted triangles in relief into three smaller sunken triangles, in which are carved in relief buds or perhaps pomegranates. The relief throughout is low and perfectly flat, with rectangular edges and no attempt at moulding. Such a decorative scheme, even though rudely executed, is amply sufficient to assign the screen to its place in the long series of similar slabs, which are so widely diffused throughout the Byzantine world.² The general simpli-

¹ Stschoukareff, *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1887, pp. 131 ff.; *I. G.*, II, 5, 946b. The inscription seems to have contained a list of litigants in cases of *diadikasia*.

² On this type of decoration see: Strzygowski, *Εφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1902, cols. 91-92; *Amida*, pp. 172 ff., 338; Brehier, *Nouvelles archives de missions scientifiques et littéraires* III, pp. 59, 81 ff. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, pp. 166 ff.; G. Millet, *Monastère de Daphni*, pp. 12 ff.; also in Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, I, 1, pp. 154-155, including a

city of the design, which avoids the complicated interlacings and elaborate floral ornaments common in the eleventh century and later.¹ would alone suggest a relatively early date, and this view is confirmed by the fact that the various elements, which are here united in one pattern, are found separately in decorations belonging to the time of Justinian or even earlier. Thus, to cite only a few examples, the characteristic rhombus (or square), standing on one corner, either alone or grouped in a concentric series, was employed in the churches of SS. Sergius and Bacchus (early sixth century) and of S. Sophia (537 A.D.) at Constantinople, in S. Apollinare Nuovo (early sixth century), S. Vitale (547 A.D.), and S. Apollinare in Classe (549 A.D.) at Ravenna, and in S. Demetrius (fifth century) at Thessalonica.² These buildings, and others belonging to the same general period, also furnish instances of the use of the "transenna," the interlaced squares, and the inverted triangles, although the latter apparently do not occur elsewhere in relief, but only in marble incrustation.³

discussion of the general development of the decoration of the sculptured slab; Leclercq, *Dict. archéol. chrét., s.v. 'Dalles-Balustrades'*; Laurent, *B.C.H.*, XXIII, 1899, pp. 238-262, especially pp. 245-255. Laurent's argument that blocks sculptured on one side only are from facings, not from screens or parapets, must be used with caution, since the slab in the Erechtheum has a plain back and yet is certainly from the screen between nave and sanctuary. Among the many carved slabs in San Marco, Venice, is a fragment showing considerable resemblance in pattern and technique to the example in the Erechtheum (Ongania, *La Basilica di San Marco*, V, pl. 362, 13).

¹ On this later style of decoration, see Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, pp. 428-430, fig. 206; Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, pp. 169, 170, fig. 97. Slabs of this type are used in the iconostasis of the great church of S. Luke of Stiris shown in Figure 214.

² SS. Sergius and Bacchus; on the soffits of the intercolumniations (Pulgher, *Les églises byzantines de Constantinople*, pls. III, V; Ebersolt et Thier., *Les églises de Constantinople*, pl. XI, figs. 17, 25). S. Sophia; in the galleries, both on the balustrades (Salzenberg, *Altchristliche Baudenkmäler von Konstantinopel*, pl. XVI, 5, outside; Lethaby and Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia*, p. 261, fig. 6, inside; Antoniadès, *Ἐκφρασις τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας*, II, p. 262, figs. 330-332, pl. Z', both sides), and on the lintels above the windows and the panels below them (Antoniades, *op. cit.*, p. 129, fig. 181, panel below; II, p. 269, fig. 342, lintel); in the marble incrustation of the Bema, sometimes with the large triangles in the corners of the rectangle divided, as on our slab, by inverted triangles of a different color (Salzenberg, *op. cit.*, pls. XXI, XXII; Antoniadès, *op. cit.*, II, pl. NA'). S. Apollinare Nuovo; a concentric series on the marble front of the pulpit (Ricci, *Ravenna*, fig. 54; Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, I, 1, p. 152, fig. 90; Dalton, *op. cit.*, fig. 443). S. Vitale; a single rhombus, carved on the panels below the marble incrustation, and inlaid, with the inverted triangles in the corners, above it (Ricci, *op. cit.*, fig. 44). S. Apollinare in Classe; a single rhombus carved on the bases of the columns (de Dartein, *Architecture lombarde*, pl. III; Dehio und von Bezold, *Kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, I, pl. XXXI, 2; Ricci, *op. cit.*, figs. 13, 14). S. Demetrius; before the destructive fire of August 18, 1917, a lozenge with an inscribed circle was visible on the balustrade in the northern intercolumniation of the western gallery (Texier and Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture*, pl. XXI), while slabs and fragments, built into later walls and pavements, prove that before the transformation into a mosque, which naturally led to the removal of the iconostasis and similar screens, this type of decoration occupied a prominent place in the church (Papageorgios, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XVII, 1908, pl. XX).

³ The "transenna" is obviously the transference to relief of a common pattern in the pierced screens, such as are found, for example, in the church at Olympia (*Olympia*, II, p. 94, fig. 52, pls. VIa, LXIX; see also Leclercq, *Dict. archéol. chrét., s.v. 'Cancel'*). It was carved on the balustrade of the central intercolumniation in the western gallery of S. Demetrius at Thessalonica (Texier and Pullan, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI), and appears on a stucco fragment from S. Stefano on the Via Latina (Nesbitt, *Archaeologia*, XL, 1, p. 203, fig. 9), on the bronze doors of the Lateran Baptistery, dedicated by Pope Hilarius (461-468 A.D.), and on a pluteus in Rome (Venturi, *Stor. Art. Ital.* I, p. 458, fig. 415; p. 449, fig. 407). The interlaced squares were inlaid in colored marble in the spandrels of the arches below the side galleries of S. Demetrius at Thessalonica (Texier and Pullan, *op. cit.*, pls. XX, XXVI, 2; Papageorgios, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV, 2), and in the choir of the cathedral of Parenzo (Errard et Gayet, *L'Art byzantin; II, Parenzo*, pl. XI). They are carved below the windows of the southeast gallery of S. Sophia at Constantinople (Antoniades, *op. cit.*, II, p. 327),

The evidence, therefore, shows that the screen of the Erechtheum both in the general design and in the individual details conforms to a type of decoration which was extensively employed in the monuments of the first half of the sixth century. It would be rash, however, to conclude that it is contemporary with these great works. Its carving is plainly very rough; there is no modelling, no rounding of the edges, no deepening of the channels, and the combination of the elements of the pattern is, as has been said, in some respects unusual. All this suggests an unskilled hand imitating better, perhaps imported, models. Strzygowski long ago argued ¹ that the presence of slabs of Proconnesus marble, decorated in this style, in many places near the coast pointed to their manufacture in or near Constantinople and to their import by sea. Such importation is proved for Attica by the slabs at Kaisariani, which suggest the sources from which the stonecutter of the Erechtheum derived his inspiration. The crudity which appears here is of the same kind as that shown by the use of poros in the south and marble in the north aisle wall — a contrast which can be due only to indifference, since there was certainly no lack of marble on the Acropolis, — by the neglect to dress down the fasciae on the architrave blocks in the north wall, and by the disproportion between the jambs and bases in the central opening into the nave, — if indeed these jambs belong to the church and not to a still later alteration. It is hard to associate such methods with the age of Justinian, even in a provincial city like Athens; they belong rather to the deep decline of the late sixth and the seventh centuries.

At the ends of the aisles are the thresholds over which the Prothesis (north) and Diaconicum (south) were entered. Each is formed of a single thin slab of marble ² with nearly identical cuttings (PLATES II, XXXI; Figs. 101, 215). At either end is a narrow slot which is carried back a short distance into the outer walls,³ and close to the outer end of each slot in the south and one slot in the north threshold is a small hole with a pour channel. The north threshold has also two dowel holes in each slot. The natural interpretation of these marks seems to be that panels were set in the slots, while dowels in the outer holes secured stone jambs which supported an architrave (PLATES XXXI, XXXII).⁴ At the north end of the threshold of the Prothesis the slot has been sunk in a larger but shallower depression,

and on a pluteus in the Grotte Vaticane (Venturi, *op. cit.*, I, p. 452, fig. 410), decorate a mosaic pavement in the "Palace of Theodoric" at Ravenna (Rivoira, *Architettura musulmana*, fig. 240), and — to draw an example from a different field — frame, in a rope pattern, the portrait of the Princess Juliana in the Vienna manuscript of Dioscorides (Diehl, *op. cit.*, p. 222, fig. 108). For the *inverted triangles* in S. Sophia and in S. Vitale see the preceding note. The little groups of *circles* do not seem to occur elsewhere in relief, though they appear in a pierced screen in S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna (Diehl, *op. cit.*, p. 180, fig. 87; Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 695, fig. 442).

¹ 'Εφ. Ἀρχ., 1902, col. 92, in his discussion of the carved slabs in the church at Kaisariani.

² In the north aisle the stone is 1.84 m. and in the south 1.70 m. long, the difference being due to the projection of the foundations on the south side.

³ Commencing with the northernmost, and including the cutting of the slots into the north and south walls, these slots measure respectively 0.60 by 0.095 m.; 0.445 by 0.09 m.; 0.43 by 0.08 m.; 0.465 by 0.075 m.

⁴ There is no positive evidence as to the material of the panels, but the width of the slots seems to be more suitable to stone slabs. Wooden panels would probably have been thinner. The openings were apparently closed by curtains, as there are no pivots for doors. It is possible, however, that wooden doors were attached to the stone jambs by hinges.

the shape of which indicates that it was intended for the foot of a rectangular pilaster faced by a half column (PLATE XXXI; Fig. 90). It seems clear that this cutting has no connection with the use of the slab as part of the threshold. These remains, though insufficient for any conclusive reconstruction, suggest that the general appearance of the screen must have been very similar to that which may be seen in the great church of the monastery of



FIGURE 214. ICONOSTASIS IN CHURCH OF ST. LUKE OF STIRIS, PHOCIS

St. Luke of Stiris in Phocis (Fig. 214), or in a ruder form before the grave of St. Nicholas at Myra and in St. Cosmas at Amida.¹

East of the screen present conditions throw little light on the earlier arrangements. On the south the Diaconicum has preserved in great part its pavement of thin gray marble

¹ St. Luke, *Archaeologia*, LV, 2, pl. XXXIV; Schultz and Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris in Phocis*, pp. 31 f., pls. 5, 18, 22-24; St. Nicholas, Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, p. 335, fig. 126; St. Cosmas, Van Berchem and Strzygowski, *Amida*, p. 170, fig. 89. In the Erechtheum the space above the marble slab of the iconostasis may have been filled by a wooden grille (PLATE XXXII), or by paintings.

slabs (PLATES II, XXXI; Fig. 215). Similar slabs covered the threshold and faced the jambs of the opening (1.65 m. wide) which led into the sanctuary (Figs. 210, 215). About 0.15 m. below the marble was a brick pavement, which is now visible toward the east where the marble has been broken away. In the Prothesis the marble pavement and the facing of the jambs of the doorway (also 1.65 m. wide) into the sanctuary have disappeared, but a considerable part of the underlying brick still remains (PLATES II, XXXI; Fig. 90). The sanctuary itself was cleared by the Greek Commission in 1852, when a Christian grave and very solid late substructures were removed.¹ No plan or detailed description of these remains seems to have been prepared, and in view of the recent discovery of early walls beneath the Erechtheum, it may be doubted whether all these remains were as late as the Commission supposed. According to Pittakis, the inscription, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1853, p. 1043, No. 1958 (*I.G.*, III, 59) formed part of "the altar of the church toward the south," — a description which is of little assistance in the reconstruction of this part of the church.²

One other alteration may with some probability be attributed to the existence of the church, — the narrow windows in the side walls. At present there are three in the south wall (PLATES VI, XII, XXXI, XXXII), irregularly spaced in the upper part of the orthostates, and two in the corresponding course (12) of the north wall (PLATES V, XI, XXXI).³ This course as rebuilt in the eastern part of the wall shows no trace of a third window, but as the stones used are not always in their original positions, the absence of such a window cannot be regarded as certain. All the windows are of about the same size, having a height of 0.37 m., an exterior width of 0.08 m., and an interior of 0.44 m., except the western window in the north wall, which is but 0.31 m. wide on the interior, since it is cut at the end of a block and widened only at one side. They are not, however, symmetrically placed, since those in the north wall are about 0.16 m. higher than those in the south, and are also farther west, the western window being 0.74 m. beyond the corresponding window on the south, while in the next pair the distance has grown to 1.20 m. The windows are about 3.60 m. above the pavement of the nave.

The existence of these windows and their approximate position were announced by C. Bötticher⁴ in his discussion of the Report of the Greek Commission, as strong evidence for

¹ *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 35, at end.

² Pittakis, *l.c.* Ἡ ὄρον αὐτὴν τὸ 1853 'Ιουλίου 24 εἰς τὸ 'Ερέχθειον ἐντειχισμένην ἀνάποδα ὑπὸ τὴν πρὸς τὸ νότιον ἁγίαν Τράπεζαν τῆς ἐκεῖ 'Εκκλησίας. A little later the inscription is referred to as found ὑπὸ τὴν ἁγίαν Τράπεζαν τῆς νοτίου πλευρᾶς τοῦ 'Ερεχθείου.

³ In the south wall the western window in the orthostate next to the Porch of the Maidens is filled with marble on the outside and brick within; the eastern window is also hidden on the inside by the modern brick lining. The spacing is as follows: eastern window 3.35 m. from the eastern corner; second window 6.50 m. from the first; third window 4 m. from the second. In 1860 Pittakis told Michaelis that the central window had been replaced by him, but that the eastern and western were in their original positions (*Ath. Mitt.*, II, 1877, p. 20; see also Jahn, *Pausaniae descriptio arcis Athenarum*², pl. VII, A). There is some mistake here, as it does not appear that any orthostate of the south wall has ever been removed or replaced (*Report Gr. Comm.*, § 6). In the north wall the western window is 2.30 m. from the east jamb of the North Door, and the second window is 3.34 m. farther east.

⁴ Bötticher, *Z. Bauwesen*, IX, 1859, cols. 317–321; *Untersuchungen*, pp. 198 f. He communicated his suspicion that there were windows in the side walls to Schaubert in Athens about 1844, who examined the building and con-

his theory of subterranean chambers in the Erechtheum. His study of the building in 1862 only strengthened him in this view, which was at first shared by Michaelis as the result of an independent study in 1860;¹ but the later investigations of Borrmann and Rangabé² have shown that his assumptions lacked foundation and that these windows surely had no



FIGURE 215. DIACONICUM AND SOUTH AISLE, FROM EAST
(JANUARY 26, 1914)

place in the original structure. In fact their irregular and unsymmetrical spacing, their inferior, though not excessively rude, workmanship, and their position, except in one case, in

firmed this surmise, but gave no particulars. The approximate position of the windows was determined by Bötticher from photographs. Two windows in the north wall appear in the elevation of the inside by Joseph Woods in Br. Mus., MSS, *Add.* 22153, fol. 53. All but the western window in the south wall (then filled with brick) are shown in the original drawings of the north and south elevations made by Tétaz in 1848, now in the library of the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris; see also D'Espouy, *Mon. ant.*, pls. XXXVI, *d*, XXXVIII, *h*. They are omitted in the reproductions in *R. Arch.*, VIII, 1851, pl. 158.

¹ Michaelis, *Ath. Mitt.*, II, 1877, p. 20. He abandoned this view after the publication of Borrmann's article.

² Borrmann, *Ath. Mitt.*, VI, 1881, pp. 384 ff.; Rangabé, *ibid.*, VII, 1882, pp. 264-267.

the centre of the blocks, when it would have been far easier to place them at the joints had they been cut before the stones were laid,—all these considerations indicate that they were added to meet some new condition due in all likelihood to a change in the use of the building.

That this new condition was the need for better lighting in the aisles of the church seems a reasonable supposition, though there is no positive evidence for the date of their construction. The shape of the openings, narrow outside and splayed within, is that given in Lombard churches to those windows which were to remain without glass. The earliest examples are apparently those in S. Giorgio di Valpolicella (*ca.* 730 A.D.), and the type had become common by the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹ In the early Christian churches windows seem generally to have been numerous and large.² If, therefore, these windows belong to the church, their form, like the other details already noted, suggests a date as late as the seventh or perhaps even the early eighth century for the transformation.

Any further attempt to reconstruct the church must depend in large measure upon conjecture, since no remains of the upper part have yet been identified. The plan, however, is obviously that of an aisled basilica, and it is reasonable to assume that the rest of the building presented the characteristic features of this familiar type. Moreover, if an approximately correct date has been assigned to the church, it probably resembled the basilicas of the fifth and sixth centuries at Constantinople, Salonica, and Ravenna, rather than those of the Orient; or even those erected in Greece after the ninth century.³ If these premises be accepted, there can be little doubt about the general appearance of the building, whatever the uncertainty as to details. In accordance, therefore, with the examples just cited — and the number might easily be increased — the church in the Erechtheum should be restored with a lofty nave, rising to a considerable height above the aisles, lighted by windows in the clerestory, and covered by a gable roof of wood (PLATE XXXII). It must remain uncertain whether the intercolumniations of the arcade between nave and aisles were spanned by architraves or arches, but the latter are more common,⁴ and have accordingly been drawn in PLATE XXXII. The aisles were presumably lower than the nave and covered with sloping wooden roofs.⁵ In view of the absence of traces on the side walls of

¹ A. K. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, I, pp. 63–64.

² Holtzinger, *Altchristliche Architektur*, pp. 65 ff.

³ On the early Christian basilica see, for example, Holtzinger, *Altchristliche Architektur*, pp. 30 ff. On the later types, as developed in Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece, and elsewhere, see G. Millet, *L'École grecque dans l'architecture byzantine*, pp. 15 ff., 21 ff., 36 ff. Good examples of the earlier type, to which the church in the Erechtheum presumably conformed, are S. John of the Studium at Constantinople (Ebersolt et Thiers, *Les églises de Constantinople*, pp. 4 ff., pls. I, II), S. Demetrius at Salonica (Diehl, Le Tourneau et Saladin, *Les monuments chrétiens de Salonique*, pp. 61 ff., pls. XIII, XX–XXII), and S. Apollinare Nuovo and S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna (Rivoira, *Orig. Archit. Lomb.* I, pp. 39 ff., fig. 62, and pp. 82–85, figs. 130, 132; Ricci, *Ravenna*, figs. 12–14).

⁴ Holtzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁵ Since the side walls of the Erechtheum were standing to the height of the epicanthis, it might at first sight appear more natural to continue the sloping roof of the nave across the aisles to these walls. Such a radical departure from the normal occidental and Hellenic form of basilica, in which the aisles are almost invariably lower than the nave, might be explained by the peculiar position of this church within the ancient temple. This restoration, however, cannot be considered wholly satisfactory, for it leaves the interior dependent for its light upon the somewhat scanty amount admitted by the slots in the side walls and the conjectural windows in the gables of the nave.

cuttings for timbers which clearly belonged to the church,¹ it seems probable that horizontal cross-beams ran from the walls of the nave to the outside walls at intervals of about three or four metres; on these rested longitudinal beams which in turn supported the rafters (PLATE XXXII, above). The analogy of other churches warrants the restoration of a similar low roof over the narthex, and it seems quite possible that the position of the bottom of the southernmost horizontal cross-beam of this roof is indicated by the edge of the slightly raised surface near the bottom of course 8 at the west end of the south wall (PLATE XII);² in that case the little jog in the raised edge and its descent into course 9 farther east may be interpreted as marking the profile of the stone bed, projecting slightly from the west wall of the church, upon which the end of the wooden beam rested. It will be noticed that if the roof were at this height, the rain water could be carried off from the roof through the Roman windows.³

If, however, this church is to be assigned to the period between the late sixth and the early eighth centuries, as the evidence already collected appears to indicate, what was the fate of the Erechtheum during the considerable interval between the overthrow of paganism⁴ and the construction of the church? It is surely improbable that a temple remained so long untouched. A possible answer may be found in a further examination of the interior.

In the north aisle are two irregular masses of concrete (*opus incertum*), one a little east of the opening to the crypt, the other at the entrance to the Prothesis (PLATES II, XXXI). The Report of the Greek Commission, § 44, shows that similar masses were found in 1852 in the north and south aisles on the line of the Greek east cross-wall and removed by the Commission.⁵ There are also traces of a concrete foundation on the rock in the south aisle opposite the western foundation in the north aisle (PLATES II, XXXI), and indications of a similar construction at the entrance to the Diaconicum, where some concrete is still in place under the threshold, though there is no clear evidence as to its original extent.⁶

The natural explanation of these foundations is that they served to support piers or col-

¹ There seem to be no cuttings for beams in blocks known to belong to the south wall, and those in course 8 of the north wall (PLATE XI) are almost certainly connected with the Turkish house (p. 524). As the system of roofing proposed in the text requires only four or five cross-beams over each aisle, it is hardly surprising, considering the condition of the blocks from the side walls, that cuttings for these beams are no longer traceable.

² For another possible explanation of this raised surface, see Ch. I, p. 175.

³ If the great cistern at the west end of the Erechtheum is Byzantine or Frankish, the water from the roof of the church would naturally have been collected in it. The very meagre evidence, however, suggests that the cistern was constructed for the Turkish house; see p. 523.

⁴ Cf. Strzygowski, *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, pp. 271-296; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1902, cols. 89-91. He would date the transformation of the Parthenon near the middle of the fifth century.

⁵ Tétaz plainly marks the foundation in the south wall on his plan, and also on the section as published in *R. Arch.*, VIII, 1851, pl. 158, though it is lacking in the original drawing. The corresponding portion of the north aisle was then unexcavated, but his plan shows the west edge of the concrete emerging from the earth. A fragment of this northern concrete, closely resembling a poros block, still remains just east of the foundation of the eastern cross-wall (PLATES II, XXXI).

⁶ It should be noted that here the native rock rises to almost the same height as the top of the concrete in the north aisle, so that the artificial foundation may well have been less extensive as well as less thick.

umns in contact with, or in close juxtaposition to, the side walls. Such piers obviously are no part of the Greek temple nor can they be connected with the Roman repairs, unless these involved a fundamental alteration of the whole interior, for which there is no other evidence in any part of the building. Yet they antedate the church, for the threshold of the Prothesis, which is laid upon the concrete, leaves on either side a projection scarcely wide enough to serve as a support, even if a pilaster were at all probable in such close proximity to the narrow entrance. Moreover, pilasters or columns, if shallow, would not have required such solid foundations, while if they had had much depth, they would have seriously blocked the aisles. In view of these conditions the conclusion is warranted that the six foundations are connected with a period in the history of the Erechtheum intermediate between the temple and the later church, when the building, east of the old Prostomiaion, was transformed into an oblong hall with three pairs of columns or pilasters projecting from the side walls, and thus forming a series of niches or shallow recesses. It is also clear that these alterations imply the previous removal of the east cross-wall and the levelling of the interior, changes which naturally involved the loss of the ceiling and roof. Whether the east wall of the temple was also removed at this time cannot be determined with certainty. On the one hand, if the new hall were a church — and such extensive reconstruction of a temple for other than a religious purpose is very unlikely — we should expect an apse at the east end and consequent destruction of the wall and its foundations; on the other hand, the aisle walls of the later church are composed of the poros blocks from these foundations (p. 8) which, therefore, escaped demolition by the earlier builders. As, however, only part of the missing foundations are thus employed, the later apse may well have been an enlargement of an earlier one.¹

The simple hall without aisles is a form of church somewhat widely used in the East and in the lands bordering on the eastern and southern Mediterranean, especially for small chapels, although the aisled basilica was naturally preferred for large buildings.² Nor is the appearance of piers or columns close to the side walls rare. In Syria the earlier churches, often of considerable size, frequently have an undivided nave, spanned by transverse arches which spring from such piers as those predicated for the Erechtheum, and support flat or gable roofs of stone.³ Piers are also found in Asia Minor, but in these churches the arches

¹ It may be noted that of the three surviving fragments of the architrave from the east wall the two used in the later church were those originally near the ends (p. 45; Fig. 11), while the fragment from near the centre, which would have been removed in constructing an earlier and smaller apse, shows no sign of re-use in the church.

² Cf. H. Leclercq in *Dict. archéol. chrét., s.v.*, 'Basilique.'

³ For Syrian churches of this type, see H. C. Butler, *Princeton University Expedition to Syria, 1904-05*, Div. II, sec. A (Southern Syria), p. 92, il-Umtā-'fyeh, chapel, 6.70 m. wide; p. 114, Ṣabbāh, chapel, 6.20 m. wide; p. 128, figs. 103, 104, Khāzimeh, south church, 6.80 m. wide; p. 138, fig. 117, Umm Kīl-utṭēn, ruined church, 8.50 m. wide; pp. 171 ff., especially 173, figs. 147, 150-154, Umm-idj-Djīmāl, several churches including those of Julianos, 345 A.D. (the earliest church dated by an inscription) and of Masechos, both 8.35 m. wide. The same system of supports for roofs or ceilings is found in houses, tombs, and naves of aisled churches; cf. Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture*, I, p. 532, fig. 17; Benoit, *L'Architecture; l'Antiquité*, p. 485, fig. 324, III; Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts (American Expedition in Syria, 1899-1900, Part II)*, pp. 25-26, 112-113, fig. 43; M. de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*, pls. 69, 84.

are not transverse, but longitudinal, and strengthen the walls sufficiently to sustain the thrust of the barrel vault with which the nave is covered.¹ In upper Mesopotamia and Armenia the churches with an undivided nave seem to have been roofed by a barrel vault, which is sometimes strengthened by transverse arches, springing from pilasters projecting from the side walls;² more commonly, however, the pilasters support longitudinal arches, forming shallow arcades, as in Asia Minor.³ In some of the chapels of North Africa similar projections, which from the remains may be inferred to have commonly supported columns or half columns, appear in plan, but the complete loss of all traces of the superstructure leaves their precise function uncertain.⁴ In the Erechtheum also it may be assumed that the pilasters or columns were connected in some way with the problem of the roofing, and the suggestion may be ventured that they supported transverse arches as in Syria, or possibly longitudinal arches which were needed to enable the walls to bear a vaulting such as the thicker walls of the "Theseum" carried without need of additional buttressing.⁵ The experiment, however, does not seem to have been wholly successful, for it is hard to attribute the later alterations to any other cause than the need of replacing the earlier structure.

That the church was dedicated to the Virgin may be inferred with considerable probability from certain graffiti on the wall of the North Portico. In 1859 Pittakis published the following invocation, which he said was inscribed to the east of the North Door, where, however, it cannot now be found: Θεοδόχε Δέσποινα πιστῶν τὸ κέρας σῶζε καὶ φύλαττε τὸν σὸν ἐκ[έτην] Δ[ι]ονύσι[ον] Ἰωάννην ταπεινὸν καὶ ψάλτην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἀθηνῶν. Ἀμήν.⁶ This evidence, which was hardly conclusive so long as it stood alone, has been confirmed by

¹ On these churches in Asia Minor, see Ramsey and Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches*, pp. 176 ff., No. 36, figs. 130, 140-142; p. 299; pp. 324 ff., where this type is discussed at some length.

² Cf., e.g., Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, I, p. 141, the little church at Eghiward with a single transverse arch; p. 142, church at Schirwanschuk, divided by three pilasters for transverse arches under the barrel vault into bays 3.60 m. long by 5.40 wide.

³ Cf. Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139, church at Ani; Miss G. L. Bell, 'Churches and Monasteries of the Tur Abdin' in Van Berchem und Strzygowski, *Amida*, pp. 243 ff., where four churches with single vaulted and arcaded naves are described, — Mar Azaziel at Kefr Zeh, Mar Kyriakos at Amas, Mar Sovo at Khakh, and Mar Philoxenos at Midyat; Millet, *L'École grecque dans l'architecture byzantine*, pp. 46 ff.

⁴ S. Gsell, *Monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, pp. 151 ff. on churches with a single nave. *Mél. Arch. Hist.*, XIII, 1893, pp. 529, 534; XIV, 1894, pp. 34, 567, 594 f. The chapels with an undivided nave in Constantinople (A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, pp. 10, 211, 264, 284, 336) and in southern France (e.g., Dehio und von Bezold, *op. cit.*, pls. 93 ff., text I, pp. 323 ff.), in spite of their similarity in plan, are apparently not earlier than the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and are therefore too late to be of value in this connection. The early churches without aisles in Rome, such as S. Balbina and S. Andrea in Catabarbara, have no projections from the side walls, which are strong enough to support the vaulting without buttressing. The Cretan churches, or more properly little chapels, of this character (Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti nell' Isola di Creta*, II, pp. 178, 196, 198; figs. 22, 137, 138, 142, 143, 155, 272, etc.) are both too small and of too uncertain date to be used in the reconstruction of the Erechtheum, but their presence in considerable numbers in the island is not without significance for the geographical distribution of this type.

⁵ Sauer, *Das Theseion*, p. 2. The walls of the Theseum are about 0.76 m. thick; those of the Erechtheum 0.65 m.; but even in the Theseum the vaulting has pushed the walls a little out of the perpendicular, and thus affected the columns and entablature on the sides (Penrose, *Ath. Arch.*, p. 72, note 3). Flat longitudinal architraves seem less probable than arches, since the axial distance of the piers can hardly have been less than 3.5 m.

⁶ *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1859, pp. 1809-10, No. 3647. Cf. A. Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*, No. 37, pp. 40 ff.; L. Petit de Julleville, 'Recherches sur l'emplacement et le vocable des églises chrétiennes en Grèce,' *Archives de missions scientifiques et littéraires*, Sér. II, Vol. V, 1868, pp. 477 f.

two more graffiti discovered in 1924. Both are rudely scratched on the first block west of the east anta of the portico, in the course above the orthostates.¹ One inscription contains only two words, $\overline{\mu\eta\rho}\ \overline{\theta\upsilon}$ (Μητῆρ Θεοῦ); the other is longer, but is badly written and almost illegible. It seems to read as follows: $\theta\epsilon\omega\tau\ \kappa\ \delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\eta\nu\alpha\ |\ \beta\omicron\eta\theta\eta\ \tau\omega\ \sigma\omicron\ \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\ \theta\epsilon\omega\sigma\sigma\ .\ .\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\mu\eta\nu$, — that is, *Θεοτόκε καὶ Δέσποινα βοήθει τοῦ σοῦ δούλου Θεοσσω . . του (?)*. Ἀμήν.

Additional testimony for this dedication would be furnished by the fragmentary mediæval Latin inscription published by Émile Burnouf in 1877,² if we could be sure that its discoverer had rightly determined its provenience. Unfortunately the stone seems to have disappeared, and while Burnouf's good faith is, of course, absolutely beyond doubt, there is no way of supplementing his very brief and somewhat indefinite statement, or of discovering the reasons which led him to feel sure that the fragment was originally in the Erechtheum and that it referred to the titular of the church.³

There is no evidence as to the condition of the Erechtheum during the Latin domination, apart from the very dubious reference in the fragmentary inscription just quoted. If, however, as Buchon believed,⁴ the palace of the Dukes really extended along the north side of

¹ The first inscription is about 0.335 m. above the bottom of the block and 0.02 m. from its east edge. The second is about 0.285 m. above the bottom and overlaps the east edge, $\theta\epsilon$ in line 1 and $\beta\omicron$ in line 2 being on the block of the anta. Both inscriptions are almost invisible except when the wall is lighted by the direct rays of the sun. Two other graffiti, which have been found on this wall, throw no light on the title of the church. The first was published in 1874 by the Russian Archimandrite Antoninus (*O drevnikh' khristianskikh' Nadpisiakh' v' Afinakh'*, p. 38, No. 1; pl. 14), and reprinted by N. Beës (*Röm. Quart.*, XXVI, 1912, p. 69) in the following form: $\text{Κύριε βοήθει τοῦ δούλου σοῦ Εὐτυχιανοῦ | δομestικον. Ἀμήν}$. The second, hitherto unpublished, was found in 1923 on the upper part of the first orthostate east of the North Door, and reads as follows: $\nu\pi\epsilon\rho\ \eta\gamma\eta\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\epsilon\ |\ \epsilon\ \sigma\omicron\tau\eta\rho\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\epsilon\ \alpha\phi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\ |\ \omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\eta\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ |\ \theta\upsilon\ \alpha\theta\alpha\nu\omicron\ \kappa\lambda.$, — that is, *Ἵπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀθανασίου (?) κληρικοῦ (?)*. There are also faint traces of other graffiti in the second course above the orthostates, but they have thus far defied decipherment.

² Burnouf, *La Ville et l'Acropole d'Athènes* (1877), p. 124, "J'ai ramassé au pied de l'Acropole un fragment d'inscription portant les mots . . . *is ac matris*, c'est à dire *virginis ac matris*; le reste se trouve sur l'Acropole et provient de l'église de l'Erechthéum. C'est donc celui-ci qui était l'église de la Mère de Dieu." Burnouf's further argument that the presence of the Latin inscription shows that the chapel was built, or at any rate thoroughly restored, by the Dukes of Athens, obviously rests on very slender foundations, if the inscription contained only the three words cited.

³ Before the discovery of the invocation to the Virgin, Pittakis referred to the church as *ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Χριστοῦ* ('Εφ. Ἀρχ., Nos. 1102, 1400), and *τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ* (*ibid.*, No. 1204), which may mean that he thought it dedicated to the Saviour, or may be merely his way of saying that it was a Christian church. Struck (*Athen und Attika*, p. 140) says it was first dedicated to the Virgin and later probably to the Trinity (S. Trinitatis, wie aus einer einzigen Nachricht sich schliessen lässt). This seems to be a reference to the inscription, 'Εφ. Ἀρχ., 1859, p. 1901, No. 3712, containing the epitaph, dated in 1064, of *Μαρίνη, ἡγουμένη τῆς Μονῆς τῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδας*. The stone was found, according to Pittakis, north of the Parthenon among walls which he connected with the convent and its chapel. There is, however, nothing to show that the Erechtheum was included in the convent or even that the latter was on the Acropolis. If Neroutsos (*Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ ἐθνολογίας*, III, p. 93) is right in saying that before 1846 the stone was in a wall of the monastery attached to the present Russian church, all reason for connecting it with the Erechtheum vanishes.

⁴ Buchon, *La Grèce continentale*, pp. 128–129. Though this theory was adopted by Bohn (*Propylæen*, p. 7), and also inferentially by Pittakis, who in 1860 published many inscriptions as found between the Propylæa and the Erechtheum in the ruins of the palace of the Dukes of Athens (e.g., 'Εφ. Ἀρχ., Nos. 3715, 3722, 3723, 3728, etc.), no plan or description of the remains on which this identification rested was ever published or apparently even prepared, and Buchon's further belief that the subterranean chambers of the Erechtheum contained traces of the dungeon of the castle, suffices to show that on the Acropolis, as elsewhere, his enthusiasm for that Frankish period, which he did so much to elucidate, sometimes led him beyond the limits of discretion in the interpretation of the evidence. His incautious statement on this point has been followed without hesitation by Philadelphus, *Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, I, p. 172.

the Acropolis from the Propylaea to the Erechtheum, it is easy to understand why the latter — whether still a chapel¹ or already secularized,² — being inaccessible to the public as one of the palace dependencies, and very probably then, as later, surrounded by other buildings, escaped the notice of visitors to the Acropolis, including even that zealous archaeologist and keen observer, Ciriaco of Ancona.³

There remains for examination a passage in the Vienna Anonymous in which some critics have found a mention of the Erechtheum. After describing the lower city, the writer comes to the Acropolis, and continues as follows: 10. Εἰς γοῦν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἡμῶν εἰσερχομένων εὐρίσκομεν ἓνα μικρὸν διδασκαλεῖον ὅπερ ὑπῆρχε τῶν μουσικῶν· ὅπερ Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος συνεστήσατο. κατέναντι δὲ τούτου ἔστι παλάτιον μέγιστον· καὶ ὑποκάτωθεν τούτου⁴ ἴστανται πλείστοι [κίονες], λευκῶν δὲ μαρμάρων πλουτεῖ σὺν τῇ ὀροφῇ καὶ τοῖς τείχεσι. πρὸς δὲ τὸ βόρειον κλείτος ὑπῆρχε πᾶσα καγγελαρία ἐκ μαρμαρίου καὶ κίωνων πεποιημένη λευκῶν. κατὰ νότον δὲ ταύτης ὑπῆρχεν ἡ στοὰ ἐν ποικίλῃ ὠραιότητι, περικεχρυσωμένη γύροθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν καὶ λίθοις τιμίους κεκοσμημένη· διὰ ταύτην καὶ Στοικοὶ φιλόσοφοι ἐλέγοντο οἱ ἐν ταύτῃ μαθητευθέντες. ἀντικρὺς δὲ ταύτης τὸ τῶν Ἐπικουρείων ἡκμαζε διδασκαλεῖον.⁵

There is general agreement as to the first three monuments. The little "School of the Musicians" is identified with the temple of Athena Nike; the "Palace" is certainly the central part of the Propylaea, which was the residence of the Florentine Dukes and after them of the Turkish commandants; and the καγγελαρία⁶ cannot be placed elsewhere than in the north wing. When we turn to the "Stoa" and the "School of the Epicureans," the divergence begins. Ross and Laborde place the Stoics in the Erechtheum with its rich

¹ The palace chapel appears in an Aragonese document of 1380 as "la capella de sant berthomeu del palau del Castell de Cetines," and in 1391 in the treaty between Nerio Acciaiuoli and Amadeus VII of Savoy simply as "capella palatii"; see Rubio y Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia*, p. 254, No. XXXVI; Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, II, pp. 194, 241-242; Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 315, 344. Gregorovius, p. 313, identifies this chapel with the north wing of the Propylaea, but the central column and the vaulting, removed only in 1837, are in themselves no evidence of religious use — in fact a central column is, to say the least, rather unusual in a church, — and it seems more natural to find its site within the Acropolis in the church, the remains of which were until recently visible in the angle between the north wing and the main hall of the Propylaea (Beulé, I, pl. II; Bohn, *Propylaeen*, p. 31; Pittakis, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1853, p. 939), or, less probably, in the Erechtheum itself.

² The statement of Pittakis (*L'ancienne Athènes*, p. 396) that the Erechtheum was a church in 1220 rests on no ascertainable authority.

³ Breton's remark (*Athènes décrite et dessinée*, p. 147) that Ciriaco saw the inscription of the temple of Rome and Augustus (*I. G.*, III, 63) in the Erechtheum, is due to misunderstanding "*ad praefatae Palladis templi vestibulum*," which, of course, refers to the Parthenon.

⁴ The words ἔστι παλάτιον . . . τούτου are repeated in the manuscript over an erasure.

⁵ Manuscript in Vienna, *Cod. theolog. Gr.*, 252, fol. 29-32. Facsimile and text, Laborde, *Athènes*, I, pp. 16 ff. Text, Ross, *Arch. Aufs.*, I, pp. 251 ff.; Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 738-39; J.-M., *Acta Arcis*, pp. 30-31. The text here printed is that of Michaelis. This description is usually assigned to a time shortly after the fall of the Acciaiuoli (1458), but before the transformation of the Parthenon into a mosque. Kamporoglu (*Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηναίων, Τουρκοκρατία*, I, pp. 156-157, II, pp. 27 ff.) has argued for a date as early as 800 A.D., and Philadelphus (*Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, II, pp. 384-391) for one in the eleventh or twelfth century. Both writers consider the "Dukes" as legendary pagan rulers, but their arguments are not conclusive, and although little enough is known of Athens during those centuries, nothing suggests sufficient interest in the remains of the past to give rise to the compilation of such a guide.

⁶ The word is usually regarded as the Latin *cancellaria* and interpreted as referring to the Ducal chancery. Lambros (translation of Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, II, p. 359, note 2) connects it with κάγκελλος, Mod. Gr. καγκελλάρα, and considers that it describes the colonnade in front of the Pinacotheca.

ornamentation and colored inlay in the capitals of the North Portico, and the Epicureans in the temple of Rome and Augustus, or preferably in the precinct of Artemis Brauronia; Wachsmuth on the other hand regards the east portico of the Propylaea as the "Stoa," and the Erechtheum as the School of the Epicureans; while Bohn, who attributes the mediaeval tower to the Turks, sees in the undamaged south wing of the Propylaea and the sanctuary of Artemis the sites of the two schools.¹

The identification of the "Stoa" with the Erechtheum is hard to accept. The former is said to be *south* of the Pinacotheca; the latter is *northeast*. Ross indeed sought to remove this difficulty by reading *κατὰ νῶτον*, an easy emendation, but open to the objection of Laborde and Wachsmuth that such an expression is not in accord with the style of the writer,² and also to the criticism that emendation to introduce a building unnoticed by contemporaries, though now conspicuous, is not quite consistent with sound method. Nor is Laborde's assumption of a simple blunder much better, for, so far as can be judged, the topographer is remarkably accurate in giving the relative position of the monuments, and it is almost incredible that he should be guilty of such a confusion of the points of the compass.

As it stands the Greek certainly suggests that the author had in mind the south wing of the Propylaea as the former seat of the Stoics. The absence of gilding and precious marbles in this building need not trouble us, for these adornments are quite as likely to owe their presence in the text to the epithet *ποικίλη* as to any existing remains. The real difficulty is that at that time the original colonnade had given place to the great tower, which must surely antedate the use of artillery and consequently the Turkish conquest. This is certainly an obstacle to the proposed identification, but it is perhaps not absolutely conclusive. According to later writers, two of the columns of this wing, though concealed externally by the wall of the tower, were not entirely hidden, and although the third column had already disappeared, the bed in which it rested was always visible.³ Under these conditions, tradition would naturally assume that there had once been such a portico or "Stoa" here as could plainly be traced on the north side. Moreover the "Stoa" is described, like the *καγγελαρία* and the School of the Epicureans, in the past tense (*ὑπῆρχε*). Doubtless nice distinctions of style cannot safely be predicated of our author, and there is, of course, much uncertainty about the identity of some of his references, but it is not without significance that he regularly employs the present tense to describe monuments which we know were relatively undamaged or unaltered, while he prefers the past tense for those which had

¹ Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-273; Laborde, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 30-31; Wachsmuth, *op. cit.*, pp. 738-739; Bohn, *Propylaeen*, p. 11, notes 4 and 5.

² The corruption assumed by Ross finds some support in the very similar error (5) *Σώλωνος* for *Σόλωνος*, but while such words as *πλησίον*, *ἀντικρύς*, *ὑπερθε*, *κατέναντι*, *ὑποκάτωθεν*, etc., are used, there seems no indication of direction by a prepositional phrase except with reference to the points of the compass.

³ On the later condition of the south wing, cf. Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 42, Stuart and Revett², II, p. 106, note c; Dodwell, *Tour*, I, p. 312, who distinctly states that two columns and the anta were to be seen inside of the tower.

already fallen into ruin or had been converted to other uses.¹ If this principle is here followed, the tense indicates that the supposed stoa had already lost its original form, as was certainly true of the south wing after the erection of the tower.² However, the east portico of the Propylaea was probably better preserved at this time than the south, and Wachsmuth may be right in his conjecture that it is meant by the "Stoa," although since this part of the building was visible only after passing around the south wing, we should expect it to be described as "to the east" rather than "to the south" of the Pinacotheca. As to the Epicureans, their "School" is naturally to be sought close at hand, and the Brauronian precinct seems to offer the most probable site. Once the Stoics had reached the Acropolis, a place for their rivals must be found, and scanty remains would be quite sufficient for this purpose. On these points a positive decision cannot be reached in the present state of the evidence, but there is certainly no compelling reason or even strong ground for referring anything in this passage to the Erechtheum.

It remains to summarize briefly the conclusions which may fairly be drawn from this somewhat detailed analysis of the scanty evidence as to the condition of the Erechtheum in Byzantine and Frankish Athens. The building was first transformed into a simple church (or possibly a secular hall) with an undivided nave and perhaps an apse at the eastern end. Additional support for the roof, which was probably vaulted, was secured by three pairs of columns or piers, adjacent to the side walls, from which sprang either longitudinal or transverse arches. Later this building was further altered into a little basilica. The arches and their supports were removed; the interior was divided into a nave and aisles, separated by a low wall on which stood columns with slabs filling the lower part of the intercolumniations, the wall and slabs being so arranged as to form seats with backs on either side of the nave; and a screen or iconostasis was erected in front of the sanctuary and its adjoining rooms. This church was certainly provided with an apse, which, if not a wholly new feature, was probably an enlargement of the earlier one. These successive transformations naturally wrought great destruction in the ancient temple. The east wall and its foundations were almost entirely removed to make room for the apse; the East Cella was destroyed and the ground beneath its pavement excavated to the level of the

¹ To cite only a few clear examples: — The present is used of the Tower of the Winds, the Stoa or Gymnasium of Hadrian, the statues of the "Giants," the Theseum, the Monument of Lysicrates, and the Gate of Hadrian. Most of the remains described by the past tense are of very doubtful identity, but they probably include the Pnyx with the cuttings in the rock above, the Odeum of Herodes, and the Dionysiac theatre. The past tense describes the Olympieum, since the columns were supposed to be only a small part of the royal palace. The Stadium is spoken of in the present tense but the seats in the past. Naturally the past tense is used in referring to the time of the Dukes, and this would explain the presence of *ὑπὸρχε*, if *καγγελαρία* means "chancery." If Lambros is right, the tense implies that the intercolumniations of the north wing were already closed.

² But for the use of tenses in this passage it would be simplest to see in the "School of the Musicians" either the remains which Spon (II, p. 104, edit. 1679) and Wheler (p. 358) identified with the Propylaea, or other walls, believed to be ancient, near the foot of the modern steps or the Beulé gate, and to place the Stoics and Epicureans in the temple of Nike and the south wing. The use of the present, however, in the reference to the School of the Musicians suggests a fairly well-preserved building like the temple, which it is hard to believe could have been described, like the "Stoa" and the School of the Epicureans, in terms that suggest it had ceased to exist.

western rooms; all the interior walls disappeared, carrying with them the ceilings and roof, and a new western cross-wall rose on the old threshold; five or six small windows were cut through the side walls; the North Door was reduced in size by the insertion of a marble lining and the door in the west wall was slightly enlarged; and, finally, much of the frieze and architrave was torn down, and some of the blocks were employed in the new construction. There is no evidence of any changes in the North Portico or the Porch of the Maidens, though it is not unlikely that the entrance in the podium of the latter was closed, so that it was accessible only through the church. The dates of the alterations are unknown, but the first church is probably contemporary with the transformation of the Parthenon, while the second may belong to the seventh century or even later. The arrangement of the church, so far as can be judged from the remaining traces, was adapted to the Greek rather than to the Roman rite. There is no satisfactory evidence as to the use or condition of the building during the period of Latin rule at Athens, but apparently it was incorporated into the palace of the Dukes, and it may even have been completely secularized.

IV. THE ERECHTHEUM AS A TURKISH HOUSE

WITH the definitive Turkish occupation of Athens in 1458, the establishment of a garrison on the Acropolis, and the transformation of the Parthenon into a mosque there can be little doubt that the Erechtheum lost whatever religious character it might have hitherto preserved and speedily became the dwelling that Spon found it in 1676. This transference to secular use, whether accomplished by the Turks or their Frankish predecessors, obviously involved considerable alteration, but the existing evidence is far too scanty to justify even a tentative restoration of the house, and little more can be attempted here than a record of the changes that have left their marks upon the building.¹

To this period, as has been said above,² may be assigned the final form, if not the first construction, of the great cistern with its concrete lining and vaulted roof beneath the old Prostomiaion. Since the crown of the vault rose above the old sill of the North Door, the latter then, if not earlier, must have been partially or wholly closed.³ The work seems to have been fairly well done, apparently with stones from the frieze, since both Thiersch

¹ It is, of course, quite possible that the erection of buildings on the north and even some of the other alterations may be earlier than the Turkish conquest, and that while still a church the Erechtheum was part of a complex structure. Since, however, none of these marks can be clearly associated with the church, it seems better to describe them in connection with the house, which we know existed in Turkish times and cannot assign with certainty to an earlier date. It may be argued that the cuttings on the inside of the north wall were for beams which supported a gallery in the church, but as there are no such cuttings in the south wall, the gallery would have extended over only one aisle, — not a very probable arrangement. Fallmerayer's statement (*Geschichte der Morea*, II, p. 437) that in 1500 the Pandroseum was blown up by the explosion of a powder magazine, resting as it does on his very suspicious "fragments" (cf. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, I, p. 14, note 4), is disproved by the later condition of the building. The "fragment" containing this information has apparently never been published.

² See pp. 169 f., 496.

³ It is natural to suppose that a small door here afforded a means of communication between the two parts of the house, even if the main building was then only an open court.

and Forchhammer regarded it as part of the original structure, and the latter endeavored to find in the filling the "black stones" of the Chandler inscription.¹

Just east of the North Portico another cistern was excavated and connected with the crypt under the Portico by breaking through the foundations close to the main building, as already described.² Probably the crypt itself was also cemented at this time and the circular shaft constructed in its northwest corner. A vault, which rose above the old ground level, covered the outer cistern (PLATE LIV, 2; Fig. 224), which was, however, according to later drawings (PLATE LI, 2; Figs. 218, 222), included within the house. This extension of the building on the north renders it probable that the intercolumniations of the Portico were also closed, at least in part,³ but it must remain uncertain whether the vault which existed later within the Portico was built before its conversion into a powder magazine.⁴ The small door in the North Portico was also then or earlier fitted with a lining having an arched top (Fig. 228), which was not removed until 1909.⁵

There is no direct evidence as to the condition of the Porch of the Maidens at this time, but since there were certainly remains of a rough wall between the statues in the eighteenth century, when the building as a whole was no longer used, it is a fair inference that this Porch also was walled up and incorporated in the house.

In addition to these changes the walls of the building show cuttings which are not clearly connected with the church, but may with strong probability be referred to the house. On the inside of the *north wall* (PLATE XI) there is in course 8 a row of six square cuttings for beams with traces of a seventh (Figs. 32, 101).⁶ In the fourth orthostate east of the great door, in the block of the north wall directly above it, in the sixth block from the door in course 16, and in course 7 just west of the projecting block of the Roman west cross-wall, are cuttings for dowels, which might belong either to the church or to the house. In

¹ Forchhammer, *Hellenica*, I, p. 31; Thiersch, *Erechtheum*, I, pp. 82, 96. Thiersch (*op. cit.*, p. 179), was speedily convinced of his error by Rangabé, but even as late as 1887 Forchhammer persisted that both the filling in the great door and the cistern under the west room belonged to the original Greek construction, and deplored their mistaken demolition; see *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Munich), 1887, Oct. 18, No. 289, cols. 4257-58, and the conclusive reply of Dörpfeld, *ibid.*, Nov. 13, No. 315, cols. 4651-52.

² Ch. I, p. 105. Bötticher (*Untersuchungen*, p. 192) and Michaelis (J.-M., *Atlas*, XX, XXVI) maintain that here was the cesspool of the house, but without presenting any arguments in support of this view.

³ That the North Portico was already walled up in 1676 may be inferred from its identification with "the lesser temple" by Spon and Wheler. An open portico would hardly have been considered a separate temple.

⁴ Rangabé, *R. Arch.*, II, 1845, p. 321, dates this vault soon after the Turkish conquest, because it was of more solid construction than the Turks of a later day would execute. He is, however, almost certainly wrong in assigning the powder magazine to so early a date (see below, p. 532), and the shape of the vault, as shown in the later drawings (PLATE LIV, 1, 2; Figs. 224-226), suggests that it belongs to the magazine rather than the house.

⁵ When the lining was removed an unintelligible graffito was uncovered, which was certainly not in Greek but might have been in Latin or Italian; unfortunately it was not copied and has now disappeared. The lining is, therefore, probably later than the Frankish conquest in 1204. That it was earlier than 1687 seems certain from the condition of the building after that date. Although later concealed by a mass of rough masonry, this door remained the entrance to the powder magazine (cf. p. 555, and note 1).

⁶ Whether these cuttings extended farther to the east is uncertain. The stone containing the sixth and seventh cuttings is much defaced and the wall beyond is missing.

the sixth, seventh, and eighth orthostates east of the great door is a long late cutting, rudely executed, but with fairly well-defined limits (Fig. 101).

The *south wall* (PLATE XII) has no cuttings for beams on the inside, except in a single block, the second east of the east cross-wall in course 8 (Fig. 30), which has two cuttings very similar in size and spacing to those in the north wall. As a few blocks from the north wall were used in rebuilding the south (p. 578), it is very possible that this stone originally belonged in course 8 of the north wall. In the fourth orthostate east of the south door and extending a short distance into the poros block on the east is a rude cutting, similar to that just noticed in the orthostates of the north wall, but rougher and less well defined (Fig. 100). There is also a square dowel cutting in the third block from the west end of the wall in course 7, and a round hole in the second block east of the south door in course 16.

The inside of the *west wall* (PLATE X) contains in course 13, descending slightly into course 14, three large cuttings for beams (Figs. 207, 208). The central cutting, just north of the west door, now holds a new marble block; that on the south, below the north side of the southern pilaster, is filled with brick; that on the north, under the north window, is open. It seems highly probable that there was a fourth cutting at the north end of the wall, where there is now a modern filling; there was certainly no cutting at the south end. These beams may have supported a gallery in the rear of the church, but it is quite as likely that they belonged to the house. Across the top of the door, in courses 14 and 15, is a shallow cutting, as if for a board, with a dowel (or tenon) hole at either end of it in course 15. A little south of the door, also in course 15, are two shallow rectangular vertical cuttings, and in course 17, near the southwest corner, is a small rectangular hole. On the inner face of the lintel, in the space above the door, are no less than nine small rectangular cuttings or drilled holes, which may possibly be due to the presence of a painted wooden panel over the door of the church. The significance of two deep rough cuttings, sagging slightly from the horizontal, in courses 17 and 18 (orthostate) immediately north of the door remains problematical. In course 17 the cutting extended from near the door almost to the centre of the second block on the north; on the orthostate it reached beyond the preserved surface, but does not appear on the next block.

The outside of the *north wall* (PLATE V) contains in course 10 a series of cuttings for beams, which begins close to the east anta of the North Portico and extends toward the east. Owing to the destruction of part of the wall the original number of cuttings is uncertain, but there were at least eight, since the block now replaced in course 12, which is in its correct position on the line of the east cross-wall, was originally two courses higher, and an intervening block has disappeared. Apart from this well defined series there are scattered cuttings in other parts of the wall. In course 2 the block adjoining the North Portico is cut along the bottom of the eastern part as if for the side of a beam and there is a square beam hole near the western end. In the east face of the east anta of the North Portico a beam hole has been cut in the upper part of course 10, and there is a similar hole in course

12 (PLATES III, XXXV, 4; Fig. 233). In course 16 of this anta is a rough cutting extending about 0.52 m. on the north (PLATE VII) and 0.18 m. on the east face (PLATE XXXV, 4; Fig. 233). It is very badly executed but is certainly a cutting and not merely a rude breaking of the stone. On the east face of the central column on the east side of the North Portico is a horizontal cutting extending across five flutes about in line with the cutting in course 10 of the anta; below this is another smaller cutting which now extends to the bottom of the drum, but has been enlarged by breaking away the edges (PLATES III, XXXV, 4). Near the east end of the wall in course 16 the third block from the podium has at the bottom a large square cutting, 0.25 by 0.25 m., for a beam, and at the top, above the east end of the large cutting, a small one only 0.07 by 0.07 m.

All these cuttings, except perhaps those in course 16 of the anta and of the wall, seem to be connected with the house which the drawings¹ of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries show in ruins on this side of the Erechtheum. In the drawing by Pars (1766; PLATE LI, 2), which, because of the date, point of view, and great accuracy of the artist, is the best authority for the conditions then existing, a wall, parallel to the north wall and abutting on the Portico just south of the corner column, is connected with the main building by two cross-walls, thus forming two sections, which cuttings for beams show to have been divided, at least in the eastern part, into three floors.² The testimony of Pars is confirmed by Gell and Smirke (*ca.* 1800–03; Figs. 219, 222; PLATE LI, 3) and by Fauvel's rude sketch for a plan of the Acropolis made about 1787 (Fig. 218).³ That these rooms were part of the house seen by Spon can hardly be doubted, since all available evidence shows that after the Venetian siege in 1687 the Erechtheum remained unoccupied.

On the outside of that portion of the *south wall* which has remained undisturbed (PLATE VI) there is no trace of abutting structures except three cuttings for beams in course 6 in the block adjoining the Porch of the Maidens (PLATE XXXIV, 1). Another cutting which may belong to the same series is in the seventh block to the east in the same course, but this block is in the restored part of the wall. There are numerous smaller and shallower cuttings, generally roughly made, in other blocks on this side, but as most of the south wall between the Porch of the Maidens and the southeast anta has been rebuilt since 1838, not without some use of material from the north wall, it is quite impossible to draw any valid conclusions as to earlier conditions from the present positions of these cuttings.⁴ The later drawings show no remains of a building in contact with this side of the Erechtheum.

¹ On these drawings see pp. 544, 548, 554.

² The single row of cuttings in the north wall seems to belong in the western section of the house, and shows that here the beams ran from north to south, while those in the eastern section ran from east to west. The double row of cuttings in the drawings (it is unlikely that both were in use at the same time) is apparently at about the same height as those now visible in the north wall.

³ The foundations of the western part of this house are shown in Cavvadias and Kawerau, PLATE Γ'. In the text (cols. 83–84) they are described as the foundations of two Turkish magazines.

⁴ For the sake of record a brief list of these cuttings is here added (PLATES III, XXXIII, 2, XXXIV, 1, 3; Fig. 231); the blocks are all numbered from the east. Course 2, block 3, small cutting; course 3, block 2, two small irregu-

At the *west* (PLATE IV) the chief traces of later construction are (1) a rough sloping cutting, as if for the edge of a wooden roof, which, beginning at the north end of the wall in course 13, ends about 0.35 m. from the southern end of the second block in course 14; and (2) a shallow sloping cutting, which begins on the west face of the southwest pier of the North Portico in course 15, and continues in course 16 across the south face of the pier and along the west face of the little wall at the side of the door from the Portico into the Pandroseum (PLATES XXXIII, 2, 3, XXXV, 1). A little south of the west door in course 14 there is a slight cutting for the end of a beam, and over the door, about 0.02 m. above the lintel, are two dowel holes, one about 0.21–0.25 m. south of the north jamb and the other about 0.30–0.34 m. north of the south jamb (PLATE XXXIII, 3). In courses 7 and 8, on the wall between the southwest anta and the anta of the Porch of the Maidens, there is a fairly large hole for a beam (PLATE XXXIII, 3). The later drawings do not here give us any help, for they show around the northeast corner of the Pandroseum merely a mass of masonry, which masked the entrance to the Turkish magazine in the North Portico.

On the *east* there are merely horizontal cuttings in courses 4 and 5 of the southeast anta and on the west side of the second and third columns from the south in the second drum from the bottom (PLATE IX). To the Turkish period, or perhaps earlier, may, however, be assigned with considerable probability the bit of patchwork beneath the lowest step at the northeast corner (PLATE LIV, 3; Fig. 7 A), as it existed before the excavations of 1887. It certainly forms no part of the reconstruction undertaken in the decade following the Greek Revolution, for in that case Schaubert, who was then living in Athens, and was thoroughly familiar with the work on the Acropolis, could not have been so ill informed as to attribute repairs which had just been made to the builders of the Christian church.¹ The same conclusion may be drawn from the Report of the Greek Commission of 1852,² which merely calls attention to the presence of these repairs without mention of their origin, although elsewhere it is careful to record and date all the restorations made by Pittakis. If, however, this work is earlier than the Greek Revolution, it probably also antedates the Venetian occupation of 1687. From the drawing of Dalton in 1749 (PLATE L, 1) to that of Cole in 1833 (PLATE LIII, 3) the east front always appears buried in earth, which completely

lar cuttings in the bottom; course 4, block 3, possibly a cutting for a square dowel near the centre; course 8, block 9, small cutting in bottom; course 9, block 8, two small cuttings, one at the left end, the other in the centre of the bottom; course 9, block 7, six small cuttings in bottom; course 10, block 6, five similar small cuttings in bottom; course 11, block 8, rough cutting in face. It is probable that blocks 2 in course 3, 7 in course 9, and 6 in course 10 were originally in the same course, since the cuttings in these blocks agree in size and position.

¹ E. G. Schaubert, *Papers in Breslau*, Mappe V, p. 312 (69): "Auf dieser Ostseite namentlich an der Nordecke scheinen bedeutende Reparaturen vorgekommen zu sein, vielleicht als man das Heiligtum in eine Kirche verwandelte. Ein dorischer aufrechtstehender Säulen-Tambour ist als Unterstützung der Stufen angebracht. Wiewohl dieses nicht zu sehen war, so ist doch so wenig Sorgfalt den Alten nicht zuzumuten." The date of this note is uncertain, but it cannot well be earlier than 1837, when the traces of steps at the northeast corner were discovered, since before that time the foundations at this point were probably concealed. The restorations of Pittakis were in 1837 and 1838.

² *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 4. "Ἐπεσκευασμένη δ' ἐστὶ λίθοις κοιναῖς ἡ βορειοανατολικὴ αὐτῆς γωνία, καὶ τύμπανον κίονος ἰσομέτρου τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁρᾶται ἐν αὐτῇ, λείψανον ἴσως τοῦ ἐκ τῆς γωνίας ἐλλείποντος κίονος, ἐὰν οὐχὶ τὰ μέρη αὐτοῦ ἅπαντα εἰς τὴν Ἀγγλίαν ὁ Ἑλλῶν ἀπήγαγεν. Obviously the Commissioners had no definite information about these repairs.

covers the bases of the columns, the steps, and all below. Moreover, not only were the foundations concealed and the need of any repairs thus rendered most unlikely, but all the available evidence shows that during this time the Erechtheum — with the exception of the North Portico — was abandoned and falling more and more into a ruin, which no one had the least interest in restoring. On the other hand, it is certain that Turkish or mediaeval vaults and walls at some time approached the Erechtheum very closely on this side¹ and their construction may well be responsible for the damage and rude repair of the northeast foundation. It is true that the date and purpose of these walls are unknown, but since no modern buildings appear in this immediate neighborhood, either in drawings or descriptions, we shall not go far amiss in assigning them to the prosperous period of Turkish Athens, before 1687, or even to a still earlier time.

It has often been said² that when the military commandant (Disdar) took up his residence in the Palace of the Propylaea, he established his harem in the Erechtheum. No contemporary authority is ever cited for this statement, which seems merely an inference from the narratives of Spon and Wheler,³ who found themselves unable to see the salt well, because, to quote Spon, “il y avoit dans le bâtiment où il est enclos, des femmes logées, et il n’y a que le maître du Serrail qui y puisse entrer”; or in the words of Wheler, “because the Turk that lives in it, hath made it his Seraglio for his Women; and was then abroad.” That this Turk was the governor is nowhere stated, and in fact is wholly inconsistent with the accounts of the explosion in the Propylaea a few years earlier,⁴ when the governor and all his household perished, except one daughter who was spending the night in the lower town. Obviously the harem was not then in the Erechtheum, since the damage was confined to a part of the Propylaea; nor was it removed there later, since Spon himself, describing the explosion, continues (II, p. 141, ed. 1678), “Les marques de ce desastre se voyent encore, et on n’y a pas rebâti depuis, quoyque l’Aga d’à-present ait quelques chambres basses près de là, où il tient ses femmes.” There is no need, therefore, to see in the occupant of the Erechtheum any more important person than one of the ordinary residents of the Acropolis, which we know was the centre of the considerable Mohammedan colony in Athens.⁵

¹ See Fauvel’s rough plan of 1787 (Fig. 218) and a photograph of the German Archaeological Institute taken about 1887 (*A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, p. 418, fig. 5). Gell’s drawing (Fig. 219) shows the remains of a wall between the columns of the East Portico, and a sketch by Basevi (1818) in Sir John Soane’s Museum shows Turkish walls and houses farther east.

² This statement was apparently first made by C. O. Müller, *Minervae Poliadis Sacra et Aedes in Arce Athenarum* (1820), p. 20, and repeated independently by Von Quast, p. 82, Thiersch, *Erechtheum*, I, p. 82, and Laborde, *Athènes*, I, p. 6. See also J.-M., *Acta Arcis*, p. 25, No. 283; Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, p. 354; Judeich, *Topographie*, p. 104; D’Ooge, *Acropolis*, p. 317.

³ For the full text of these narratives, see App. A, III, IV.

⁴ For the explosion in the Propylaea see the Nointel Anonymous (Giraud?), *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1897, pp. 64 ff.; Spon, II, pp. 140–141 (ed. 1678); Wheler, p. 359; De la Rue, *Arch. Ztg.*, XXXVI, 1878, p. 57. On the date cf. J. R. Wheeler, *Classical Review*, XV, 1901, pp. 430 ff.

⁵ The Acropolis was wholly inhabited by Turks according to the letter of Kabasilas to Crusius (*Turcograecia*, VII, 18, p. 461; J.-M., p. 81; Laborde, *Athènes*, I, p. 58). According to the Nointel Anonymous (probably Jean

With the seventeenth century a new phase opens in the history of Athenian monuments, for western travellers now began to visit the city. At first their number was small and their descriptions were often very meagre and inaccurate, but from this time there is no considerable break in the tradition, though it is one of the ironies of history that our information increases in fulness and accuracy while the buildings were falling more and more into neglect and ruin.

The earlier accounts, such as those of François Arnould, Robert de Dreux, Babin, and Guillet,¹ contain no mention of the Erechtheum, and this silence is easily understood, when we remember that the visitors to the Acropolis, as is clear from the vivid narrative of Robert de Dreux, entered to the south of the Propylaea and were conducted at once to the west entrance of the Parthenon, which as a former church and "The Temple of the Unknown God" was the chief, if not the only, object of their curiosity. Such a route offered little or no view of the Erechtheum, screened as it must have been — and indeed was as late as the nineteenth century — by the houses which covered the Acropolis,² nor were the Turks disposed to permit much wandering from the beaten track within an important fortress, especially during the long Cretan war with Venice. After 1670 travellers seem to have been somewhat less hampered, though Vernon found that attempts to take measurements were likely to lead to violence.

It is not, therefore, until the visit of the Marquis de Nointel in 1674 that the Erechtheum again appears in the records of the Acropolis. It is not mentioned in the letters of Nointel, nor was it drawn by his painter, but it attracted the attention of Cornelio Magni of Parma (I), who was in his suite.³ The party, according to Magni, were received by the comman-

Giraud) some 600 out of about 2000 houses in the lower town were Turkish and about one-third of the population out of an estimated 7000 (M. Collignon, 'Le Consul Jean Giraud,' *Mém. Acad. Insc.*, XXXIX, 1914, p. 395). Morosini reported to the Venetian Senate that 3000 persons, including 500 soldiers, surrendered, and that over 800 perished in the siege of the Acropolis, where all the Turks had taken refuge. If these two sets of figures — approximately 2300 and 3800 — can be relied upon, the population of the Acropolis, apart from the garrison, must have numbered not far from 1000.

¹ These accounts are published as follows: François Arnould, by Omont, *Florilegium . . . Melchoir de Vogüé*, pp. 467–484; Robert de Dreux, *Voyage en Turquie et en Grèce*, ed. H. Pernot, pp. 141–156, and by Omont, *R. Ét. Gr.*, XIV, 1901, pp. 270 ff.; Babin by Laborde, *Athènes*, I, pp. 182–211, and by Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 745–763; Guillet, *Athènes ancienne et nouvelle*, Paris, 1675. Guillet, however, makes his travellers (p. 198) on leaving the Parthenon see "ce puys celebre, dont on a toûjours parlé, comme d'une des merveilles de la nature"; but his language shows plainly that he had no idea of any building associated with it, and there seems no reason to suppose that his knowledge was derived from any more recent source than the citations in Meursius. Certainly in 1669 the somewhat inquisitive Father Robert heard nothing of the well from his Greek friends.

² The Acropolis at this time is shown in the drawings reproduced by Omont, *Athènes*, pls. XXIX–XXXI; the later conditions in, e.g., Dodwell, *Views in Greece*, "The Parthenon from the Propylaea" and "West Front of the Parthenon and the Erechtheum."

³ For the passages in Magni and other early travellers referring to the Erechtheum, see Appendix A. The Roman numerals in the text are those prefixed to the quotations in the Appendix.

Although Magni was in Athens in 1674, his description of the city was not published until 1688, when the Venetian victories had aroused a new interest in Greece. In the meantime he had read Spon's book and, according to his own account, visited Lyons to confer with the author. In this passage, however, he is evidently independent of Spon, and it does not occur to him to identify his temples with the Erechtheum described by the latter. There is also no indication here that he is using Venetian reports or plans. See also Laborde, *Athènes*, II, p. 108.

dant at the Propylaea, and proceeded thence “alla sommità del Castello,” which was apparently at the east end, not far from the modern Belvedere. On the way they passed a temple with a vestibule having in place of columns four female statues “dagli Architetti denominate Cariate,” — an identification in which Magni stands alone among his contemporaries. Not far distant was “un’ altra fabbrica” with columns and walls which showed that it had been a small temple. This is probably the East Portico, which lay on the route of the travellers, rather than the North; but the language is ambiguous, and in any case conditions were such that Magni did not perceive that all the remains belonged to a single building.

Even more vague and unsatisfactory is the information afforded by another document of this time, — the great painting now at Chartres, executed for Nointel, and showing the city and the Acropolis from a point on Lycabettus not far from the modern reservoir. The large scale enabled the artist to include considerable detail, but unfortunately the picture has suffered greatly from neglect, and in particular the part representing the Acropolis is so damaged that precise interpretation is difficult even before the original, while the excellent reproductions of Homolle and Omont¹ are almost hopelessly obscure in their view of the Erechtheum. The North Portico is indeed fairly clear with its pediment and sloping roof still well-preserved, and the intercolumniations apparently already closed by a wall, though the projection from the main building is exaggerated. At the east end, however, difficulties arise. It is very hard to find any trace of the columns in the somewhat irregular mass to the left of the North Portico, although it may be that the artist is rendering the front somewhat as Pars saw it a century later. There is certainly no clear sign of the pediment. Beyond this it is impossible to go, though even if the painting were undamaged, it is doubtful if much more could be discovered, since the constructions along the north side must have masked a large part of the building as seen from Lycabettus.

The next traveller to notice the Erechtheum, with a shrewd guess at its identity, was Sir Francis Vernon (II), who was in Athens in 1675 and in his letter from Smyrna, dated January 10, 1676, mentions an Ionic temple on the Acropolis “whether of Pandrosus, or of whom, I cannot tell.” The dimensions (67 × 38 ft.) show that this building is the Erechtheum, but Vernon’s brevity and vagueness indicate that he had not given to it the pains he bestowed on the Parthenon and the Odeum of Herodes Atticus.

Shortly after Vernon’s letter was written his former companions, Spon and Wheler, reached Athens, and it is in Spon’s narrative (III), which is here, as usual, followed almost verbatim by Wheler (IV), that we first find this Ionic temple identified with the Erechtheum of Pausanias, and its position, size, and general characteristics indicated with some precision. The travellers evidently passed from the Parthenon across the east end and then along the north side, for Spon was struck by the view over the city, and moreover from this side his “double temple” — that is the main building and the North Portico —

¹ Homolle, *B. C. H.*, XVIII, 1894, pp. 509–528, especially p. 527, pls. I–IV; Omont, *Athènes*, pl. XXX.

would be easily visible. As has been said already, they could not see the salt spring in the interior on account of the absence of the owner of the house, but they were told that it was almost dry. Since they did not go into the building, Wheler's statement that the larger temple was entered from the smaller may also be due to local information, unless it is his own conclusion from the difference in level between the East and North Porticoes. Thus far the account raises no difficulties, but what follows needs some discussion, for it has been supposed to complete the description of the building by a mention of the Porch of the Maidens, and the identification of the statues with the Charites of Socrates. This identification was apparently current in Athens a few years later, for it was adopted by some of the Venetians,¹ who seem to have been quite undisturbed by the fact that then, as at the time of Magni's visit, *four* Maidens were visible; and it has been attributed to Spon by later writers,² although there is nothing in his words, except the mention of female statues in a wall amid ruins, to suggest the Erechtheum. Apart from the fact that it is hard to believe that, when Magni had seen four statues and recognized their architectural character, Spon, a much more careful observer, should have seen only three — his words "les trois Graces" prove that he saw no more, — and quite failed to detect their function,³ the place assigned to these remains is fatal to this interpretation: "De l'autre côté du Temple de Minerve, ou à son Midy," says Spon; "On the South-side of the Temple of Minerva," says Wheler, who has already placed the Erechtheum "on the North-side of the Temple of Minerva." The "Temple of Minerva" in both Spon and Wheler always denotes the Parthenon, and these words alone suffice to remove the "Graces" from the Porch of the Maidens to the other side of the Acropolis. Nor can it be argued, with Von Duhn (*l.c.*) that the "Temple of Minerva" in this passage refers to the main building of the Erechtheum considered as the temple of the Polias. For since Spon thought the ruins might mark the site of the temple of the Polias and Pandrosus, he cannot have already identified the Erechtheum with that temple, and Wheler's addition "but no remains of them are now to be seen" is quite unintelligible, if he had in mind either the Erechtheum or the Porch of the Maidens. The conclusion is practically inevitable that, unless Spon and Wheler hopelessly confused their notes and recollections, they did not see — or at any rate did not mention — the Porch of the Maidens, but

¹ The Graces appear, four in number, in the key to Verneda's plan (V), but Fanelli (VIII) has reduced them to three. The latter is of little independent value owing to his confused mixture of Wheler and later Venetian sources.

² As for example, Dodwell, *Tour*, I, p. 353; Laborde, *Athènes*, II, p. 23 and note 2; Von Duhn, *Arch. Ztg.*, XXXVI, 1878, p. 60 and note 13.

³ In his attack on Spon (*Lettres écrites sur une dissertation d'un Voyage de Grèce, publié par Mr. Spon, Médecin Antiquaire*, p. 243) Guillet criticizes his failure to recognize that the "statue of Ceres" at Eleusis was a Caryatid; and Spon (*Réponse à la critique publiée par M. Guillet*, p. 139), in defending himself, can only cite Perrault's Vitruvius for an example in the Louvre. Clearly neither disputant suspected the existence of ancient examples in Athens. It may be noted, however, that in the same reply (p. 311) Spon lists as numbers LV and LVI among Guillet's numerous errors the statements that all other temples and altars had disappeared from the Acropolis and that no tradition could indicate their sites, and adds, "Je luy ay pourtant fait connoistre, que celuy de Pandrose et celuy de la Victoire estoient encore sur pied, p. 137 et 160. T. 2." The "quelques masures anciennes," which were the possible remains of the temple of Pandrosus, seem to have assumed more definite form in the author's memory under the stimulus of controversy.

did find to the south of the Parthenon some ruins in which were three draped female statues. There is nothing surprising in this, nor in the disappearance of these particular remains after the destruction of the Parthenon.¹

The interval between the visit of Spon and Wheler and the capture of Athens by the Venetians in 1687 brought at least one change to the Erechtheum. In 1676 the powder magazine of the Acropolis was in the temple of Nike, where an underground vault had been excavated,² probably to lessen the danger from lightning, which had already caused



FIGURE 216. THE ACROPOLIS IN 1687: FROM THE PLAN BY VERNEDA

the explosion of the earlier magazine in the Propylaea. When the temple was torn down to build a new bastion in front of the Propylaea, the powder was transferred to the North Portico of the Erechtheum, as is clear from Verneda's plan and Fanelli's text.³ It is probable that the vault within the porch was constructed at this time, although, as has been said (p. 524), the possibility cannot be excluded that the vault is earlier and that its presence led to the choice of this place for the magazine.

¹ It may be noted that Scrofani (*Viaggio in Grecia*, II, pp. 104, 105) thus understood Spon, and duly discovered south of the Parthenon the remains of the temple of Pandrosus in a ruined wall containing the central slab of the east frieze of the Parthenon, which he interpreted as showing the ceremony of the Arrephori.

² For the temple of Nike as a powder magazine, see Spon, II, p. 139 (ed. 1678), Wheler, p. 358; for the subterranean vault, Ross, *Die Akropolis von Athen*; I, *Tempel der Nike Apteros*, p. 3.

³ Verneda's plan (Fig. 216), "N. Gran deposito di polvere." Fanelli, *Atene Attica*, p. 321, § 2 (App. A, VIII).

The transfer of the powder was quickly followed by the Venetian siege, which apparently did not leave the Erechtheum untouched. The explosion in the Parthenon, we are told, wrecked the neighboring houses beneath the falling walls and columns, and also caused a great fire which raged for two days to the consternation of the garrison, who not only saw their dwellings and supplies consumed, but were in constant fear lest the flames should spread to the principal magazine (i.e., the North Portico) and cause even greater destruction.¹ This danger was happily averted, but it must be more than a mere coincidence that neither in the Venetian descriptions of the antiquities nor in later writers do we find any reference to the house seen by Spon. Evidently it was too much damaged to attract the attention of the Venetians, or to seem worth repairing after the return of the Turks. While the North Portico continued to be used as a powder magazine, the rest of the building is always described as though a deserted ruin.

If we turn to the contemporary sources — drawings, plans, and notices,² — it must be admitted that the direct evidence which they furnish as to the state of the Erechtheum is very scanty. The plans are small and the notices — they are too brief to be called descriptions — lack essential details. In spite of these defects, it is still possible to determine with considerable certainty the general appearance of the building by examining the relative prominence attributed to the several parts in these documents, which contain, directly or indirectly, the testimony of men who had themselves been in Athens and recorded those things which had most impressed them. Conjectural restorations are far from their thoughts, and they make little or no allowance for later additions. Hence their omissions or inferences are often as significant as their direct statements. The agreements and divergencies in their theories may be easily seen from the table on page 535.

All agree in giving the first place to the porticoes on the sides, which were regarded as independent buildings and usually identified with the two temples known from Pausanias. The North Portico, by reason of its size and excellent preservation, naturally received special attention, and since the interior could now be examined, at least by Venetian officers, the large beams of the ceiling, the beauty of the carving on the wall, and the size and decoration of the great door were all noted with admiration, while Locatelli (VII), whose account is otherwise negligible, is the first to mention the colored stones (i.e., glass beads) in the guilloche of the capitals. In the Porch of the Maidens the four statues on the south were alone sufficiently conspicuous to receive special mention. The importance attributed to these porticoes and the complete misconception as to their real nature evidently arose from failure to detect modern alterations. The establishment of the magazine, if not the construction of the house, with the consequent closing of the intercolumniations in the North Portico,

¹ See the various contemporary accounts in Laborde, *Athènes*, II, pp. 144, 146, 158, notes; Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pp. 345-347; *Z. bild. Kunst*, XXII, 1887, p. 373. The Erechtheum is not mentioned in these narratives, but it is possible that the rear figure on the east side of the Porch of the Maidens was overthrown at this time. It is never mentioned as in place, and was certainly missing in 1729; see below, p. 536.

² For an account of these sources, see Appendix B, I; and for the text of the descriptions, Appendix A, V-VIII.

must have already given it the appearance of a little temple which it bears in the drawings of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (PLATES L–LIII; Fig. 222). There is no direct testimony for a similar closing of the Porch of the Maidens, but since only the four statues on the south side were visible, it is almost certain that the west side was walled up, and very probable that similar walls filled the other sides.¹

With the porticoes thus transformed into separate buildings, misunderstanding was inevitably rendered easier by the ruined condition of the main building. Only the walls were standing according to De la Rue (VI), and it is probable that the interior was already encumbered with rubbish, for although some of the plans show the western cross-wall and the door of the Porch of the Maidens, both are ignored in the descriptions, which contain merely a brief mention of the six columns at the east end, and the windows, two of which still retained perforated marble screens,² at the west. Indeed with the exception of De la Rue (VI), who followed Spon in finding here the large temple, current opinion was evidently somewhat in a quandary regarding the nature of this part of the building. It is generally nameless in the plans,³ but Verneda's key (V) shows that he considered it an open court between the two temples, while the words "corte o scala"⁴ imply a belief on his part that a monumental flight of steps might have descended from the higher level at the east end. Even Fanelli's (VIII) informant, who seems to have felt that the presence of windows implied a roof, could find no better explanation than a "salone spazioso." The Venetian evidence thus indicates that the Erechtheum in 1687 had much the same appearance as in Dalton's drawings (PLATE L, 1, 2) made over sixty years later. Obviously there had been a marked change since Spon's visit, and we can hardly fall into serious error, if we attribute this change in great part to the damage wrought by the bombardment, explosion, and fire.

In addition to their somewhat scanty information about the building, these documents afford an interesting glimpse of the development of antiquarian speculation in Athens. The two temples, anonymous hitherto, are now generally assigned to Poseidon or Erechtheus⁵ and to Athena Polias with whom, by a too narrow interpretation of *συνεχής* in Pausanias, Pandrosus was united. De la Rue (VI) who, as we have seen, adopted Spon's view as to the situation of the temples, shows that there were conflicting theories as to the proper nomenclature, and in his unwillingness to decide simply states the alternative for each building,

¹ Locatelli (VII) shows that the four statues were on the south side (la facciata). Fanelli's statement (VIII) that the three figures were in niches in the wall would be conclusive, if we could be sure that the wall was derived from any other source than Wheler, to whom the *three* (rather than *four*) figures are certainly due.

² Fanelli (VIII) is the somewhat unreliable authority for these "gelosie." It is, however, not impossible that the ancient "transennae" had survived, and Ross (*Arch. Aufs.*, I, p. 125, note 6) states that fragments of perforated marble screens were found in excavations near the Erechtheum. The date of discovery is not given, but the note was added in 1855 to a letter written in 1837.

³ San Felice calls it "Tempio di Minerva," obviously because he has omitted the Porch of the Maidens altogether.

⁴ "Corte o scala" is the reading of the original; "corte e scala" on Fanelli's plate is probably an engraver's error; and "corte o sala" in the Vienna manuscript is apparently the correction of a copyist who did not understand Verneda's meaning.

⁵ Von Duhn (*Arch. Ztg.*, XXXVI, 1878, p. 61) has pointed out that this temple owes its existence to a misinterpretation of *βωμός* in Pausanias, which was taken in its later meaning of "temple" instead of "altar."

leaving the Porch of the Maidens without a name. A similar diversity of opinion appears in the interpretation of the Maidens themselves. Undisturbed by the presence of four figures and perhaps misled by the passage in Spon already discussed, some found here the Charites of Socrates. Others, possessed of more recondite learning, saw in them the Hyacinthides (Giacintides), or daughters of Erechtheus, Procris, Creusa, Oreithyia, and Chthonia, — names strangely modified by the Italian transcribers.¹ Since Suidas names six daughters, and indeed seems to limit the title Hyacinthides to the two, Pandora and Protogeneia, who sacrificed themselves for their country at Hyacinthus, the suspicion arises that those responsible for this identification believed that there were originally six statues in the Porch.

	Whole Building	Main Building	North Portico	Porch of the Maidens	The Maidens
Verneda.		Corte o scala. Corte e scala. Corte o sala.	R = Tempio d'Erieteus. (N = Gran deposito di polvere).	S = Tempio di Minerva Poliade e della ninfa Pandrosa.	Four: Graces of Socrates.
San Felice.		D = Tempio di Minerva Poliados.	E = Tempio di Nettuno.	Omitted on plan.	
Coronelli (Plan of city).	m = Tempio di Erieteus.				
Coronelli and Manuscript (Plan of Acropolis).			Tempio di Nettuno.	Tempio di Minerva Poliados.	
De la Rue.		Tempio di Minerva Poliados <i>or</i> Palazzo d'Eristeo.	Tempio di Nettuno <i>or</i> di Pandrosa.	No name given.	Giacintides, Figlie d'Eristeo, Re d'Atene: Procris, Cerusa, Ectonia e Oritia.
Locatelli (A) and Galleria di Minerva (B).			Tempio di Nettuno.	Tempio di Minerva Poliados.	Figlie d'Hericleo, VI Rè degli Atheniesi: (A) Prieris, Creusa, Hecthania, Octorichia; (B) Procri, Clauusa, Zetonia, Orthoritia.
Fanelli.		Salone.	Tempio di Eretteo.	Tempio di Minerva Poliade e della Ninfa Pandrosa.	Three: Graces of Socrates.

¹ The Hyacinthides as daughters of Erechtheus appear only in Suidas, *s.v.* παρθένοι. If Suidas was known in Athens at this time, it is also possible that some were acquainted with one of the forms of the scholium of Tzetzes to Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 773, according to which ἀγάλματα τῶν τριῶν Χαρίτων . . . ἦσαν ὀπισθε τῆς Ἀθηνῶς ἐγγεγλυμμένα τῷ τοίχῳ. The identification of the Porch of the Maidens with the temple of the Polias would bring with it that of the statues with the Charites. Cf. Von Duhn, *l.c.*, p. 60, and the references there cited.

Unfortunately there is no evidence as to the sources from which the Venetians drew. That they were dependent upon local guides may be regarded as certain, for Morosini's officers, however well educated, are not likely to have possessed any special acquaintance with Athens.¹ We know that Jean Giraud, the English consul and friend of Spon, who had diligently studied the ancient monuments during his long residence, conducted the Countess of Königsmarck on her visit to the city,² and he doubtless performed the same service for others. The French capuchins, who later owned a copy of Spon's work,³ may also have helped the visitors. The variations in nomenclature indicate that others also had begun to interest themselves in the remains of the past, and that in this respect there had been some improvement since the days of Nointel and Spon. This awakening, however, had no permanent effect, for there is no evidence of a serious local tradition in the writings of the next century. Their authors brought their learning with them and apparently received neither stimulus nor information from the residents.

V. THE ERECHTHEUM AS A RUIN

AFTER the retreat of the Venetians, April 9, 1688,⁴ the Acropolis was once more occupied by a Turkish garrison, while the lower town, from which the Greeks had fled in terror to Salamis and the Morea, remained deserted until, in 1690, the Sultan granted a safe return to the fugitives.⁵ It was long, however, before the city and its monuments again attracted the attention of travellers, and even longer before this attention produced any noteworthy contribution to our knowledge of the Erechtheum.

The first visitors to remain any considerable time, the Abbé Michel Fourmont and his nephew Claude-Louis Fourmont, who made Athens their headquarters from April to September, 1729,⁶ devoted themselves, as is well known, chiefly to copying inscriptions, with the result that the monuments occupy but a small space among their voluminous papers.⁷ So far as the Erechtheum is concerned we obtain only one bit of definite information: five of the Maidens were now visible, and the north statue on the east side had already disappeared. It is true that to the Fourmonts we owe the earliest known drawing of the Erechtheum (Fig. 217),⁸ but it cannot be said to add to our knowledge. Their unique and almost incredible misconception, whereby the Porch of the Maidens became the projecting

¹ An examination of the Venetian descriptions of the antiquities shows clearly how little classical knowledge their authors possessed, and how dependent they were on others for their information.

² Laborde, *Athènes*, II, pp. 278-279.

³ Paul Lucas, in Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, I, p. 335.

⁴ Laborde, *Athènes*, II, p. 253.

⁵ Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, II, p. 421, and note.

⁶ For the mission of the Abbés Sevin and Fourmont, see H. Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, I, pp. 433 ff.; for the stay of Fourmont in Athens, I, pp. 537 ff.; II, pp. 1086-88, 1128-30.

⁷ On the Fourmont papers, see App. B, II.

⁸ The reproduction is from the copy of the original drawing inserted by C.-L. Fourmont in his narrative of the tour in Greece, Bibl. Nat., MSS, *Nouv. acq. fr.* 1892, fol. 86. For the mutilated original and for Fourmont's methods of work, see App. B, II.

entrance in the main façade, doubtless arose in great part from the difficulty of obtaining an unobstructed view of the building, and from superficial and hurried observation — for their visits to the Acropolis were certainly few — but it was aided and confirmed by the younger Fourmont's habit of preparing his finished drawings from hasty and often very inadequate sketches, supplemented by a somewhat free use of his imagination in rendering details.

Rather more may be gleaned from the narratives of Lord Sandwich (1738) and Richard Pococke (1740).¹ The exterior of the building was apparently still well preserved, inas-



FIGURE 217. THE ERECHTHEUM: DRAWN IN 1729 BY C.-L. FOURMONT

much as the only mark of ruin noted by the former (IX) was the absence of a roof. It may also be inferred that the intervals between the statues in the Porch of the Maidens were still closed by a wall, for it is improbable that an open portico would have been interpreted, even tentatively, as the dwelling of the youthful Arrephori. Pococke's account (X) is that of a scholar, who formed his own opinions without much aid from local traditions. He seems to have been the first to perceive that the porticoes at the sides were not separate buildings, and, in his search for the "double temple" of Pausanias, was thus led to his curious theory of the disappearance of a corresponding temple to the east. His drawing

¹ For a fuller account of the works of Sandwich and Pococke, see App. B, III.

and plan of the Erechtheum, though not free from grave inaccuracies and from conjectural restorations, were far in advance of anything that had yet been attempted, and with his brief but clear description conveyed to his contemporaries a not wholly inadequate idea of the building.

While these descriptions and drawings naturally add something to the meagre narrative of Spon, they obviously fail to furnish a distinct picture of the building and its surroundings. For this we must turn to the drawings of Richard Dalton, who visited Athens in 1749 as the artist of Lord Charlemont and his friends.¹ His stay was apparently too short to permit minute study and measurements, yet his published drawings,² though unpleasing, show careful observation and an evident striving after accuracy.³ Unfortunately he greatly diminished the value of his work by the conscientious elimination of Turkish surroundings and modern accretions. It is true that the ground level seems carefully preserved, and there is little, if any, restoration of what had already disappeared or was buried, though at times he probably drew what he supposed to be concealed behind walls or rubbish which his methods compelled him to omit.⁴ In spite of these defects, which can be corrected in great part from other sources, his two views of the Erechtheum (PLATE L, 1, 2), since they are not only the first reliable representations of the building, but are also in some respects more useful than the works of his better known successors, deserve detailed examination.

The first view, from the southeast (PLATE L, 1), shows the lower part of the building buried in the earth, which conceals the bases of the eastern columns and rises along the south side until it almost covers the podium and quite fills the interior of the Porch of the Maidens. The *East Portico*, except for the presence of the northern column and architrave now in the British Museum, and for an additional block of the cornice on the south side, has much the same appearance that it has had since the recent restoration (PLATE XXXIII, 1). The *south*

¹ A brief account of this tour is given by F. Hardy, *Memoirs of the Political and Private Life of James Caulfield, Earl of Charlemont*, I, pp. 19ff. Unfortunately Lord Charlemont's journal (Hardy, *op. cit.*, I, pp. xiv, 32, 33), like Dalton's sketch books, has disappeared. The party were off Aegina, November 23, 1749, and returned to Athens from Aulis on December 14, after visiting the Morea, Thebes, Corinth, and Euboea, but the time actually spent in Athens is not given (Hardy, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 33, 34).

² After his return Dalton published in 1751-52, *A Series of Engravings representing Views in Sicily, Greece, Asia Minor and Egypt*, with 52 plates. The plates of Athens are dated April 12, 1751; the other Levantine plates in February, 1752. In 1781 appeared *A Series of Prints relating to the Manners, etc. of the present Inhabitants of Egypt*, with 25 plates, and in 1791 the two publications were combined in *Antiquities and Views in Greece and Egypt*. The two views of the Erechtheum are reproduced in J.-M., *Atlas*, pl. XXIX. Two other plates are devoted to architectural details. One gives the restored elevation of the southwest corner of the Porch of the Maidens; the other contains details from the orders of the East and North Porticoes. Both these plates were entirely superseded by Stuart's publication. For Dalton's life see *Dictionary of National Biography*, and Thieme-Becker, *Künstler-Lexikon*.

³ Hardy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 20, says: "It has been stated to me, that as an artist he was miserable, but exact and faithful." This criticism seems justified by his published work.

⁴ This neglect of the surroundings is strikingly shown in the omission of the little mosque which then occupied the interior of the Parthenon. Other good examples are the engravings of the Tower of the Winds and the monument of Lysicrates, each of which is drawn as standing alone in an open plain. In the view of the Arch of Hadrian Mount Hymettus is missing from the background.

wall is complete below the epicranitis, except for a gap at the west end.¹ Of the epicranitis only one block next to the east anta and four blocks near the centre of the wall are in place. Dalton's effort after precision in detail is shown in the marks of damage to individual stones, which in some places on the anta agree very fairly with what may now be seen (PLATE VI). Only the eastern end of the *north wall* appears, and here it is not possible to test the accuracy of the picture. Certainly no later artist saw so much standing, and when we recall how large a part of this wall had disappeared within the next fifty years, there is some ground for suspecting that we have here a restoration to conceal the remains of the house, which are so prominent in the drawings of Pars and Gell (PLATE LI, 2; Figs. 219, 222). On the other hand Sandwich (IX) speaks as if both walls were standing, and we know that before the Greek Revolution this side of the building fell into ruin more rapidly than the others, so that the possibility must be granted that Dalton found the north wall fairly well preserved. So much of the *west end* as is visible in this drawing corresponds on the whole with the other view, which shows this portion of the building. The most striking discrepancy is in the return of the mouldings of the architrave block at the southwest corner² along the south wall in the first view, although in both drawings the block itself extends, as it actually did, only to the centre of the anta. It is interesting to note that on the inside of the west architrave Dalton indicates that the moulding was on a separate slab, except in the case of the southern block, which was in fact a single stone.

Turning to the second view (PLATE L, 2) we find the steps and part of the podium of the Porch of the Maidens covered with earth, which also wholly conceals the terrace wall of the Hecatompedon and fills the Pandroseum almost to the lintel of the door in the west wall. The west columns, windows, and architrave, except for a bit of moulding, are complete, the frieze extends from the north end to the middle of the fourth intercolumniation, and a considerable bit of cornice still remains. The *North Portico* is, of course, walled up, and there is no sign of roof or tympanum, although the latter was certainly in place. Here, as in his other drawing, Dalton reaches a noteworthy precision in some matters much neglected by his contemporaries. Above the moulded course at the base of the columns on the west wall the courses and jointing are correctly drawn, the relation between the courses of the south anta and the roof and podium of the Porch of the Maidens is accurately rendered, and even the chipped and broken edges of the anta are minutely and, to judge from present conditions, faithfully reproduced.

It must be admitted, however, that along with these obvious merits Dalton's work shows also very obvious defects and errors. For example, in the view from the west the egg moulding on the podium of the Porch of the Maidens is continued along the entire west

¹ It looks as though Dalton had enlarged this gap in order to show the top of the southern column at the west end. Fauvel's elevation (see below, p. 547) shows only two blocks missing in the course below the epicranitis and one in the next lower course.

² For a discussion of this block, see Ch. I, pp. 70-73.

side, the lintel above the west door is neglected, all the jointing of the lower west wall is wrong, the courses in the pier at the southwest corner of the North Portico are entirely out of relation to those in the West Façade and finally the place of the small door in the Portico is filled by a plain wall.¹

This last error and very probably a goodly number of the other mistakes in this view can be easily understood by comparison with later drawings,² which show the angle between the west wall and the North Portico filled with ruined masonry which wholly concealed the door and rose above the base of the north anta of the wall. Dalton omitted all this as modern and filled the gap to the best of his ability. The same disregard of existing conditions is probably responsible for a curious error in the other drawing (PLATE L, 1). There are twelve courses, including the epicranitis, visible in the southeast anta. If this is correct — and a mistake by the careful Dalton at so open a point is unlikely, — the earth at the base of the anta covered only the lower half of the orthostate, while at the Porch of the Maidens, since it reached to the top of the podium, it must have covered the whole orthostate and the course above (PLATE VI). Yet in the drawing the ground level is the same along the whole length of the wall, and in consequence at the Porch there are twelve courses exposed instead of only ten. Since the capital of the east anta of the Porch is correctly aligned with course 6 of the wall, it follows that the two additional courses have crept in below that point. It is also noteworthy that below course 5 there are no marks of injury to the stones in the wall. If now we turn to Fauvel's rough plan (Fig. 218), Gell's drawings (Figs. 219, 220), and Dodwell's colored plate (PLATE LII, 1), we find the entire south side, from the Porch of the Maidens almost to the southeast anta, masked by a modern wall, which on one of Gell's drawings rises to course 6, though in view of his habitual negligence in such matters this coincidence has little evidential value.³ It would seem probable that Dalton did not actually see the lower part of the south wall at all. He drew correctly the eastern anta and the western end with the Porch of the Maidens, and as the upper part of the wall was visible, he determined correctly the number of blocks in each course, the jointing, and the height of the Porch; but since he failed to note the increased depth of earth to the west, he carried his lowest course in the anta through to the top of the podium of the Porch, and divided his wall below course 6 accordingly.

In spite of their defects, these drawings, however inadequate as a representation of the Erechtheum amid its Turkish surroundings, may be considered to give us a substantially accurate picture of the condition of the building itself in the middle of the eighteenth century, and they therefore furnish a satisfactory point from which to trace its further vicissitudes. Until after the Greek Revolution the record is one of accelerated disintegration,

¹ For the correct and incorrect renderings in Dalton's drawings compare PLATE IV.

² See, for example, the drawings of Stuart, Dodwell, and Gell (PLATES LI, 1, LII, 1; Figs. 220, 221).

³ It should be added that Stuart, who was in Athens not long after Dalton, omits this wall (PLATE LI, 1). But Stuart, too, seems to have allowed himself some latitude in treating his surroundings, and his testimony cannot be considered conclusive against the existence of the wall in Dalton's day.

which can be best followed in the series of contemporary drawings, supplemented by such additional information as can be gleaned from successive visitors. Unfortunately, these travellers, however learned and intelligent, seldom give very specific accounts of recent changes and generally tend to discuss the supposed original appearance of the building rather than to describe in minute detail the actual conditions.

Although Dalton's engravings were incomparably the best which had yet appeared, his work apparently attracted little attention. Various reasons may be assigned for this neglect — the absence of picturesque effects, deficiency in artistic skill, lack of a descriptive text, and especially the interest of lovers of the antique in a much more promising undertaking in the same region. Fifteen months after Dalton left Greece and a year before his book was ready, James Stuart and Nicolas Revett arrived in Athens for the long stay during which they laid the foundations for the modern study of Greek architecture.¹ In so short an interval, there had naturally been little change, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find that Stuart, in his drawing of the Erechtheum (PLATE LI, 1),² agrees generally, so far as the preservation of the building is concerned, with Dalton.

As a representation of the building in its Turkish setting Stuart's work is obviously far superior to his predecessor's, but from a distinctly archaeological standpoint it is much less satisfactory. There is no indication of courses or jointing except in the podium of the Porch of the Maidens, the architrave of the west entablature, and, curiously enough, the pilaster behind the first engaged column as seen through the intercolumniation.³ The space below the windows is too high, the height and slimness of the columns and of the Maidens are exaggerated, and both frieze and cornice at the west end are, by a strange error, carried much too far to the south.⁴ As a result the drawing is less correct in its general effect than Dalton's clumsier work. On the other hand there is little or no suppression of the modern surroundings as such, even though there may be some freedom in treating them; if anything they are overemphasised by the groups of Turkish officials and other persons with which Stuart loved to embellish his pictures. The level at which the two Turks are placed in the Porch of the Maidens accords with the rubbish-filled condition shown in Dalton's drawing and described by Stuart in his text (App. A, XII), but to the east the ground level is distinctly lower, and, as we have just seen, it is not improbable

¹ On Stuart and Revett's work, see App. B, IV.

² The illustration is from the original water color in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and is here reproduced by the courteous permission of the Council. On the set of drawings by Stuart, see C. H. Townsend, 'The Royal Institute Library and some of its Contents,' *Journal R. I. B. A.*, XIX, 1912, p. 439. The Library also contains four sheets of diagrams and full notes by Stuart for constructing the volutes of the capitals of both East and North Porticoes. They are in a volume marked "Sketches by Stuart and others, Miscellaneous 9," and were given to the Institute, August 11, 1862, by Joseph Woods, the editor of Vol. IV of the *Antiquities of Athens*. Their only value now is for the light they throw on Stuart's (or Revett's) methods of work.

³ In the engraving, Stuart and Revett, II, Ch. II, pl. II, three horizontal courses are marked below the windows, but these lines are lacking in the drawing.

⁴ Dalton, Pars (PLATE LI, 2), and Fauvel (Bibl. Nat., Estampes, G b. 15, a, fol. 14) agree that the frieze extended only a short distance beyond the third column from the north, the cornice only a little beyond the second.

that here a modern wall has been omitted.¹ At the northwest angle a mass of masonry conceals the small door in the North Portico, and here too it is possible to detect the ordering hand of the artist in the regularity given to this mass, which in later drawings is notably irregular. The earth in the Pandroseum also is suspiciously level and well arranged. That it had risen somewhat since Dalton's time may be inferred from the omission of the door in the west wall, both here and also in the elevation and section,² unless in these latter plates the omission implies that the door was thought to be a late addition. It is not mentioned in the text.

The great value of the other drawings by Stuart and Revett — the latter was chiefly responsible for the architectural portion — for the restoration of those parts of the Erechtheum which have since been seriously damaged or destroyed, as for example the West Façade with its windows, has already been made clear in the earlier chapters, and need not be dwelt upon here. Since, however, all present a perfectly uninjured building, they throw little or no light on the actual conditions, with which alone we are at present concerned. Nor does Stuart's text (XII) add anything material on this point, except the specific statement that traces of the cross-walls remained at their junction with the side walls.

The next visitor to study and draw the monuments of Athens was the young French architect, Julian-David Le Roy,³ who arrived in that city in February, 1755, about a year after Revett's departure. His stay in Greece lasted only about three months and included a trip to Sparta, so that he had little time for minute observation, although he had free permission to take measurements and even to use ladders and scaffolding. Unfortunately Le Roy's undoubted skill as a draughtsman, to be expected in a *pensionnaire* of the French Academy in Rome, was accompanied by a most lamentable indifference to accurate observation, and in spite of the beauty of many of the plates in his great work, *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*, the contribution to a correct knowledge and appreciation of those monuments was negligible. So far as the Erechtheum is concerned, the divergencies from Dalton and Stuart can be set down to the free hand of the artist and need no discussion here. The drawing (PLATE I, 3), however, does convey — doubtless correctly — a vivid impression of the neglect and ruin into which the building had fallen, and in all his drawings it was this lively rendering of the general effect that was sought by the artist rather than accuracy in detail.⁴

¹ It is perhaps significant that there is no elevation of the south wall among Stuart's plates. Stuart certainly aimed to reproduce faithfully what he saw, but a study of his drawings fails to confirm the statement of Woods that they were "executed with great care and attention, to make them facsimile representations of the places represented, without any endeavour to improve them by attempts at picturesque effects" (Stuart and Revett, IV, Preface, p. xxi). Stuart's accuracy is called in question more than once by Dodwell; see especially, *Tour*, I, p. 292.

² Stuart and Revett, II, Ch. II, pls. XII, XIII. This elevation of the west wall was not drawn by Stuart but prepared from his notes and sketches by William Newton. It is not likely, however, that the door would have been omitted by the editor had it appeared in his sources. Joseph Woods, *Letters of an Architect*, II, p. 256, interpreted the omission as showing that Stuart considered the door modern.

³ On Le Roy and his work, see App. B, V.

⁴ For Le Roy's theory of the value of minute measurements see his *Observations sur les édifices des anciens peuples*, pp. 6 ff., 11 ff.

The interest in Greek art awakened by the success of Stuart and Revett, and the desire to complete the work which had been interrupted by their hasty departure from Athens, led the Society of Dilettanti to direct that its expedition ¹ to Asia Minor should visit Athens on the homeward journey.

Accordingly, after the explorations which produced the first volume of *The Antiquities of Ionia*, the party consisting of Chandler, Revett, and Pars arrived in Athens, August 31, 1765, and remained there until June 11, 1766.² Undoubtedly the most important contribution to our knowledge of the Erechtheum secured by this stay was Chandler's discovery of the stone containing the report of the Commission of 409 B.C.³ His account of the temple ⁴ has a certain historical importance, since it contains an identification of the several parts of the building, which remained practically unchallenged until the publication of Wilkins's *Atheniensia* in 1816.⁵ According to this theory the building was a triple temple; the East Cella was sacred to Erechtheus, and contained the *θάλασσα*; the central chamber was the shrine of Athena Polias, to which the west room was a *pronaos* and the North Portico an entrance. The Porch of the Maidens was the Pandroseum, where grew the sacred olive. Although Chandler first discussed at some length, if not very successfully, the classical passages relating to the Erechtheum, he says little about the actual appearance of the building (XIII). Pars, however, although chiefly occupied in preparing with minute accuracy and under many difficulties his drawings of the frieze and metopes of the Parthenon, found time to make an important water-color of the Erechtheum from the northeast (PLATE LI, 2),⁶ which replaced in the second volume of the *Antiquities of Athens* (Ch. II, pl. I) a missing drawing from the same side by Stuart.

¹ On this expedition, see Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*, I, pp. vii ff.; L. Cust and S. Colvin, *History of the Society of Dilettanti*, pp. 81 ff. The first result of the stay in Athens was Chandler's *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, 1774, in which the inscription on the Erechtheum occupied a prominent place (Pars II, No. 1). In 1775 and 1776 appeared the *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece* in two quarto volumes. The text was not materially changed in the smaller editions which quickly followed. A French translation by Servois and Barbié Du Bocage with additional notes, partly furnished by Fauvel, was published in 1806, but the new notes on the Erechtheum (Vol. II, p. 545) add nothing of importance. Revett did not always approve of Chandler's text and in his copy of the first edition, now in the British Museum, corrected his companion's slips. Later these corrections were utilized in a "new edition with corrections and remarks by Nicholas Revett," which appeared in 1825.

² Chandler, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 216; Cust and Colvin, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89.

³ On this inscription, see Chandler, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 57 ff. (App. A, XIII), and above, Ch. IV, pp. 283 ff.

⁴ Chandler, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 52 ff.

⁵ According to Wilkins (*Atheniensia*, pp. 130, 141 ff.), the Erechtheum was a double and not a triple temple. The whole building was called the Erechtheum. The East Cella was the temple of Athena Polias, while the central and west rooms together formed the Pandroseum, which had its chief entrance from the north. This view had been briefly enunciated in 1814 by E. D. Clarke (*Travels*, III, p. 499 = App. A, XV), and it may have originated with him. It is probable, however, that he derived it from his friend Wilkins (cf. App. A, XV, p. 597, note 1), who had made a special study of the Erechtheum, while nothing in Clarke's narrative shows more than a very cursory examination of the building. The new theory was promptly adopted by Inwood, Kinnard (Stuart and Revett², p. 59, note *b*), and Leake in both editions of his *Topography of Athens*. It also continued popular during the first half of the nineteenth century in spite of much destructive criticism, and was accepted in substance, though with not unimportant modifications in details, by, among others, Raoul-Rochette (*Journal des Savants*, 1851, pp. 31 ff.), Tétaz (*R. Arch.*, VIII, 1851, pp. 81 ff.), and Beulé (II, pp. 232 ff.).

⁶ This reproduction of the original drawing in the Print Room of the British Museum is published by the kind permission of the Museum authorities.

While most of the artists of this period selected for their drawings the best preserved parts of the building, especially the unique Porch of the Maidens and the West Façade with its windows, Pars seems to have deliberately chosen a point of view from which the ruin should be most conspicuous. A Turkish wall on the left masks the lower part of the east front and of the south wall; the northeast anta conceals the roof of the Porch of the Maidens; and the north side is chiefly occupied by the remains of the Turkish house.¹ But if much is thus hidden, what is visible is most carefully rendered, and shows how far the damage had progressed in the seventeen years since Dalton's visit. The cornice has disappeared from the eastern entablature, and a large part of the north wall between the anta and the North Portico has fallen. The artist's attention to details appears in the careful — and under the conditions surprisingly correct — rendering of the dowel cuttings in the east frieze, of the broken surfaces in the architrave,² and of the traces left on the south wall by the eastern cross-wall. The significance of the rough mass, apparently brick, above the south wall at this point is uncertain. It may be part of some Turkish building outside, for it is scarcely likely that there was any late masonry topping the south wall. At least there is no trace of anything of the sort in the other drawings.

Chandler's expedition found no immediate successors, and during the remainder of the eighteenth century the western visitors to Athens were generally men attracted thither by their interest in Greek history and art, but with neither time nor inclination for prolonged study of the monuments. So far as the Erechtheum is concerned their writings add little to our information, while their drawings, when they existed, remained unpublished and are now for the most part lost.³

There is, however, one exception to this group of somewhat hurried and superficial travellers. Louis-François-Sebastian Fauvel spent a great part of his long life in Athens; at first as one of the assistants employed by the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier to collect material for his *Voyage pittoresque en Grèce* and antiquities for his museum, then as private citizen, and after 1803 as vice-consul of France, until finally in his old age the Greek Revolution, with which he had little sympathy, caused his transfer to Smyrna.⁴ Artist, collector, excavator, friend and guide of European visitors, probably no man of his time knew so well the Athenian monuments, but neither by temperament nor by education was he fitted to present this knowledge in a systematic form.⁵ Apart from a few letters describing minor

¹ These modern walls can also be traced in Fauvel's rough plan (Fig. 218).

² For the testimony of this drawing concerning the identity of the architrave blocks in the British Museum, see above, Ch. I, p. 54.

³ The writings and drawings of this period are catalogued and their references to the Erechtheum noted in Appendix C, Chronological Bibliography. Apart from Fauvel none made any important contribution to the study of the building.

⁴ On Fauvel's life see the excellent biography by Ph.-E. Legrand, *R. Arch.*, XXX, 1897, pp. 41 ff., 185 ff., 385 ff.; XXXI, pp. 94 ff., 185 ff. This work is an indispensable guide through the labyrinth of Fauvel's papers.

⁵ On Fauvel's education and temperament, see Legrand, *R. Arch.*, XXXI, 1897, pp. 195–196; on his dependence on translations, *ibid.*, p. 100. He admitted in 1789 that he did not understand the Greek inscriptions he copied, *ibid.*, XXX, 1897, p. 60.

discoveries in and about Athens, which were published in Millin's *Magasin encyclopédique*,¹ the results of his labors can be gathered only from occasional references in the works of others,² and from the mass of correspondence and of chaotic notes and drawings preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.³

There is little here about the Erechtheum as a building, for Fauvel's references to it are, for the most part, from the time when he was in Choiseul's employ and chiefly occupied in making casts and collecting antiquities.⁴ From his letters it appears that in 1787 he discovered the pavement in the interior and determined its level below the East Portico, although it was not until his return in 1788 that he recognized its Christian origin—a recognition which seems to have passed unnoticed, since, as has been pointed out (p. 493), it is not until after the Greek Revolution that we find further references to Christian alterations.⁵ In January, 1789, we find him once more digging in the main building, and clearing the Porch of the Maidens sufficiently to discover the entrance on the east side and the steps leading down into the Prostomiaion.⁶ This discovery, too, remained unpublished, with the result that it is usually credited to Lusieri, who again cleared the Porch about 1802.⁷

Something more may be gleaned from the preserved drawings. Among these is the rough plan of the Acropolis (Fig. 218),⁸ which has already been cited as a witness to the late walls about the Erechtheum. It is obviously the "brouillon" that Fauvel calls it, and taken by itself needs little notice. Its importance lies in its attempt to map the groups of Turkish houses and the network of narrow lanes which then covered the Acropolis and were generally omitted from the plans showing the ancient remains. It thus confirms and interprets contemporary drawings and descriptions, though its crude and sketchy character makes its unsupported testimony of little value.⁹

¹ For these papers see the index to the *Magasin encyclopédique*, s. v. 'Fauvel.' In 1802, VIII^e Année, T. II, pp. 237 ff., appeared an account of Fauvel's work in Greece, condensed from a paper presented by him to the Institut National. For the Erechtheum it adds nothing to what may be learned from his letters and notes.

² For example, in the notes to the French translation of Chandler (see above, p. 543, note 1) and in Legrand, *Gal. ant.*, partly reprinted in App. A, XIV, 12.

³ Fauvel's papers are in the Département des Manuscrits, *Supplément grec*, 560; *Fonds français*, 22870-22878 (the last volume contains only drawings by Fourmont); *Nouvelles acquisitions françaises*, 7558. Extracts from this volume, which contains letters to Choiseul, have been published by Omont, *B. Soc. Ant. Fr.*, Sér. 6, 1900, pp. 240 ff. These letters were not known to Legrand. The drawings fill four volumes in the Département des Estampes, G b. 15-15, c. There are a few maps and plans in the Département des Cartes, C, 2238, and also a plaster model of Athens.

⁴ On this side of Fauvel's activities so far as it concerns the Erechtheum, see App. B, VI.

⁵ For the references to the pavement, see App. A, XIV, 4, 5. It is perhaps significant of the influences under which Fauvel worked, that his exploration of the interior of the Erechtheum was not due to Choiseul, but to a letter of his old companion, Foucherot (App. A, XIV, 2), and that Choiseul's only response to the news, so far as appears, was a suggestion that Fauvel should secure, if possible, the inscriptions which had come to light (App. A, XIV, 6).

⁶ See App. A, XIV, 8, 13.

⁷ Wilkins, *Atheniensiæ*, p. 129, note, "During the time I resided in Athens (i. e., 1802), Lord Elgin excavated this portico, and discovered several steps leading down to a door-way in the south wall of the Pandroseum." Cf. also Kinnard in Stuart and Revett², II, p. 71, note. Morritt, who received much information from Fauvel, writes, in a letter of 1795: "There is a little staircase descending into the temple through the shrine of Pandrosos" (*Letters of John B. S. Morritt of Rokeby*, London, 1914, p. 175).

⁸ Département des Estampes, G b. 15, b, fol. 3.

⁹ This plan seems to have been made in 1787, for the sheet on which it is drawn contains also rough outlines of an Ionic base in the Propylaea and of a cast from the metope of Sciron on the "Theseum" with directions for mounting. Now we know from Fauvel's letter of February 20, 1787 (App. A, XIV, 4), that he was then about to clear and

More directly concerned with the Erechtheum, and the result of much more serious effort, is the series of drawings belonging apparently to the excavations of January, 1789. These include a careful plan of the whole building,¹ measured drawings of the Porch of the

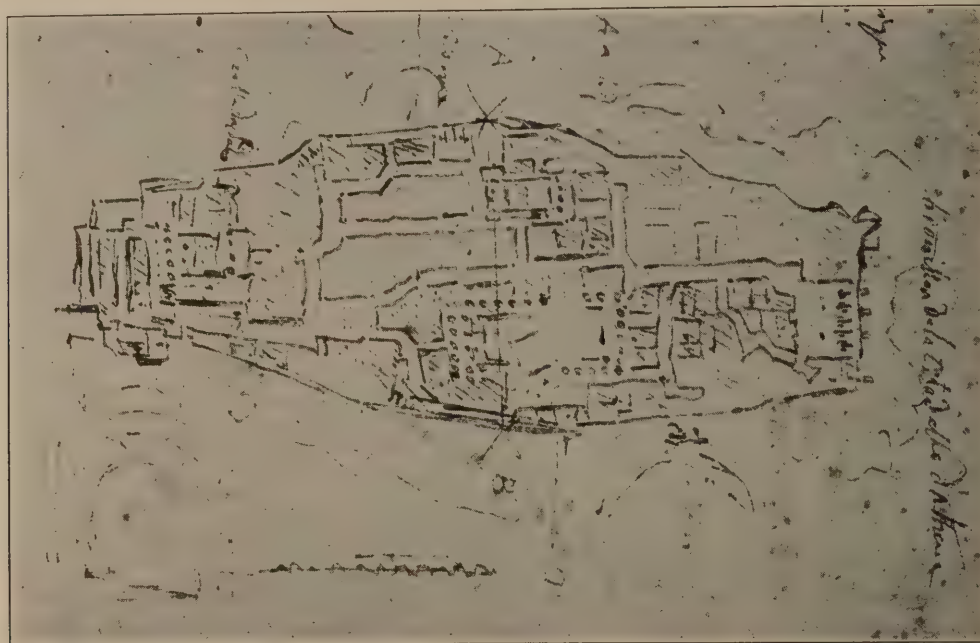


FIGURE 218. ROUGH PLAN OF THE ACROPOLIS IN 1787: FAUVEL

Maidens,² and interior elevations of the north, south, and west walls.³ Neither the plan nor the drawings convey any material information, since they give only the Greek remains,

measure the bases of the Ionic columns in the Propylaea, and among the casts shipped from Athens in September of that year was one of the metope of Sciron: see *Nouv. acq. fr.*, 7558, fol. 3 = Omont, *l.c.*, p. 243: "3. Une métope du temple de Thésée, ce héros précipitant Ciron dans la Mer."

¹ The plan is in the Département des Estampes, G b. 15, a, fol. 16, and bears the legend in Fauvel's writing, "Temple d'Erectée mesurée par Fauvel in J^{er} 1789, après avoir fait fouiller par tout." Legrand, *R. Arch.*, XXX, 1897, p. 62, note 1, says this plan is dated in September, 1789. He also points out that Fauvel wrote Choiseul from Alexandria, September 7, 1789 (*MSS, Fonds fr.*, 22871, fol. 9), and that, according to his own statement, he was in Cairo on October 6 (*ibid.*, 22877, part 2, fol. 10). Legrand adds, "l'une de ces dates est sans doute inexacte." This assumption is unnecessary. The abbreviation, which Legrand reads 7^{re} (Septembre), can as easily be read J^{er} (Janvier). Fauvel's J and 7 are very much alike and in his poor writing *er* and *re* are practically indistinguishable. Almost the same sign appears in *Fonds fr.*, 22873, fol. 173, where Fauvel has endorsed a letter of Choiseul "reçu à Athènes le 14 J^{er} 1791." As the letter was written December 19, 1791, there can be no question about the month, though 1791 is plainly a slip of the pen for 1792. In general Fauvel prefers 7^{bre} for Septembre, e.g., *Fonds fr.*, 22871, fols. 9, 14; 22877, fols. 3, 8; Estampes, G b. 15, b, fol. 61. The date in January is, therefore, palaeographically possible, and furthermore accords with Fauvel's known activity in the Erechtheum during that month.

² The measured drawings of the Porch of the Maidens are in Estampes, G b. 15, fol. 65; 15, a, fols. 12, 14, 15, 17. This last sheet is marked "piédestal des cariatides, mesuré le 15 Janvier 1789." It is a careful profile in ink; at the bottom of the lowest step is the note "Je n'ai point vu cette marche," which gives a hint as to the height of the earth about the Porch at that time.

³ The interior elevations are in Estampes, G b. 15, a, fols. 13, 14. They are not dated, but their general character agrees with that of the other drawings; they are earlier than Lord Elgin's operations, and at no other time do we hear of Fauvel giving special attention to the Erechtheum.

which are now more clearly visible than they were then. The elevations, however, are of some interest, since they are the first architectural drawings which attempt to show the "present state" of the walls, and furthermore help to fill the gap of thirty-five years between Pars and Gell. They are small but carefully done and, considering Fauvel's hasty methods,¹ rather surprisingly accurate. The north and south walls are drawn as complete with the architrave and frieze, but a heavy irregular line marks the boundary between the existing and restored portions. The normal number of courses in the walls and of blocks in the courses is correctly given, but variations in length or height at specific points are generally neglected. The west elevation is less careful work. There is apparently no restoration. The courses in the lower wall are marked, but the blocks are not indicated.² In the intercolumniations the windows are too long, and there are only two instead of three courses beneath them. In the entablature Fauvel agrees with Dalton and Pars, against Stuart, as to the preservation of the frieze and cornice. Comparison of these elevations with the earlier drawings shows that the building had on the whole suffered very little since the middle of the century. At the west there seems to have been no change. On the south wall the westernmost of the four blocks of the epicranitis drawn by Dalton had disappeared, and the gap at the west end (somewhat loosely given by Dalton) is defined as due to the loss of the block next to the anta in course 3, and of the two blocks in course 2 which partly rested on this stone. Since Fauvel carries the upper course of orthostates from the east anta to the door into the Porch of the Maidens, it is clear that by this time the two courses of ordinary height, which backed the orthostates on the inside (p. 48), had disappeared. The north wall had lost a few blocks near the anta in courses 4 to 8 since it was drawn by Pars. In the four upper courses as a whole (excluding the anta) about as little was preserved as now; in courses 5 to 11 somewhat more seems to have been in place on the west side of the gap. So far as can be judged, it was only on this side that the building was especially exposed to injury, and even here it was not much used as a quarry.

After 1789 Fauvel's papers make no reference to any additional study of the Erechtheum. Yet he evidently kept in touch with the work of others, for on his plan of the Erechtheum are two later notes in pencil,³ one marking the opening of the Turkish cistern in the North Portico, the other the small door from this Portico into the Pandroseum. This information may have come from Lord Elgin's artists, who had permission to examine the interior of the powder magazine. It can hardly be earlier than their time.

About 1799 or 1801 the Erechtheum was drawn by the French artist Michel François Préaulx, or Préaux, but what has survived from his pencil has little evidential value, since

¹ On Fauvel as a draughtsman see the criticism of H. W. Williams, *Travels in Italy, Greece, and the Ionian Islands*, II, p. 335, which closes with the words, "It does not appear he can bring himself to enter into the details of accurate finishing." Fauvel's manuscripts and drawings are full of confirmatory evidence.

² Under the door in the west wall is written, "cette porte est faite de force." Cf. Fauvel in Legrand, *Gal. ant.*, I, p. 76, quoted App. A, XIV, 13.

³ The former note reads, "Ici une citerne moderne"; the latter, "Là est une petite porte antique." The handwriting resembles that of Fauvel's later years.



FIGURE 219. "TEMPLE OF MINERVA POLIAS, ACROPOLIS, 1800": GELL

the artist allowed himself considerable freedom in his treatment, omitting some details and restoring others, thus producing a striking rather than accurate picture.¹ Nor does the water-color by Sir Robert Smirke (PLATE LI, 3), made about 1803, add much to our knowledge, for its point of view at the northwest is so chosen that the North Portico hides most of the main building, and indeed occupies the greater part of the field.²

To the opening years of the nineteenth century also belong the somewhat rude sketches made by Sir William Gell (Figs. 219–222),³ which, in spite of their very obvious

¹ Préaulx accompanied John Tweddell to Athens in 1799 (*Remains of John Tweddell*, pp. 248, 261, 267, etc.). The drawings executed for Tweddell disappeared with the rest of his collections, but others, made during this stay in Greece, were retained by the artist. Several of these were later engraved for E. D. Clarke, including one of the east front of the Erechtheum (*Travels*, Part II; Vol. III, opposite p. 498). The point of view is nearly north of the Portico, and little is shown except the six columns and the north anta. A little of the south wall is visible between the corner column and the anta, but the upper part of the wall has been omitted in order that the columns of the Parthenon may be shown in the background. The east frieze is in place and a block of the cornice, which had disappeared over thirty years before, has been added. In 1914 a Paris dealer had in his possession a large water-color of the west end of the Erechtheum from the northwest, signed by Préaulx, showing the same free treatment of details, especially in the rendering of the mouldings of architrave and cornice. See also App. C, No. 24.

² On Smirke's trip to Greece, see the memoir by his brother, *Papers R.I.B.A.*, Session 1866–67, pp. 197–199. The exact date of his stay in Athens is not stated, but he was planning his tour in 1803, and his drawings were made before Lord Elgin's work had been carried very far, so 1803 is the probable year. He was on the Continent from 1802 to 1805. Eleven "Architectural Views in Greece" by him are in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects. The drawing of the Erechtheum is here reproduced by kind permission of the Council.

³ On these drawings see App. B, VII; they were apparently made between 1800 and 1802.

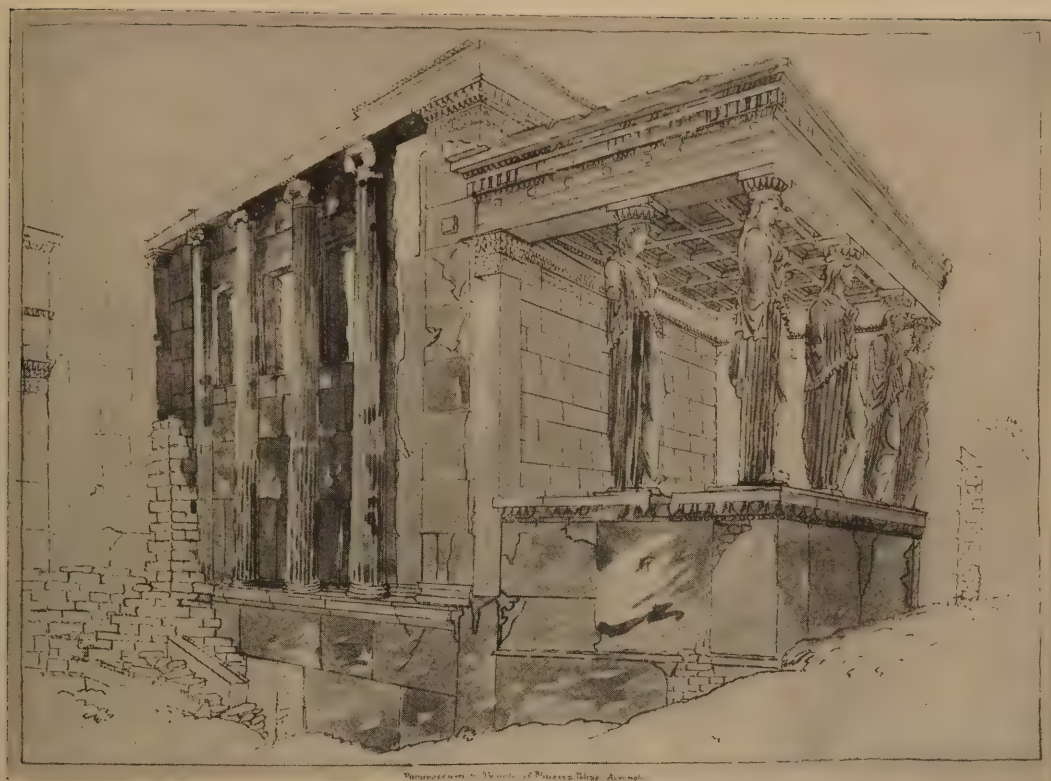


FIGURE 220. "PANDROSEUM AND TEMPLE OF MINERVA POLIAS, ACROPOLIS": GELL

shortcomings, convey, on the whole, a fair idea of the actual condition of the Erechtheum before Lord Elgin's agents began their work. On the evidence of these drawings the chief change in recent years had been the disappearance of the cornice and frieze from both east and west ends, except for two blocks of the frieze over the second and third columns from the north at the east end.¹ It is possible that the gaps in the north and south walls had been somewhat enlarged, but the drawings are too carelessly executed to be reliable witnesses on such a point. The remains of the Turkish house were still conspicuous on the north side, there were traces of a wall between the eastern columns,² and a mass of ruined masonry or bricks filled the northeast corner of the Pandroseum, effectually concealing the small door in the North Portico. On the south the contrast with the earlier drawings is marked. In them the Porch of the Maidens is open and the south wall fully exposed to view. Here, as in Fauvel's rough plan (Fig. 218) and Dodwell's colored plate

¹ It is not easy to account for the removal of these large and heavy blocks from positions so difficult of access, especially as a block on the east end of the south wall was not disturbed. The unbroken condition of the stones makes it improbable that they were blown down by a gale, such as caused the fall of a metope from the Parthenon in 1788 (App. A, XIV, 8). Nor can this damage be laid to the charge of Lord Elgin's agents, for their workmen did not even lower the block which rested in part on the northern architrave, but contented themselves with swinging it askew, in which position it remained until the restoration of 1907 (Fig. 232).

² This wall is also shown in a drawing by Basevi (1818) in Sir John Soane's Museum; see App. C, No. 50. Its absence in the drawings of Dalton and Préaulx proves nothing.



FIGURE 221. "WESTERN FRONTS OF THE TEMPLES OF ERECHTHEUS, MINERVA POLIAS, AND PANDROSUS, ACROPOLIS." GELL

(PLATE LII, 1), this side of the building is masked by a modern wall, which with the Porch at the west and a transverse wall at the east forms a rectangular enclosure entered from the south (Figs. 219, 220). In another drawing (Fig. 221) a rough wall closes the west side of the Porch of the Maidens. So far as the masking wall is concerned, we have seen reason to believe that it may have been deliberately omitted by Dalton and Stuart (p. 540). Such an explanation of the wall in the Porch of the Maidens runs counter to the express statement of Stuart, in the explanation of his plate, that the Disdar placed men in the Porch "to watch our proceedings." This suggests that the wall, which in the seventeenth century had largely concealed the Maidens, by the middle of the eighteenth century had fallen into ruin. Yet it must have been once more restored, for its existence is directly affirmed by a companion of Choiseul-Gouffier, who visited Athens in August, 1784,¹ and is at least suggested in a drawing of about this time, or perhaps a little earlier.² Two years later Choiseul

¹ [G. Martin], *Voyage à Constantinople*, p. 33: "Les Turcs . . . ont même bouché les intervalles qu'il y avait d'une cariatide à l'autre." See App. C, No. 58.

² The sketch shows merely the four figures on the south side without podium or architrave. The presence of a wall between them is indicated by the irregular broken outline given the figures and by a series of short horizontal lines at the sides resembling the beginnings of courses in a wall. The volume of drawings containing this sketch (p. 105), now in the Louvre, was made for Choiseul, and is attributed to Cassas, but it contains some work by other artists, and it is possible that the drawings from Athens are by Fauvel. See also App. B, VI, p. 609, note 5, and App. C, No. 13.



FIGURE 222. "TEMPLE OF ERECTHEUS, ACROPOLIS." GELL

was ready to give twenty piastres to prevent rebuilding "the wall of the caryatids,"¹ which had probably been damaged by Fauvel in making his cast of one of the Maidens. Apparently the offer availed nothing, for not only does the wall appear in Gell's drawing, but its existence is directly affirmed by Morritt, Dodwell, and Hunt, who reported the removal of disfiguring accretions in 1801, — a fact which probably accounts for its absence in Gell's other drawings.²

From the evidence thus far presented it is clear that, while the Erechtheum had suffered

¹ See App. A, XIV, 1. This liberality was probably due to Choiseul's desire to secure one of the figures.

² Morritt, *Letters of J. B. S. Morritt of Rokeby*, p. 175, "they (i.e., the Maidens) are [1795] built up in a shabby rough wall"; Dodwell, *Tour*, I, p. 354, "During my first visit to Athens [July, 1801], the Caryatides were nearly concealed by a modern wall"; Hunt to Lord Elgin, July 31, 1801 (Smith, *J.H.S.*, XXXVI, 1916, p. 196; also App. A, XVI). The only conceivable reason for rebuilding the wall was to transform the Porch into a room, probably forming part of a house extending along the south side of the main building. In that case the plan must have been soon abandoned as unsatisfactory, for, as we have seen, Fauvel in 1789 cleared the interior sufficiently to determine the opening in the east podium and the flight of steps, at which time the Porch was obviously uninhabited. Moreover, the condition of the modern walls in both Gell's and Dodwell's drawings shows that they were falling into ruin, and no visitor refers to the employment of any part of the Erechtheum except the North Portico. Such a temporary use, however, is not surprising in view of Dodwell's statement (*op. cit.*, I, p. 358) that most of the houses on the Acropolis "are miserable huts for the few soldiers of the garrison, and as the stones are only united with mud and earth, instead of mortar, the walls are continually falling; and a heavy rain makes nearly as much havoc amongst the Athenian cottages, as fire or an earthquake in other countries." Haller von Hallerstein (MSS, Strasbourg, Box I, Vol. 3, pp. 87 ff.) says that the wall between the caryatids was removed by Englishmen in 1810 (a slip of the pen for 1801?).

some damage since Dalton's visit and was doubtless used occasionally as a convenient source for building material, the process of disintegration during the eighteenth century had been slow. There was certainly little new construction on the Acropolis, and for repairs mud-bricks and small stones were more needed than large marble blocks. The east wall of the Erechtheum and apparently the architrave and frieze of the side walls had disappeared with the construction of the church, and the interior had long been a complete ruin filled with rubbish; but, apart from the loss of the central part of the north wall and much of the upper entablature at the east and west ends, the exterior and especially the two side porticoes were in a very tolerable state of preservation. The rapid deterioration in the opening years of the nineteenth century received its first impulse from the agents of Lord Elgin and ended in the disasters of the Greek Revolution.

There is no need to enter here upon a discussion of Lord Elgin's work in Athens. It is clear now that it was no random collection of everything that could be secured, but rather a systematic and carefully considered undertaking designed to save for western Europe the finest examples of Athenian art.¹ Given the conditions prevailing in Greece, and the apparent impossibility of any material improvement,² the removal to safety of so much invaluable sculpture, however regrettable its absence from the Acropolis may now appear, was then easily defensible, and in fact has long since ceased to be generally censured. Had the undertaking been confined to removing what had already fallen or could be detached without material harm to the fabric, there would be little ground for complaint, since there can be no doubt that the sculptures of the Parthenon, for example, had suffered severely since Stuart's day. Unfortunately no such limits were observed, and in the determination to obtain "examples in the actual object, of each thing, and architectural ornament,"³ too little attention was given to the amount of damage caused in the process, and the Erechtheum in particular was grievously injured.⁴

The artists and casters employed by Lord Elgin reached Athens in 1800, but were at first much hampered in their work and practically excluded from the Acropolis by the exactions of the Disdar, and it was not until the arrival of a special firman in July, 1801, that the Turkish authorities yielded and Lusieri and his assistants were able to draw, make casts, and collect specimens without molestation.⁵ The Porch of the Maidens was

¹ The definitive history of the Elgin collection has been written by A. H. Smith, *J.H.S.*, XXXVI, 1916, pp. 163-372. For the plan of the collection, see pp. 189, 207, 247 ff. The passages in the letters referring to the Erechtheum are collected below in Appendix A, XVI.

² J. C. Hobhouse (*Journey through Albania*, p. 347, note), who was in Athens in 1810, in a very temperate and impartial discussion of Lord Elgin's conduct (he did not share the indignation of his companion, Byron) dismisses as out of the question the possibility of a successful Greek revolution. This view was also held at that time by Byron, *Childe Harold*, Canto II, note D.

³ Elgin to Lusieri, December 26, 1801; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 207; App. A, XVI.

⁴ See Wilkins, *Atheniensiæ*, p. 144, note: "Had the Erechtheum been suffered to remain untouched, his Lordship might have escaped all well-grounded censure."

⁵ Volume II of the Elgin drawings in the British Museum (Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities) contains seven finished drawings of the Erechtheum. They include a plan, east, west, and north elevations, the North

promptly cleared of disfiguring accretions,¹ and for a time the hope was cherished that it might be possible to remove it bodily.² Meanwhile "a precious fragment of the cornice" from the main building was secured and transported to Malta.³ It was not, however, until 1803 that serious operations were begun. Early in that year the second Caryatid from the west on the south side, which had been found to be the best preserved figure, was taken out and a rough pillar erected in its place.⁴ Soon after, the northern column of the East Portico, the capital of the northeast anta, and the two architrave blocks at this corner were added to the collection.⁵

The damage thus caused doubtless seemed inconsiderable, but its effect on the general preservation of the building was deplorable. The Turks were not slow to follow the example thus presented. In 1805 Dodwell saw the south architrave of the West Façade taken down and placed over a door in the fortress,⁶ while the condition of the walls only a few years later shows that they had become a favorite quarry, doubtless in part because of the discovery that iron and especially lead could be found in the clamps and dowels. The worst of the damage was later than 1805, for Dodwell, who lamented the work of the "dilap-

Door, and two plates of architectural details. All are restorations, with free use of conjecture and, at least in the mouldings of the North Door, considerable neglect of accuracy in detail. All are beautifully executed but throw no light on the actual condition of the building at the time. Volume V, the working drawings, contains nothing from the Erechtheum. The casts of all the ornaments of the Erechtheum and of the head of a Caryatid were lost; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

¹ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 196; App. A, XVI. This probably refers to the removal of the modern wall between the Maidens; cf. Dodwell, *Tour*, I, p. 354, "During my first visit to Athens, the Caryatides were nearly concealed by a modern wall the removal of which has very much improved the appearance of the monument, and was done by the dilapidators [Dodwell's usual name for Lusieri and his assistants], not with any intention of benefitting this singular edifice, but merely to examine which was the most entire of the statues and to facilitate its removal."

² On the wish to obtain the entire Porch and the final recognition that this was impossible, see Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 196, 203, 204, 207, 208, 209, and App. A, XVI.

³ This "cornice" must be a block of the epieranitis. The fragment of cornice from the west end (Ch. I, p. 75) would hardly have called for special mention. In his letter of July 31, 1801, Hunt reported that a block of the cornice had been lowered (Smith, p. 196); on August 6, Lusieri hoped to secure a considerable piece of cornice (*ibid.*, p. 198); on October 26, he reported that the "precious fragment" had been sawn (i.e., the back had been cut away to lighten the stone; *ibid.*, p. 202); and at the end of May, 1802, part of the cornice of the Erechtheum was included in the shipment which the sloop-of-war *Mutine* took to Malta (*ibid.*, p. 209). More of the "cornice" was shipped on the *Braakel* early in 1803 (*ibid.*, p. 254).

⁴ According to Dodwell (*Tour*, I, p. 353): "Future travellers will easily trace on the modern pilaster the letters ΕΑΡΙΝΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ, which probably records the maker's name." In 1834 Sir Grenville Temple (*Travels in Greece and Turkey*, I, p. 81) read on it the words "Quod non fecerunt Goti, fecerunt Scoti," which were attributed to Lord Byron (cf. *Childe Harold*, Canto II, 12). Hobhouse (*Journey through Albania*, p. 345) puts this latter inscription "on the plaster wall, on the west side of the chapel," but does not mention Byron as the author.

⁵ For Fauvel's account of these operations see App. A, XIV, 12. On April 27, 1803, Lusieri reported the acquisition of the Caryatid and the column from the East Portico, and the former had already been taken away by the *Medusa* (Smith, p. 256). The architrave had, of course, been removed earlier, and "parts of the cornice and architrave of the Erechtheum" appear in Lusieri's list of objects shipped on the frigate *Braakel*, which was nearly ready to sail early in February (Smith, p. 254). There is no mention in the published letters of the acquisition of the coffer block from the ceiling of the North Portico (Ch. I, p. 89, note 5).

⁶ Dodwell, *Tour*, I, p. 352. The Disdar, when Dodwell remonstrated, "pointed to the Parthenon! to the Caryatid portico! and to the Erechtheion! and answered, with a singularly enraged tone of voice, 'What right have you to complain? Where are now the marbles which were taken by your countrymen from the temples?'" Pomardi's drawing of the Porch of the Maidens (*op. cit.*, p. 356) was made after the removal of this block. Dodwell's other views are earlier. On the recent discovery of this block, see Ch. I, p. 72, note 1.

idators" and the changes wrought since his first visit in 1801, says nothing about injuries to the walls except at the northeast corner.¹ According to Hobhouse much of the destruction took place during the short war between Turkey and Great Britain (1807–09), when we may suppose the fortifications of the Acropolis were strengthened, and lead and iron were in demand.²

Whatever the causes and the successive stages may have been, there is unfortunately no doubt as to the havoc which was wrought in the fifteen years after 1803. It is enough to compare the drawings of Williams and Thürmer, made in 1817 and 1819, with those of Pars and Gell to realize how appallingly rapid had been the ruin. Thürmer's etching (PLATE LIII, 2)³ in its clear rendering of detail and general accuracy gives the best idea of the state of the building just before the outbreak of the Greek Revolution. The engraving from Williams's painting⁴ confirms the testimony of Thürmer as to the general appearance of what was standing, but is of little value for details, and is further marred by a curious confusion in the perspective of the north and south walls. We see that a great triangular gap now yawned in the centre of the south wall, extending through ten courses, while at both ends the wall was intact and at the east end the frieze was in place. On the north side earth covered the base of the anta and the lower courses of the wall, but the anta itself and the upper thirteen courses of the wall to within a few feet of the North Portico had wholly disappeared together with all of the Turkish house except a corner of the foundations.⁵ Only a small part of the Porch of the Maidens appears, and here the artist has evidently allowed himself a bit of restoration, since only the two eastern Maidens on the south could have been visible, while pillars of rough masonry had long filled the places of the rear figure on the eastern podium and of that removed by Lord Elgin. The door-posts, which Inwood found in 1819 on the threshold of the western cross-wall, are not shown by Thürmer, probably because they did not rise above the mass of débris in the interior.

¹ Dodwell, *Tour*, I, p. 348: "The column at the north-east angle has been taken away by the dilapidators, while some of the wall of the cella has been thrown down with part of the architrave and frieze, and the north-east pilaster."

² Hobhouse, *Journey through Albania*, p. 343: "The walls of the cell, the whole of the south side of which was destroyed during the short war between England and Turkey, and now lies in heaps at the back of the columns and in the area of the Temple." *South* must be an error for *north*, since the drawings show that it was the latter wall which had fallen. Wilkins, *Atheniensia*, p. 142: "The wall toward the north is nearly level with the ground; that facing the south exists to a considerable height." The same mistake of *south* for *north* occurs in Leake, *Topography of Athens*², p. 627, where "the southern column of the eastern portico" is said to have fallen.

³ Joseph Thürmer, *Ansichten von Athen*, Rome, 1823. The brief and unimportant text is in both French and German. The plates are not numbered, but the view of the Erechtheum is the fourth in the copy in the British Museum.

⁴ H. W. Williams, *Select Views in Greece*, I. There are two plates of the Erechtheum, one the view from the north noted in the text; the other of the Porch of the Maidens and the south part of the West Façade from the south-west. The latter is interesting as showing not only the Elgin pillar, but also the similar support which replaced the long missing figure on the east side. Like most of these engravings the views of the Erechtheum tend to sacrifice accuracy to picturesque effect. The original paintings are not catalogued among the works of Williams in Edinburgh.

⁵ The omission of the Turkish house by Williams certainly does not represent accurately conditions in 1817, for in the drawing of the North Portico from the north, made in 1818 by George Basevi and now in Sir John Soane's Museum, the remains of the house are shown very much as they were seen by Gell and Smirke. Basevi's sketch is from about the same point as Gell's (Fig. 222), but is in every way much better. Unfortunately it is in pencil and now so faint that a successful reproduction is probably impossible.

At the west the changes, apart from the loss of the south architrave, were slight, and consequently this end still remained the favorite with artists. The drawings of Smirke (1803; PLATE LI, 3), Dodwell (1805; PLATE LII, 1), Williams (1817), Taylor (1818; PLATE LII, 2), Page (1818; PLATE LII, 3), and Inwood (1819; PLATE LIII, 1) are in essential agreement. The elevation of Inwood is the most detailed and probably the most accurate. It also brings out certain points not hitherto clearly shown. In the west face of the masonry, which occupies the northeast corner of the Pandroseum and conceals the small door into the North Portico, is an arched opening blocked with stones, through which, we are told, was the entrance to the powder magazine.¹ The original sloping roof of the North Portico had long ago disappeared, though a part at least of the tympanum remained in place. To protect the magazine more perfectly the Turks had covered the ceiling with earth held in place by a low parapet of brick or small stones. This construction is vaguely suggested by Le Roy (PLATE L, 3), somewhat more clearly indicated by Pars and Thürmer (PLATES LI, 2, LIII, 2), and shown with perfect distinctness by Inwood. Carried further by Gouras during the Greek Revolution the process, as we shall see, proved fatal to the Portico. A unique feature of Inwood's drawing is the representation of the east side of the Porch of the Maidens as seen from the west. Rough brick or stone pillars not only replaced the missing statue but were erected against the anta and behind the corner figure. They supported a low wall of small stones, five courses high, on which the architrave rested. In such an arrangement the open spaces were much narrowed and must have produced the effect of large windows.²

One other drawing of this period deserves notice, since it furnishes the only known record of the appearance of the loft over the powder magazine in the North Portico. This is a large water-color made by C. R. Cockerell during one of his visits to Athens between 1811 and 1814 (Fig. 223).³ A ladder gave access to a hole in the intercolumnar filling at the north end of the east side, and more light was admitted by another opening at the south end. In the drawing the covering of the vault reaches to the bottom of the lintel of the North Door, though somewhat later Inwood, Donaldson, and Wolfe found the consoles exposed.⁴ It is probable that the concrete vault was covered by loose earth and rubbish,

¹ Inwood, *ed. min.*, p. 4, text to pl. II, speaking of the small door in the North Portico says: "There is at present an entrance there into the modern powder magazine, but being concealed by the rough masonry built before it, as shown in pl. I, it is not clearly ascertained to have been part of the original design." Cf. J. Woods, *Letters of an Architect*, II, p. 256: "There is no admission to the interior as the Turks break a hole in the wall when they want powder."

² The evidence of these drawings as to the condition of the building prior to the Revolution is confirmed, but not materially supplemented, by the elevations made in 1818 by Joseph Woods and R. H. Sharpe, now in the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum, *Add.* 22153, fols. 45, 51-54. Cf. *Add.* 22152, fols. 10-12. On these drawings see App. C, No. 55.

³ Published by Miss C. A. Hutton, *J.H.S.*, XXIX, 1909, p. 55, pl. VII, and reproduced here by kind permission of the Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

⁴ See, for example, Inwood, *ed. maj.*, Book XXIV, p. 112; T. L. Donaldson, *Ancient Doorways*, pl. XXIII, "the top of its ceiling (i.e., of the magazine) not reaching higher than the consoles, which were quite clear"; Wolfe, MSS in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects, see App. A, XVII.

which was later cleared away from this point. The height of the loft seems to have been between two and one-half and three metres, and since there were doubtless other openings which admitted light, it is easy to understand why the details of this Portico fill so much space in the notes and sketches of the architects who visited Athens between 1810 and 1820.

The ruin of the Erechtheum reached its culmination during the Greek Revolution, and when the Turks finally left the Acropolis in 1833, the building seen by Dalton and Stuart had in great part disappeared. The earlier years of the war brought comparatively little



FIGURE 223. THE LOFT IN THE NORTH PORTICO: COCKERELL

injury. We are told that during the siege of the Acropolis by the Greeks in 1821–22 only a single shot struck the building, destroying a part of the southern window in the West Façade.¹ The walls, however, suffered to an unknown, but probably considerable, extent from the search for lead.² Yet now there is for the first time some indication of a desire to preserve the monuments from further injury, for during the Greek occupation a plan was at least considered for transferring the powder from the North Portico to a new magazine,³

¹ Kinnard, Stuart and Revett², II, p. 60, note: "One shot, the only one of which the effect is remarkable, struck the Erechtheum, but happily without inflicting any material injury." *Ibid.*, p. 74, note: "The upper part of the window and filling-in between the southwestern semi-columns has been shaken down since the war, probably by the only shot which is recorded to have struck the ancient Athenian architecture during the late siege." These statements were made on the authority of Waddington, who was in Athens in 1825.

² Gropius to Blaquiere, April 25, 1824: "The same thing [i.e., destruction of the walls to obtain lead] has occurred to the temple of Minerva Polias and Erechtheus, though in a less degree," i.e., than to the Parthenon (Blaquiere, *Narrative of a Second Visit to Greece*, I, p. 157).

³ Gropius to Blaquiere, *l.c.*: "We have not as yet been able to get the powder removed from the old magazine established by the Turks, which is, as you know, in the fine vestibule of the Temple of Erechtheus. The matter is

though it is doubtful whether the removal was actually carried out.¹ There is naturally very little mention of the monuments during these troubled years, and no drawing of the Erechtheum. Few travellers came to Greece—or at any rate to Athens—except the Philhellenes, who had little time, even when they had the inclination, to describe antiquities. There is a brief account of a visit to the Acropolis in 1824 by Edward Blaquiere, a letter of Gropius, the Austrian Consul, on the condition of the monuments in 1824, and two descriptions of the Erechtheum in 1825 by Prokesch von Osten, but none of these adds anything material to what may be gathered from earlier sources.²

On June 28, 1826, the Turkish army under Reshid Pasha appeared before Athens, and on August 14 the lower town was stormed and the defenders driven into the Acropolis, where they held out until June 5, 1827.³ During this siege all the buildings suffered from the fire of the Turkish batteries on the Museum Hill and the Hill of the Nymphs, but the effect on the Erechtheum was peculiarly disastrous. The Propylaea and the Parthenon were chipped and battered, but the Erechtheum was almost destroyed.⁴

The bombardment did no material damage to the East Portico, and if we may judge from the present condition of the stones, the north and south walls suffered less from the Turkish cannon than from the garrison's search for lead. This, however, sufficed to level both walls almost to the ground, though since they were torn rather than battered down,

decided on, but money to construct the new magazine is wanting. I need not say how anxious the society is to rescue this master-piece of art from the total ruin with which it is hourly threatened." Two years later the powder was still there; Gropius to Fauvel, March 13/25, 1826: "Le vestibule du temple de Minerve Polias sera sauvé du danger de sauter un jour dans l'air; on va construire *sans délai* une autre poudrière en chateau" (Bibl. Nat., MSS, *Fonds fr.* 22874, fols. 220–221).

¹ Pittakis (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1854, p. 1163, Nos. 2239–40) says that at the time of the second siege (1826–27) the powder was still in the North Portico, and that for this reason the Turkish fire was directed against it. On the other hand Garston (*Greece Revisited in 1840*, I, p. 126) certainly believed that the powder had been removed, while Ross, who was on the Acropolis in 1832, clearly heard nothing of the powder magazine, since he attributes the bombardment to Turkish knowledge that Gouras's family were in the building (*Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland*, p. 157, note). It is certain that no explosion followed the collapse of the Portico, but it is not easy to see why the garret was used by the women as a refuge, if the safer vault below, which was but little damaged by the fall of the roof, was unoccupied. It may be added that the new magazine must have been prepared in three months, between March 25 (see preceding note) and June 28, when the Turkish attack on Athens began. The time seems very short.

² Edward Blaquiere, *Narrative of a Second Visit to Greece*, I, p. 95. Letter of Gropius, *ibid.*, I, p. 157 (for the references to the Erechtheum, see above, p. 556, note 3). Prokesch von Osten, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, II, pp. 409 ff., 646 f. His letters were written in May or June, and August, 1825, but his book was not published until 1836, and the original text may have undergone some revision. Except for a description of the interior of the North Portico as seen from the loft above the powder magazine (inaccessible to Dodwell), the first letter is little more than a free translation, condensed and rearranged, of the description by Dodwell, *Tour*, I, pp. 346–357.

³ Finlay, *History of Greece*, VI, pp. 401, 432.

⁴ The extent of the damage to the Erechtheum caused by the bombardment may be best ascertained by comparing the drawings made shortly before the Revolution with those made between 1833 and 1843 by Cole (PLATE LIII, 3), Skene (Figs. 224–227), Hansen (Fig. 228), Rey (PLATE LIV, 2), and others. It is true that most of these drawings were made after the partial restoration in 1837 and 1838, but the extent of these repairs is well known (see below, pp. 561–566), and the changes due to them can be easily eliminated. It has not been thought necessary to give references to the several drawings for each detail mentioned in the text. The written descriptions of the Erechtheum after the siege, as, for example, those of Prokesch von Osten (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, III, pp. 509 f., dated July 17, 1827; *Briefwechsel*, pp. 305 f., dated August 21, 1827) mention only the principal injuries, dwelling especially on the fall of the North Portico and the damage to the West Façade and the Porch of the Maidens. They certainly do not suggest such a degree of ruin as is shown in Cole's drawing.

the blocks were in general sufficiently well-preserved to make possible the later rebuilding.¹ The western part of the temple, being the most exposed, suffered most. In the Porch of the Maidens the second statue from the east on the front was shot away, and its fall brought down the blocks of the architrave and roof which it had supported. On the west side of the Porch the capital of the pilaster was destroyed, as well as the north end of the architrave above it, and although the roof at this point escaped, there is reason to believe that part of the south wall above the roof fell or was torn down.² The West Façade certainly lost the northern and southern columns with all the intercolumnar wall, the windows, and the architrave, but strangely enough the two central columns seem to have remained standing.³

The worst fate, however, befell the North Portico, hitherto the best preserved portion of the building. On account of its apparent strength the loft above the Turkish vault was chosen as a safe refuge for the wife and family of Gouras, the Greek commander,⁴ and to make the shelter securely bombproof additional earth and stones were heaped upon the roof. The precaution proved fatal, for when the northwest corner column was shaken by the enemy's fire, the heavy weight on the roof caused the collapse of the entire western half, burying eleven persons in the ruins.⁵ Apart from the fall of the roof the three western columns of the Portico were injured to a greater or less extent. The amount of damage may be estimated by examining the later drawings and photographs, made after the res-

¹ The testimony of Cole's drawing (PLATE LIII, 3) is confirmed by the *Report Gr. Comm.*, §§ 6, 17, and Semper's statement of conditions in 1831: "Damals waren die Mauern der Cella an beiden Seiten bis auf die unterste Schicht über des Stufeneinfassung niedergerissen" (*Kleine Schriften*, p. 164 = *Deutsches Kunstblatt*, VI, 1855, p. 405).

² Cole's drawing is not clear on this point, though the capital of the southwest anta is apparently missing. It is omitted in Metzger's drawing made in 1832 (Thiersch, *Erechtheum*, I, pl. III), but this evidence is untrustworthy. Forchhammer (*Zur Topographie von Athen*, p. 16) wrote K. O. Müller on January 6, 1833, "an der Ecke über den Karyatiden fehlt die oberste Reihe der Plinthen und alles was darauf ruhte," and in 1852 Pittakis stated (*Report Gr. Comm.*, § 6) that the epicranitis at the corner and the stones below as far as the roof (ἡ γωνία ἐπικρανίτις καὶ αἱ κάτωθεν πλῆθαι μέχρι τῆς στέγης τῆς προσταύσεως) were replaced in 1838 and secured with lead and iron.

³ There is a conflict of testimony on this point, though the weight of evidence is in favor of the statement in the text. There is no doubt that the south column fell and that only a broken stump remained of the north column. Cole's and Metzger's drawings and the engraving in Wordsworth's *Greece*, p. 143, show the two central columns uninjured, though without an architrave, and this evidence is confirmed by Leake (*Topography of Athens*², p. 627: "The bombardment of 1827 caused the fall . . . of a part of the western wall with two of its semi-columns") and Pittakis (*L'ancienne Athènes*, p. 404, and in Hobhouse, *Journey in Albania*², II, p. 448). On the other hand Rangabé (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, I, 1837, p. 13), in a summary of the work hitherto accomplished, says two columns were completely reërected (ἀνηγέρθησαν ἐντελῶς) and a third partly restored (ἐπεσκευάσθη κατὰ μέρος), while Ross (*Arch. Aufs.*, I, pp. 121 ff.) states explicitly that only one whole column and half of another remained. The stump of the northern column was never repaired.

⁴ Gouras himself was killed by a Turkish bullet, October 13, 1826. The North Portico fell about three months later (Finlay, *History of Greece*, VI, p. 403 and note).

⁵ This is the version given by Pittakis (*L'ancienne Athènes*, p. 403), Ross (*Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland* p. 157, note, October 12, 1832), Giffard (*A Short Visit to the Ionian Islands, Athens, and the Morea in 1836*, p. 161), and A. R. Rangabé (*R. Arch.*, II, 1845, p. 321). On the other hand Prokesch von Osten (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, III, p. 509, July 17, 1827; *Briefwechsel*, pp. 305, 306, August 21, 1827), Thiersch (*Erechtheum*, I, p. 85, January, 1832), Von Klenze (*Aphoristische Bemerkungen*, p. 460), and Sir Richard Church (British Museum, MSS, Add. 36563, *Narrative of the War in Greece*, I, fol. 159) attribute the disaster simply to the weight of the earth on the roof, which was saturated by the winter rains. Prokesch von Osten adds that the disaster occurred during the night. According to Ross and Thiersch, the bodies of the victims were still beneath the ruins as late as 1832.

toration by Pittakis in 1837.¹ The corner column lost its capital and upper drum, which were not replaced until the restoration of 1902–03. The adjacent column on the east suffered very little and probably did not fall at all. The column south of the corner on the west side apparently lost its capital and upper drum, but both were replaced by Pittakis and the cracked drum held together by iron bands. The second drum shows no special marks of injury, but the third was so battered and cracked that it was necessary to strengthen it by vertical iron clamps. It is not likely that any part of these columns except the capitals and upper drums actually fell. The walls between the columns were left standing to a considerable height, and since they protected the magazine, were doubtless solidly built in the lower part, whatever may have been the case above the vault; they, therefore, served to support all but the upper part of the columns.² It is also probable that in the fall of the roof the western console of the North Door was broken off.³

During the Turkish occupation which followed the surrender of the Greeks, little was done to protect the monuments and certainly nothing to repair or restore them, but the Erechtheum seems to have escaped any serious injury,⁴ and the drawing of William Cole (PLATE LIII, 3),⁵ although not made until after the departure of the Turks, gives a vivid and doubtless substantially correct picture of the state to which the building had been reduced by the bombardment. The upper part of the side walls has fallen and the lower is buried under heaps of earth. Only the two central columns rise at the west end without architrave or intercolumnar wall. The two Maidens at the corners of the Porch still stand, but the roof is supported chiefly by rude pillars. Above the roof the south wall has disappeared except at the southwest corner. The upper part of the modern walls between the columns of the North Portico has happily fallen, but the centre of the Portico is still filled by the Turkish vault and the débris from the roof — a condition which is more clearly shown in the somewhat later drawings of Skene (Figs. 224–226) and Rey (PLATE LIV, 2). The

¹ The drawings of Flandin (PLATE LIV, 1), Skene (Figs. 224, 225), and Hansen (Fig. 228), when compared with later photographs (Figs. 230–232), show that these columns were not materially affected by the removal of the Turkish vault and walls in 1844.

² The protective effect of these walls is perhaps best seen in Flandin's drawing (PLATE LIV, 1), which was made in 1837.

³ Cf. Ch. I, p. 99, note 4.

⁴ According to Thiersch (*Erechtheum*, I, p. 86) much petty damage was done to the fallen mouldings during this period by the numerous visitors — chiefly from the European men-of-war at Piraeus — who were eager to carry away bits of carving as souvenirs.

⁵ William Cole, *Select Views of the Remains of Ancient Monuments in Greece*, pl. VIII. In his preface the author says: "The Drawings . . . are a selection from a number of sketches made under peculiarly favourable circumstances . . . in 1833. . . . The author was so fortunate as to arrive at Athens in May, just after the Turks had evacuated the town. . . . No liberty or license has been taken with the Views for the sake of picturesque effect." Metzger's drawing from the southwest (Thiersch, *Erechtheum*, I, pl. III), made in January, 1832, is wholly unsatisfactory, owing to the restorations and omissions of the artist. He has eliminated all the late walls, earth, and rubbish which buried the lower part of the building, especially at the west end, and has drawn what was then concealed without indicating the extent of his conjectures. Cf. the remarks of Semper, who was in Athens with Thiersch and Metzger, in his *Kleine Schriften*, p. 112. The drawing by Wolfensberger, reproduced in V. Davydov, *Putevnyiĭ Zapiski*, Atlas, pl. XIX (see App. C, No. 115), agrees in general with Cole's view.

East Portico alone remains substantially as it was drawn by Thürmer.¹ With Cole's drawing we reach the last stage in the ruin of the Erechtheum, and may now turn to the history of its restoration.

VI. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ERECHTHEUM

ON April 1, 1833, the Turkish garrison finally left the Acropolis, where it was replaced by a detachment of Bavarians, who were in turn withdrawn two years later² in consequence of the decision of August, 1834, which definitely abandoned all military occupation of the Acropolis, and approved, in principle, the removal of modern disfigurements and the restoration, as far as possible, of their fallen members to the ancient buildings. Even before the departure of the Bavarians work had been begun³ under the highly competent direction of Ludwig Ross, the Ephor-General of Antiquities, but the funds at his disposal were very small for so large an undertaking, and progress was naturally slow. Attention was first directed to uncovering the steps of the Parthenon, rebuilding the temple of Athena Nike, and freeing the Propylaea from the Turkish bastions. There is no mention of the Erechtheum until the summer of 1835,⁴ when, in clearing the base of the northeast column of the North Portico, the Turkish vault in the angle between the Portico and the north wall (PLATE I) was discovered, as well as the opening through the foundations, the crypt, and the passage through the north wall into the main building (PLATE VII).⁵ As this passage and apparently the crypt itself were choked with earth, and as Ross was rightly unwilling to carry on disconnected operations, further investigation here was abandoned until the systematic clearance of the Erechtheum could be undertaken.

Unfortunately when this time came Ross was no longer in office. A serious difference with the ministry led to his resignation in September, 1836, and with his retirement the

¹ With the state of the building shown in Cole's drawing may be compared the following brief description given by Christopher Wordsworth, who was in Athens in 1833 (*Athens and Attica*, first edition, p. 133): "It would require a much longer inscription than that just alluded to [the Chandler inscription], to specify in minute detail what is now defective or dilapidated in this edifice. A general statement may suffice. Of the eastern hexastyle portico five columns are still standing: but the south wall of the cella is almost entirely destroyed. In the Caryatid portico one of the four marble beams of the roof has fallen; three only of the six Caryatides remain; there survive but two of the four engaged columns in the western wall; the north wall of the cella and three of the columns in the north hexastyle portico, with the roof over these last columns, are yet entire: the rest of the roof of this graceful portico has fallen." The "north wall of the cella," here said to be entire, is, of course, only that part of the north wall which is behind the North Portico. The rest of the wall had in great part fallen long before.

Leake's statement (*Topography of Athens*², I, p. 627) that "in 1832 the southern column of the eastern portico had fallen" is certainly an error. The southeast corner is one of the few parts of the building which remains practically unchanged (except for the loss and restoration of part of the frieze and cornice) in all the drawings and photographs from Dalton to the present day.

² Turkish evacuation, March 20/April 1, 1833 (Cavvadias and Kawerau, col. 1); Bavarians withdrawn, March 18/30, 1835 (*ibid.*, col. 7).

³ In August and September, 1834, a little restoration of the Parthenon was attempted by von Klenze, but it was happily soon discontinued. Ross began his work in January, 1835 (Cavvadias and Kawerau, col. 3).

⁴ Ross, *Arch. Aufs.*, I, p. 98.

⁵ See above, Ch. I, pp. 104-110. The opening in the pavement of the North Portico was, however, apparently not discovered until the removal of the Turkish vault over the old powder-magazine in 1845.

clear, exact, and regular reports which had marked his administration ceased. His successor, K. S. Pittakis,¹ was indeed zealous in prosecuting the undertaking, so far as his scanty means permitted, but neither by previous training nor natural ability was he fitted to describe or interpret his discoveries, while his writings show a conspicuous lack of precise observation and accurate record. Systematic reports were no longer issued, and the brief notices which may be found in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, or in the published records of the *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρία*, fail to give any adequate picture of the course of events. It is quite impossible, therefore, to follow in detail the partial reconstruction of the Erechtheum which was in progress between 1837 and 1840, although the results obtained can be determined with considerable certainty from approximately contemporary drawings and the information later given by Pittakis to the Greek Commission of 1852.²

The operations included the removal, at any rate in part, of the masses of earth which encumbered the exterior and concealed in great measure the crepis and the lower courses of the walls, and the replacement of the fallen blocks and columns. Neither division of the work was at this time carried to completion. The later drawings show that at many points the earth still covered the lower steps, while the North Portico contained the remains of the Turkish magazine, and the Porch of the Maidens was disfigured by modern walls, which replaced the missing statues and sustained what was left of the architrave and roof. Most, if not all, of these deficiencies were due to lack of money and of proper apparatus for handling large masses of stone. Yet in spite of these difficulties much was accomplished, and in particular the exterior of the main building then received substantially the form which it retained until 1903. After 1840 the work on the Erechtheum was chiefly confined to the partial restoration of the two side porticoes, the clearing of the surroundings, and the more careful examination of the interior.

Turning to the details of the work begun in 1837, we find that at the east end the steps and floor of the portico were cleared, thus showing the destruction caused by the Christian apse, and also laying bare the base of the northeast anta. The north wall at this point had fallen, but most of the stones had not been employed elsewhere and the anta was now reconstructed, with some patching, to a height of seven courses.³ Further digging around the northeast foundations led to the discovery of the inserted column drum and other earlier repairs at the corner, and apparently of the little podium with the marks of the flight of

¹ Cavvadias and Kawerau, col. 8, note 6. Pittakis was at this time *Ἐφορος τοῦ Κεντρικοῦ Μουσείου*. He was not appointed *Γενικὸς Ἐφορος* until January 1, 1849. His statements about the Erechtheum, though often vague or obscure, are happily free from any suspicion of deliberate falsification.

² The drawings of Flandin (PLATE LIV, 1), Skene (Figs. 224–227), Hansen (Fig. 228), Du Moncel (*Vues pittoresque des monuments d'Athènes*, pl. II = *De Venise à Constantinople à travers la Grèce*, pl. XI), Chenevard (*Voyage en Grèce et dans le Levant*, pls. XVI, XVII), and Rey (*Voyage pittoresque en Grèce*, pls. XXIV = PLATE LIV, 2, and XXV) were all made between 1837 and 1844. Brief accounts of the work are given by Rangabé, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, I, 1837, pp. 12, 13; Ross, *Arch. Aufs.*, I, pp. 121 ff. (important for the discoveries in 1837); Pittakis in Hobhouse, *Journey through Albania*², II, p. 448.

³ Rangabé, *l.c.*, p. 12; *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 5.



FIGURE 224. THE NORTH PORTICO FROM THE NORTHWEST: JAMES SKENE, FEBRUARY 27, 1839

steps leading down from the upper to the lower level.¹ As the work progressed along the north side it was found that the wall was preserved to the height of the pavement of the East Portico at the east end, but that from this point to the east side of the North Portico only the orthostates and the course above were in place. Four complete courses were relaid and a number of stones in seven more, leaving a somewhat larger gap in the centre than now appears. At the northwest corner above the roof of the North Portico two courses are said to have been replaced.² It is noteworthy that most of what is now missing had disappeared before the building was drawn by Pars in 1765, and had apparently been carried away or broken up. The later damage seems to have been confined to tearing down the wall for the sake of the lead and iron, while the stones themselves were left lying where they fell. Since few were re-used or broken, it has been possible to reconstruct most of what was standing in Stuart's day. Along the base of the wall the clearing was not carried very deep, for the poros foundation of the marble pavement (PLATE I) was not detected until Bötticher's excavations of 1862, or fully cleared until 1887.³

¹ On these earlier repairs at the northeast corner, see above, p. 527; *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 4; Ross, *Arch. Aufs.*, I, p. 122.

² Rangabé, *l. c.*; *Report Gr. Comm.* § 17, pl. IV. This plate shows that here only two interbeams and a block of the epicranitis were actually replaced. In all these repairs imperfect stones and small gaps were pieced out with brick.

³ See below, pp. 571, 574; Cavvadias and Kawerau, cols. 33, 85.



FIGURE 225. THE ERECHTHEUM FROM THE SOUTHWEST: JAMES SKENE, 1839

The North Portico received little attention. The northwest corner column was strengthened and work was begun, then or later, on a new drum to replace the uppermost one, which had disappeared. The column to the south of the corner was more extensively repaired, since the capital and broken upper drum were replaced, the latter being held together by two iron bands, while the third drum from the top, which was badly cracked, was secured by vertical iron clamps.¹

At the north end of the west wall the Turkish masonry, so conspicuous in the earlier drawings, was removed, and the small door in the North Portico discovered, greatly to the surprise of some of the resident archaeologists.² It is strange that the existence of this door should have been so entirely forgotten in Athens, for it had been known to Inwood and recorded by Fauvel on his plan.³ On the wall itself the fallen southern column was

¹ According to Cavvadias and Kawerau, col. 9, a report of Pittakis in the archives of the Ephor-General, dated December 1, 1837, announces that three columns of the North Portico had been re-erected and the south wall in great part rebuilt; cf. *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 20, where the date is given as 1838 according to the testimony of Pittakis. The difference in dates shows clearly how little reliance can be placed on his evidence in matters of detail. The statement that the columns were re-erected is an exaggeration, as the intercolumnar wall forming the sides of the magazine held all but the upper part of the columns in place. The damage to the drums seems to have been caused by cannon balls rather than by falling. For the appearance of the Portico after these restorations, see the drawings by Skene (Figs. 224, 225) and Hansen (Fig. 228).

² Ross, *Arch. Aufs.*, I, p. 124 (= *Kunstblatt*, 1837, No. 79, p. 326), in speaking of the excavations along the west wall: "Doch ist hier durch den Abbruch eines türkischen an dem Vorsprung der nördlichen Halle in dem Winkel sich anlehnenden Gemäuers, ganz unerwartet eine antike Thüröffnung zum Vorschein gekommen." In a note added later (*ibid.*, p. 124) Ross refers to Inwood's mention of this door, and adds that its antiquity is certain.

³ Inwood, *ed. min.*, p. 4, text to pl. II. For Fauvel's plan, see above, p. 547.



FIGURE 226. THE ERECHTHEUM FROM THE NORTHEAST: JAMES SKENE, JANUARY 8, 1841

reërected and the three columns joined by two architrave blocks. The stump of the northern column remained untouched, and no attempt was made to restore the intercolumnar wall and the windows.¹ At the southwest corner the space beneath the great stone was cleared and a rubble wall constructed to support the great stone itself, which was cracked.² The south wall had shared the fate of the north. The east anta was intact, and so was the wall behind the Porch of the Maidens, but the rest of the wall above the orthostates had fallen.³ It was possible, however, to rebuild six courses and a large part of a seventh. The inner facing of the orthostates, which was missing in the eighteenth century,⁴ was replaced by a brick lining, and brick was freely used to fill small gaps. According to Pittakis the stones at the west corner above the roof of the Porch of the Maidens were also replaced at this time.⁵ The steps at the base of the wall were cleared, and the stylobate of the Hecatompedon exposed for about 4 m. along the side of the Erechtheum.⁶

¹ This work was begun in 1837; Ross, *Arch. Aufs.*, I, p. 125; Rangabé, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, I, 1837, p. 13. Pittakis later (October, 1852) dated the re-erection of the column in 1840 (Cavvadias and Kawerau, col. 14, note 3).

² *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 15. The south end of course 16 was left exposed in order to show the oblique cutting at this point, as appears from the elevation of the west wall by Tétaz (D'Espouy, *Mon. ant.*, pl. 39).

³ Ross, *Arch. Aufs.*, I, p. 122, notes that the orthostates were completely preserved; see also above, p. 558, note 1. On the statement of Pittakis that the orthostates near the centre of the wall had been replaced by him, see p. 513, note 3, and the references there given.

⁴ See above, Ch. I, p. 48, note 1, and Ch. V, p. 547.

⁵ *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 6. On the repairs at this southwest corner, see above, p. 558, note 2.

⁶ This excavation does not appear to be noticed in any of the reports, but is shown plainly by Tétaz in his south and east elevations and in the original drawing of his plan (D'Espouy, *Mon. ant.*, pl. 39). It is omitted from the engraved plan published in the *Revue Archéologique*, VIII, 1851, pl. 158.



FIGURE 227. THE INTERIOR OF THE ERECHTHEUM: JAMES SKENE, MAY 25, 1841

In these excavations there came to light the torso and several fragments of the lower part of the long missing Maiden from the east side of the Porch. The head, however, had disappeared, and the condition of the rest was such that at the time it was believed unsafe to attempt its restoration, since it could not be made strong enough to support the architrave and roof.¹ The second figure from the east on the south was more fortunate. It had been thrown down, as has been said, by the Turkish bombardment, and the head broken off. The latter had been found by Pittakis some time before, and it was now joined to the body, which had been, until this time, lying where it had fallen, and the complete statue restored to its old position.² The capital was missing, however, and the figure was apparently thought too weak to bear any great weight, for no attempt was made to replace the fallen architrave or ceiling. At the northwest corner of the Porch, where the capital of the pilaster and part of the architrave had been shot away, another pillar of masonry was added to those which already disfigured the Porch.³

By the rebuilding of the walls the interior had been freed from many stones which had

¹ Rangabé, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, I, 1837, p. 12; Ross, *Arch. Aufs.*, I, p. 122. Ross attributed the fall of the statue to a Venetian bomb, and thought that the marks on the neck indicated that the head had been cut off for removal rather than broken by the fall. The chief objection to ascribing the fall of the figure to this cause is the absence of any reference in the pre-Venetian and Venetian accounts to more than the four statues on the south side. The fresh gap and the fallen figure could hardly have escaped all notice.

² The figure was given a new plinth, and there was a little restoration on the neck and hair by the Swiss sculptor, Imhof (Ross, *Arch. Aufs.*, I, p. 121).

³ See the drawings of Skene (Fig. 225), Hansen (Fig. 228), and Du Moncel (*Vues pittoresques des monuments d'Athènes*, pl. III) for the effect of these props of masonry, which almost surrounded the statues and completely destroyed the true effect of the Porch. Cf. also the remarks of Tétaz, *R. Arch.*, VIII, 1851, p. 6, note 1.

hindered earlier investigators, and it was now further cleared in the old nave of the church to the level of the pavement. The south aisle was excavated to the rock and found to contain Christian graves.¹ Most of the north aisle remained untouched and earth still covered part of the north aisle wall, but at its west end the space before the entrance to the crypt, a part at any rate of the crypt itself, and the late passage under the east foundations of the North Portico were cleared,² though not sufficiently to detect the "trident marks." At the east end the work was not pushed below the level of the nave, and the threshold of the iconostasis seems to have escaped notice, as it is not mentioned in any description and appears first in the plans of Ballu (1844)³ and Tétaz (1847), although the latter for some reason omits the threshold of the Diaconicum in the south aisle, shown by the former. At the west end the great cistern was now clearly revealed, but no attempt was made to remove its covering.⁴ One result of the excavations in the interior was to establish beyond cavil the transformation of the temple into a church, — a fact, which, as we have seen, had been strongly suspected for some years.⁵

After 1840 systematic work on the Erechtheum again came to a standstill for a time,⁶ but in 1844–45 the Greek Archaeological Society undertook the task of removing the remains of the powder magazine from the North Portico. It was a work of no small difficulty, since it involved lowering the beams, which had fallen on the roof of the vault, without harming the columns or disturbing the uninjured portion of the ceiling. The task was, however, successfully accomplished, all modern accretions were cleared away from the interior of the Portico, thus exposing the opening in the floor,⁷ and the stones with which the great North Door had been walled up were removed. In the walls of the vault were found inscriptions and a number of fragments of the marble figures from the frieze.⁸ The

¹ *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 35.

² Rangabé in Thiersch, *Erechtheum*, I, p. 175.

³ The plan and drawings of Ballu are in the library of the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris.

⁴ The openings in the centre and in the southwest corner which appear in the plan by Tétaz are almost certainly the old openings for drawing the water. There is no reason to suppose them the work of the excavators.

⁵ See above, p. 493. Rangabé, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, I, 1837, p. 12; *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg), July 16, 1838, Beilage, p. 1495, the summary of an article in the Athenian newspaper *Σωτήρ*, in which the recently completed work in the Erechtheum was carelessly and vaguely described, but the transformation into a church emphasized. The condition of the interior at this time is shown in Skene's drawing (Fig. 227).

⁶ It is probable that most of the restoration was completed by 1838, though if Pittakis gave correctly the date of the replacement of the column of the west wall (see above, p. 564, note 1), work of some importance was still in progress in 1840. For the appearance of the Erechtheum until about 1850 the chief sources are still the drawings and engravings, especially the former, since the engravers are often careless in details or worked from faulty originals. The travellers who visited Athens during these years seldom furnish anything beyond general descriptions, which usually combine the existing conditions with the supposed ancient appearance and the views of the writer about the original divisions and uses of the building, so that it is often difficult to distinguish between what was actually seen and what was visible only to the imagination. In fact, without the drawings it would be quite impossible to form any adequate idea of the condition and surroundings of the Erechtheum before 1852. For the drawings and the more important descriptions see the Chronological Bibliography in Appendix C.

⁷ The opening in the floor of the Portico, but not the marks in the rock below, is drawn by Ballu in his plan (1844) with the note: "Excavation antique, mise à découvert à la suite des fouilles faites tout récemment."

⁸ On the clearing of the Portico, see A. R. Rangabé, *R. Arch.*, II, 1845, pp. 321 ff.; *Σύνοψις τῶν Πρακτικῶν τῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρίας τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, 1845, pp. 198–201. The Archaeological Society spent 572 dr. on this work (*Σύνοψις*, pp. 206–207; *Πανδώρα*, VI, 1855–56, p. 475), but Pittakis later declared that of this sum 122 dr. were spent on refreshments for the annual meeting of the Society (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1856, pp. 1310–11).

remains of architrave, frieze, beams, and coffers were arranged near the Portico, and the Society cherished the hope of restoring them to their original positions; but this plan was not carried out, probably because of lack of funds.¹

In the year after the work on the North Portico was finished, the restoration of the Porch of the Maidens was begun at the instance of Piscatory, the French Minister, with funds partly raised through the Legation and partly contributed by the Minister himself.² The work was directed by a young French architect, A. Paccard, a member of the



FIGURE 228. THE ERECHTHEUM FROM THE SOUTHWEST: CHRISTIAN HANSEN, ABOUT 1844

French Academy in Rome, and one of the first of the *pensionnaires* who received permission to take Greek ruins as the subject of the restorations which form part of the work of the architects at the Villa Medici.³ The Caryatid from the east side, which had been discovered nine years before, was restored — none too successfully — by the Italian sculptor Andreoli⁴ and replaced. A new capital was fitted to the northwest pilaster and a new bit of

¹ Cavvadias and Kawerau, col. 11. For the appearance of the building at this time, see the drawing made in 1845 by H. R. Ricardo (PLATE LIV, 3).

² Cavvadias and Kawerau, col. 12, note 5.

³ G. Radet, *Histoire et l'œuvre de l'École française d'Athènes*, pp. 18–20. The first group and their subjects were Ballu, "the Temple of Minerva Polias" (1844, see App. C, No. 127), Paccard, "the Parthenon" (1846), and Titieux, "the Propylaea" (1847). Their "Envois" are in the library of the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris.

⁴ Only the ancient torso, from neck to hips, was used in this restoration. Apparently the fragments of the lower part (Ross, *Arch. Aufs.*, I, p. 122: "Acht bis zehn grösseren und kleineren Fragmenten") could not be satisfactorily pieced together so as to furnish proper support to the weight above.

architrave placed upon it. The statue which had been shot down in 1826 and re-erected in 1837 was also given a new capital, and the architrave above was restored, but no attempt was made to replace the fallen roof at this point. A terra cotta cast of the Elgin figure, which had been presented by the British Government, was substituted for the rude pillar of masonry erected by Lusieri.¹ All the other brick and stone pillars which had so long disfigured the Porch were removed, but slender iron columns on either side of the replaced statue on the south side supported the new architrave (Fig. 231), and the cast from London was enabled to sustain the weight of the roof by a similar rod inside. New blocks also replaced damaged portions of the podium and steps, and the opening in the east side of the former was cleared.² With the completion of this work in the spring of 1847³ the exterior of the Erechtheum, except at the west end, assumed substantially the appearance which it maintained until 1903.

The condition of the Erechtheum, freed at last from most of the modern accretions which had so long obscured its true form, was now more favorable to serious investigation than at any time since it had attracted the attention of western visitors, and it is not surprising that another architect of the French Academy in Rome, J.-M. Tétaz, chose it as the subject of his "envoi de Rome." He came to Athens in 1847, and completed his drawings there and in Rome during the following years,⁴ finally exhibiting his work in the Salon of 1850, and publishing his explanatory memoir in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1851.⁵

The theories and the restoration proposed by Tétaz may be passed over here, but his drawings are of importance as including the first accurate sections and plan showing the actual state of the building. The plan in particular presents a unique record of conditions in the interior which soon passed away.⁶ Tétaz also first gave a careful, though not wholly complete, report on the crypt under the North Portico⁷ and the passage from it into the interior, both of which were now fully cleared, as well as the west end of the north aisle of the church. Tétaz, however, was rather a recorder than an explorer, and his work left the

¹ Cavvadias and Kawerau, col. 11.

² Tétaz, *R. Arch.*, VIII, 1851, p. 6, note 1. The opening in the podium appears — apparently for the first time since Fauvel — in Ballu's East Elevation (1844).

³ Charles Lévêque, *Journal des Savants*, 1879, p. 750.

⁴ Some of the drawings of details are dated "Athènes, 1847"; the unrestored elevations and plan, "Athènes-Rome, 1848"; the restorations, "Rome, 1849."

⁵ *R. Arch.*, VIII, 1851, pp. 1-12, 81-96, pls. 158, 159. An abridged translation, with additional illustrations by the Hansens and Hoffer, appeared in the Vienna *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, XVI, 1851, pp. 335-353, pls. 429-435. The original drawings by Tétaz and the manuscript of his *mémoire explicatif* are in the library of the École des Beaux-Arts at Paris. See below, App. C, Nos. 132, 143.

⁶ The importance of this plan for the restoration of the church has already been noted, p. 493. Ballu's earlier work, though skilful, is much less accurate in details.

⁷ Tétaz (*l.c.*, p. 10) records that it was the lack of contact surfaces in some of the stones surrounding the opening in the pavement which first attracted his attention and led him to believe that the opening, in part at least, was Greek. He, therefore, proceeded to clear the whole area to the rock, and thus discovered the "trident marks." He was not properly the discoverer of anything else connected with the crypt, but he was certainly the first to make a thorough examination of it. Curiously enough Rangabé in his letter of December 13/25, 1848, in which he reported the discovery of the "trident marks," crypt, and passage through the north wall, does not mention the name of Tétaz (Thiersch, *Erechtheum*, I, pp. 182-183).

appearance of the building almost unchanged. Somewhat more extensive were the alterations due to the next undertaking.

During the years of reconstruction on the Acropolis the independent study of the nature and original plan of the Erechtheum had not been neglected in western Europe, and widely divergent opinions on these points had been advocated, generally based, as was natural under the circumstances, upon very inadequate knowledge of the remains of the building. In particular a violent controversy had arisen between Friedrich Thiersch of Munich and Carl Bötticher of Berlin, which was complicated by the publication of the drawings of Tétaz, showing the actual state of the inside of the north and south walls, but leaving unanswered many questions which the disputants regarded as essential. Accordingly in 1852 Thiersch determined to proceed to Athens and secure at his own expense a new and complete examination of the building by an independent committee of Greek scholars. The report of this committee, which is dated August 5, 1853, and the accompanying drawings by the Greek architect, Panagiotis Kalkos, furnish reliable information as to the state of the building at the time and the alterations wrought by the investigation.

Outside of the Erechtheum there was but little change, since only at the west end was there any excavation. South of the door in the west wall the earth was cleared away to the rock of the Acropolis, which was found to be uneven. Then, or earlier, the foundations north of this door were uncovered as far as the North Portico, and some of the stones propped by modern walls.¹ In the Porch of the Maidens the committee dug between the south wall of the main building and the foundation of the peristyle of the Hecatompedon, but found only late filling and a modern wall (part of which still remains) beneath the threshold of the south door.² In the North Portico they found *four* crevices in the bottom of the crypt, and by breaking away part of the Turkish receptacle in its northwest corner determined that this did not extend below the surface of the rock.³

It was in the interior of the main building that the committee wrought the greatest changes. At the east end they cleared the space once occupied by the altar of the church, finding a Christian grave, as well as strongly built foundations, which were considered to be post-Hellenic and were thereupon destroyed, apparently without any further record.⁴ They also made trial diggings to determine the nature and extent of the foundations of the East Portico and the material used.⁵ In both north and south aisles the line of the eastern transverse wall was carefully examined, and late quadrangular foundations in both aisles were removed in order to lay bare the rock. A trench was dug along the line of this wall from the centre of the nave to the north wall, thus opening the existing breach in the

¹ *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 15. The committee say nothing about clearing the rest of the foundations, but their elevation of the west end (*Report*, pl. II) shows the foundations and the modern supporting walls. On the other hand the west elevation by Tétaz (1848) shows the lower steps and foundations of the west wall buried in heaps of earth (D'Espouy, *Mon. ant.*, pl. 39). It is probable that the region was excavated by Pittakis between 1848 and 1852.

² *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 12. On the prehistoric remains preserved in this modern wall, see Ch. I, pp. 13, 14, Fig. 6.

³ *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 22.

⁴ *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 35.

⁵ *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 47.

north aisle wall (Fig. 93). In this trench a large stone was found resting on the rock.¹ Either this excavation, or another in the nave, showed that the pavement was made of thin marble slabs, bedded in mortar, resting on a filling of reddish earth mixed with mortar, which the committee rightly regarded as conclusive evidence of its late origin.² At the west end the inside of the cistern was tested to determine whether there was any trace of a passage to another underground chamber, and part of the covering was broken away, revealing clearly the projecting course beneath the orthostates of the west wall.³

Even while the committee was engaged in drawing up its report, the Erechtheum was again injured. In the great storm which broke over Athens in the night of October 14/26, 1852, doing much damage in the city and causing heavy losses along the coast, the three columns remaining on the west wall were blown down. According to Sir Thomas Wyse, the British Minister, "they were swept clean away from their bases into the adjoining temple by a violent blast from the south-west about eleven o'clock. Two of the shafts are now seen lying in the broken modern vault, through which they fell, tolerably well preserved; two-thirds of each shaft remain, with portions of the attached wall. The third is flung at some small distance. The capitals are shattered into fragments, and scattered in every direction."⁴ Although Wyse urged the importance of immediate restoration before the carved fragments were carried away by visitors, and although the raising of a considerable sum (25,000 dr.) for the replacement of all the fallen members had been included in Thiersch's plan,⁵ nothing resulted from these appeals, and there was no further restoration until 1903.

Although the report of this committee was by far the most complete and accurate description of the Erechtheum which had yet appeared, it did not cover all the disputed points, while the very limited number of elevations and sections were quite inadequate to supply the missing information. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that each contestant found in its statements irrefutable arguments for his previously expressed opinions, and that the need of further investigation became increasingly obvious. Finally in 1862 Bötticher induced the Prussian government to send him to Athens with Ernst Curtius and Johann Heinrich Strack as his colleagues to study anew the problems connected with the Erechtheum and other Athenian monuments.⁶ Work began on the Acropolis early in

¹ *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 44. On the concrete quadrangular foundations in the aisles, see above, p. 516. The large stone may have been part of a prehistoric wall which had served as a foundation for the Greek east cross-wall, or it may have been left by Christian builders of the aisle walls.

² *Report Gr. Comm.*, § 35.

³ *Report Gr. Comm.*, §§ 33, 37, pl. IV.

⁴ Letter from the Right Honorable Thomas Wyse, dated January 4, 1853, in *Archaeologia*, XXXV, 1853, p. 24. This storm also blew down one of the three detached columns of the Olympieum. Wyse could find no evidence that the gale was accompanied by an earthquake. All the damage was due to the extraordinary violence of the wind, which fortunately only lasted four hours.

⁵ Thiersch, *Epikrisis*, p. 25 (357), note.

⁶ An account of the work on the Acropolis was published by Bötticher in the Berlin *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, XIII, 1863, cols. 195-224, 405-407, 557-608, pls. N₁-N₁₂, and reprinted in his book, *Untersuchungen auf der Acropolis von Athen im Frühjahr 1862*; see App. C, No. 175.

March and continued until the end of May, 1862, when it was interrupted by Bötticher's unexpected recall to Berlin. So far as the Erechtheum was concerned, these excavations yielded comparatively little new information, while hardly any of the conclusions which Bötticher drew therefrom have proved tenable.¹

Outside the building attention was chiefly given to a more thorough examination of the immediate surroundings. On the south Bötticher uncovered more of the foundations of the Hecatompedon, which he interpreted as the remains of an ancient platform of polygonal masonry.² At the west end the most important result was the discovery of the stone containing the water channel in the Pandroseum and the establishment of its connection with the cuttings in the steps of the North Portico.³ He also reported the presence of numerous Christian graves near the west end of the temple, about four feet above the level of the rock; they had been only partially removed in the course of the earlier excavations near the west wall.⁴ On the north the base of the wall was cleared, exposing part of the poros blocks which once supported a marble pavement (PLATE I), but as the excavations did not cover the whole area between the temple and the wall of the Acropolis, the nature of the discovery was again misunderstood, and it was interpreted as the remains of another water channel.⁵

Somewhat farther east, where had once been the flight of steps from the upper to the lower level, more late graves were found.⁶ Apart from a hole about five feet deep between the south wall and the "polygonal terrace,"⁷ the exterior excavations do not seem to have been pushed very far. There was no attempt to clear thoroughly the whole area about the temple, and in fact such an undertaking would have been too great for the time and money at the disposal of the expedition.

In the interior the procedure was much more thorough. The aisles and apse had already been cleared, and the work of the Commission in 1852 seems to have destroyed much of the pavement of the nave, since Bötticher found it remaining only at the eastern end near the iconostasis. He now excavated the entire nave, with the exception of a small section in the southeast corner, to the native rock, and even cleared a hole in the rock in the old central room to a depth of four feet. These operations brought to light many objects which were thought to have been buried by the Christians, since they were found below

¹ See the judgment of Adolf Michaelis in the life of Bötticher in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XLVII, pp. 150-151: "Fast alle bedeutenderen Beobachtungen, die er hier machte, haben sich freilich später als irrthümlich erwiesen. . . . Am Poliastempel stürzt mit dem mittelalterlichen Ursprung der Schlitzfenster die angenommene Doppelstöckigkeit zusammen (Borrmann); Bötticher's Kritik des Dreizackmales als solchen hat sich als unhaltbar erwiesen; es bleiben wesentlich nur eine Beobachtung über Wasserableitung an der Nordhalle und die Bestätigung eines östlichen Einganges zur Korenhalle bestehen."

² *Untersuchungen*, pp. 206-208.

³ *Untersuchungen*, pp. 209-213. See on this channel above, Ch. I, pp. 123-125 and PLATE VIII.

⁴ *Untersuchungen*, p. 211.

⁵ *Untersuchungen*, pp. 215-221. Cf. Cavvadias and Kawerau, col. 85. For the correction of this error, see p. 574.

⁶ *Untersuchungen*, p. 214.

⁷ *Untersuchungen*, p. 200.

the assumed level of the pavement. They included two Ionic capitals, a considerable part of the jambs and lintels of the east windows, column drums, inscriptions, and fragments of the frieze.¹ The most important object from Bötticher's point of view was a large bronze lamp in the form of a boat (Fig. 229), which was discovered in the central chamber in or close to the west transverse wall. He naturally regarded this as an offering to Poseidon-Erechtheus, and thus as supporting his theory that the seat of this cult was the crypt which he had assumed in the centre of the building.² Unfortunately for this hypothesis the lamp



FIGURE 229. BRONZE LAMP FOUND IN THE ERECHTHEUM IN 1862

has been cleaned in recent years and found to bear the inscription 'Ιερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.³ At the west end enough of the lining of the cistern was broken away to prove that it was partly cut in the rock.⁴

With the withdrawal of Bötticher the first stage in the reconstruction of the Erechtheum came to an end. Much had been accomplished in the twenty-five years which had elapsed since Pittakis began his work. The interior had been in great measure cleared of fallen blocks and rubbish, the walls had been partially rebuilt, and the porticoes freed from modern constructions. It is true that much remained to be done. The entablature and ceiling of the western half of the North Portico were still on the ground (Fig. 230), the columns of the West Façade lay where they had fallen in 1852, and the roof of the Porch of the Maidens lacked one of the four great blocks (Fig. 231). None of these deficiencies, however, offered any serious obstacle to the comprehension of the original building, nor was there reason to suppose that their removal would add appreciably to the knowledge of ancient conditions;

¹ *Untersuchungen*, pp. 193–197.

² *Untersuchungen*, p. 194. See also Pittakis in *Εφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1862, cols. 39 and 91 (with cut). According to Pittakis the lamp was found February 27 (March 10) at 10 A.M. in a hole in the west transverse wall.

³ A. De Ridder, *Catalogue des Bronzes de l'Acropole*, pp. 139–141, No. 425, fig. 95; at that time (1896) the inscription had not been discovered. V. Stais, *Vases et Bronzes du Musée National*, pp. 276–277, No. 7038.

⁴ *Untersuchungen*, p. 197.

indeed the architectural and constructive details could be better studied on the fallen members than on those which had been replaced. Except at the west end it might fairly be assumed that all that remained of the original building was open to view, for the few remnants of the church pavement and walls were not likely to conceal any new facts. Even at the west end enough of the covering of the cistern had been broken away along the edges to show the course below the orthostates in the west wall, the threshold of the North Door, and the space below the door into the Porch of the Maidens; but the lining within the cistern still remained unbroken save at a few points, and there seems to have been no thought of disturbing it, in spite of a very general belief that its removal would bring to light traces of the *θάλασσα*.¹ Since, therefore, more complete restoration of the Erechtheum would have been a difficult and expensive task, and since in its partially restored condition the building offered a practically unhampered opportunity for investigation, it is not surprising that during the next twenty-five years there were no material changes in its appearance.

For this uneventful period in the later history of the Erechtheum we have unimpeachable evidence in the numerous photographs of the exterior, though strange to say no one apparently thought the interior worth taking, or at any rate worth publishing. Yet this neglect, shared, as we have seen, by the earlier artists, seriously hampers our understanding of the conditions under which much of the interpretation and discussion was carried on. In all these years the "present state" of the interior is represented, so far as I know, only by the plan prepared by Marcel Lambert in 1877 for insertion in his restoration of the Acropolis.²

The great excavation of the Acropolis between 1885 and 1890 affected the surroundings of the Erechtheum rather than the building itself. In 1886 the foundations of the Hecatompedon were identified and the excavation continued along the south side of the Erechtheum. Early in the same year the deposit of archaic female statues was discovered on the northwest, and nearer the building the Christian cemetery, already noted by Bötticher, was removed, but only to find that its construction had destroyed all traces of earlier remains.³ This excavation, however, proved, according to Kawerau, the former existence

¹ The mortar lining of the tank had been broken away in a few places to determine the character of the foundations and the extent of the rock cutting. Ross believed that the cistern had been so embedded in the ancient foundations that its removal would cause the fall, or at least the sinking, of the west wall and of parts of the north and south walls (*Arch. Aufs.*, II, p. 280 = *Arch. Ztg.*, VIII, 1850, pp. 178 ff.). There seems to be no record of the partial destruction of the vault over the cistern, but its state as shown in the plans of Tétaz and of the Commission of 1852 differs considerably from that which appears in the plans of Lambert (*D'Espouy, Frag. arch. ant.*, I, pl. X) and Michaelis (*J.-M., Atlas*, XXI-XXV).

² The drawings for this restoration, including the unrestored and restored plans of the Acropolis, are in the library of the École des Beaux-Arts at Paris. The unrestored plan of the Erechtheum has been published by D'Espouy, *Frag. arch. ant.*, I, pl. X. Lambert also wrote a brief *mémoire justificatif* on his restoration of the Erechtheum, the manuscript of which is also in the library of the École des Beaux-Arts. It does not add anything to what is known from other sources.

³ Cavvadias and Kawerau, col. 33. Kawerau, *Berl. phil. W.*, VIII, 1888, col. 185 = *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, XXII, 1888, pp. 2-5.



FIGURE 230. THE ERECHTHEUM FROM THE NORTHWEST, ABOUT 1890

of the peribolos wall running southwest from the corresponding corner of the North Portico and then turning to the south (PLATE I).¹ About the same time the north end of the wall built by Pittakis under the great stone at the southwest corner of the building was partially removed, in order to expose more fully the oblique cutting of the south end of the west wall, and a stone pillar was set in its place beneath the south anta.² During the latter part of 1886 and early in 1887 the work was continued along the north and east sides, and the entire foundation of the front was laid bare,³ as well as the area between the temple and the wall of the Acropolis (Fig. 7 A), thus bringing to light the true extent and nature of the poros blocks, the edges of which Bötticher had regarded as part of a water channel, but which were now recognized as the foundation for a marble pavement. The poros foundation of the steps leading down from the east front of the temple was also uncovered.⁴ After the excavation here was completed, the retaining wall from the northeast corner of the Erechtheum to the wall of the Acropolis and the flight of steps from the higher to the lower level (PLATE I; Fig. 7 B) were built, and the area to the east then filled to approximately the ancient level (Fig. 232). In the interior of the building there was also a certain amount of

¹ Cavvadias and Kawerau, cols. 85-87.

² See Gardner, *Ancient Athens* (plate opposite p. 360), and photographs of the German Institute in Athens, which show the wall before and after this alteration.

³ See the photograph of the German Institute in Athens published *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, p. 418, fig. 5.

⁴ Cavvadias and Kawerau, col. 85 and pl. Γ'.



FIGURE 231. THE ERECHTHEUM FROM THE SOUTHWEST, ABOUT 1890

clearing and investigation, but without disturbance of those portions of the church walls and pavement which had been left by Bötticher. According to Kawerau all these operations brought to light no new factors to aid in solving the problems of the building. They showed, however, in his opinion, that blocks and fragments from earlier buildings were freely used in the foundations of the temple.¹

At the close of the excavations in 1890² the soil of the Acropolis had been almost wholly freed from Byzantine and Turkish remains and so thoroughly searched that it might fairly be presumed to have yielded up its secrets. Naturally, therefore, the next task was to collect and, where possible, to replace the fallen portions of the ancient buildings. A commencement was made with the Parthenon, which had been somewhat badly shaken by an earthquake in 1894, although here the work was largely one of strengthening and repairing rather than of restoration. When this task was finished in 1902, a plan was prepared for restoring the Erechtheum, not without some adverse criticism,³ and its execution was entrusted to the architect, N. M. Balanos.

¹ Cavvadias and Kawerau, col. 83. Unfortunately Kawerau gives no specifications as to the number or appearance of these re-used blocks, or as to the places in the foundations where they are found. Later investigations have not confirmed this statement.

² The Erechtheum as it appeared from 1890 to 1902 is shown in Figures 230-232.

³ An English translation of the proposed plan of restoration was published by S. P. Lambros in the London *Athenæum*, May 24, 1902, p. 665, and called forth a vigorous protest from R. W. Schultz, *ibid.*, June 28, 1902, pp. 825-826. A discussion of the general desirability of restoring ancient monuments lies outside the scope of this book,



FIGURE 232. THE ERECHTHEUM FROM THE NORTHEAST, BEFORE 1902

Work began on the North Portico about the middle of 1902, and was continued through 1903. New material was employed very sparingly and, according to Balanos, only in the following cases: the upper drum of the northwest corner column; two drums of the column south of the corner on the west, since the originals were so shattered that they were not strong enough to support the entablature; five fragments of the Eleusinian stone of the frieze, for which blue upper Pentelic marble was substituted (PLATE XLVI); one coffer block in the ceiling; about 0.90 m. of the cornice; two blocks of the pediment.¹ The fallen epistyle was found to be in good condition, but the three western beams were all broken, and it was necessary to suspend them from concealed iron beams (PLATES I, VII). Although all but one of the coffer blocks were found, they were often broken, and indeed one was pieced together from no less than eight fragments. These operations led to the discovery of the opening in the roof of the portico above the crypt and to the recognition of Roman repairs in the ceiling and cornice.²

but it may be observed that the usual arguments against this practice lose much of their force when applied to the Erechtheum, since, as we have seen, this building was in 1902 in large part a restoration, none too carefully carried out, so that Balanos merely completed and corrected a work which was already far advanced.

¹ For the details, see *Πρακτικά*, 1902, p. 33; 1903, pp. 25, 59–62 (report by Balanos). See also PLATES IV, V, VII, VIII, 4, X, XI, and the accompanying text. As shown in the plates, bits of new material were also employed to complete or strengthen defective places.

² *Πρακτικά*, 1903, p. 61. On the opening in the roof, see above, Ch. I, pp. 89–91; on the Roman repairs, Ch. I, pp. 87, 89, 92 and Ch. II, pp. 223, 224.



FIGURE 233. THE ERECHTHEUM FROM THE NORTHEAST, AFTER 1909

In 1904 a new roof of wood and slate ¹ was given the portico, since only a few tiles of the old had survived, and the upper part of the West Façade was rebuilt, by replacing the fallen columns, the wall, and the windows in the three central intercolumniations, as well as four blocks of the architrave, and a little of the Roman frieze and cornice. Preparations were also made for reconstructing and strengthening other parts of the building,² but very little was accomplished during the next two years, and it was not until 1907 that work was resumed on a large scale.³

During this year the East Portico was thoroughly repaired (Fig. 233). The epistyle was removed, the crumbling capitals strengthened, and small fragments, which were found in the Museum, added. The southeastern corner column was partly reset, the epistyle replaced with the addition of the newly discovered southern corner, and the blocks of Eleusinian stone restored to their old position. So much of the cornice as could be found was relaid, smaller fragments were incorporated, and the corner block pieced to its original length, as shown by the cuttings for dowels in the frieze. Finally, the southern angle of the

¹ In 1922 concrete was substituted for the slate.

² *Πρακτικά*, 1904, p. 16. There is no report by Balanos on the work in 1904. Some pieces were added to the southern window and wall, and a new southern block to the architrave, near the end of the work.

³ There is no mention of the Erechtheum in the *Πρακτικά* for 1905 and 1906. For the work in 1907 see *Πρακτικά*, 1907, pp. 64, 125–128 (report by Balanos), pl. I, containing photographs of the east end of the south wall and of the East Portico from the southeast, before and after restoration.

pediment was replaced.¹ All these stones and fragments were thoroughly secured by iron clamps and dowels set in lead and cement. The south wall was also in large part rebuilt at this time. This operation involved taking down the southeast anta which was somewhat out of plumb and needed repair in many places. Nearly all of the missing blocks of the wall were found, some whole, many in fragments. The latter were pieced together and the gaps filled with new marble, instead of the brick used by Pittakis.² On account of the condition of the stones, especially on the inner face, it was impossible to secure a uniform thickness or, in general, to assign the stones to their proper courses. The wall was completed by using about ten stones which had originally belonged to the north wall. This plan was adopted in preference to leaving the wall incomplete or employing new material, since the gap in the north wall was so great that these stones would not have sufficed to fill it. They can be distinguished by a difference in weathering. To repair the epicranitis, blocks and fragments were sought and pieced together until the desired length was obtained, without reference to the original position of the stones in the building, except in the case of the block at the west end of the wall (Fig. 33).

The following year (1908) saw the completion of this work, as well as the restoration of the Porch of the Maidens. The foundation of the latter was strengthened by replacing damaged poros by new blocks of Piraeus stone. The podium was repaired by inserting the fragments which had been found since 1846. The statues were removed, carefully mended, and the fragments properly joined and secured.³ In the epistyle the new blocks inserted in 1846 were replaced, so far as possible, by the old fragments discovered since that time, and to secure firmly the damaged blocks two steel beams were sunk in the epistyle on the front (PLATES IX, X) and one on each side (PLATE VII). The roof was completed by inserting the block which had fallen in 1826 and had been broken into five pieces. Since the terracotta cast and the restored statue next to it were not deemed strong enough to bear the weight of the epistyle, three vertical iron rods were inserted between the Maidens on the south side (PLATES VI, XXXIII, 2).⁴ In this rebuilding the Caryatids were centred under the joints of the epistyle (PLATE XXVII, 9). The modern wall beneath the southwest corner of the main building was torn out and an iron column inserted to support the great stone (PLATE IV), thus revealing fully the peculiar construction at this point. The doorway from the Porch of the Maidens to the west room was repaired by the addition of pieces which had been broken out. The sides and bottom of the cistern under the western room were at last completely cleared, only a bit of the lining being left for the sake of record, the

¹ This little corner may belong to the pediment of the North Portico; see Ch. I, p. 27, note 2.

² The brick backing of the orthostates was not disturbed.

³ How badly the fragments of the rear figure on the east side, restored by Andreoli (not Imhof as stated by Balanos), had been fitted may be seen from two photographs of the head and shoulders published by Balanos in *Πρακτικά*, 1908, pl. VI. The east half of the capital of this figure was not used in its restoration but was given to the second Maiden from the east on the south side; see Ch. I, p. 112 and PLATE XXXIX, 5, 6.

⁴ On the use of steel in this restoration, see Description of Plates, VII.

old foundations and the Acropolis rock on which they rested were exposed, and the damaged blocks in the northwest corner were replaced by a new wall (p. 15). In the course of the work on the south wall in 1907 certain stones belonging to the northeast anta had been found, and early in 1909 this anta was rebuilt by replacing the blocks in their correct order, which had been wholly disregarded by Pittakis in 1838. New material was used in courses 5 and 6, as these blocks had disappeared. The anta was thus complete with the exception of the capital in the British Museum.¹ The work was brought to an end by taking out the late lining from the door leading into the Pandroseum from the North Portico.²

Since then there have been few changes in the appearance of the Erechtheum. Early in 1912 the head of the terra-cotta copy of the Caryatid in the British Museum was broken, and since the whole statue was much discolored and weather beaten, it was replaced before the end of the year by a new copy in artificial stone presented by the British Museum. The somewhat striking and disturbing contrast between the blackened cast and the original marble statues, which had at times excited the wonder and even the admiration of enthusiastic but ill-informed visitors, was thus removed.

Early in 1914 the American School of Classical Studies at Athens was given permission to clear further certain parts of the building in order to obtain, if possible, more information on some points of construction which still remained obscure. As the results of this investigation have been incorporated in the preceding description, only a brief outline need be given here.

In the interior, part of the earth beneath the iconostasis and the remaining bit of pavement in the southeast corner of the nave, which had not been disturbed by Bötticher, was removed without, however, affecting the pavement itself, which was supported during and after the operation by wooden planks.³ Here were found a marble foot, apparently from the frieze (Fig. 174), fragments of Mycenaean pottery, and a Mycenaean seal. A little earth was also removed in both the northeast and southeast corners, in order to lay bare the foundations and the rock below, and likewise in front of and beneath the threshold of the Diaconicum, where a Christian grave was discovered as well as traces of the presence at some time of a masonry pier, such as still exists in the north aisle below the threshold of the Prothesis. Further examination of the south aisle showed probable indications of similar piers on the line of the Greek eastern cross-wall and also somewhat farther west (PLATE

¹ *Πρακτικά*, 1908, pp. 56, 224-226 (report by Balanos), and pl. VI, containing two photographs of the head and shoulders of the Caryatid restored by Andreoli, the steel beam sunk in the epistyle of the Porch of the Maidens, and two views of the Erechtheum from the southwest, before and after restoration. Courses 4-11 of the northeast anta were in place on March 7, 1909, and courses 2 and 3 had been added by March 18 (Notebook of B. H. Hill).

² In *Πρακτικά*, 1909, p. 59, it is stated that the work on the Erechtheum had been completed, but no details are given, and the report by Balanos refers only to the Propylaea. The lining of the small door in the North Portico was removed between the seventh and twenty-third of March, 1909 (Notebook of B. H. Hill).

³ This earth had been held in place on the north and west by a rude support of stones from Helladic walls. This support may have been contemporary with the construction of the church, but is, perhaps, quite as likely to have been built by Bötticher to preserve this corner from collapse. Unfortunately the planks, inserted in 1914, have since been removed, and the pavement has disintegrated to a considerable extent.

XXXI, 1).¹ The investigation of the north aisle established definitely the Greek origin of the row of poros blocks set on edge behind the two upper steps of the north wall, and the previous existence here of a primitive wall, against and under which these poros blocks were laid.² Finally, in the eastern half of the south wall bits of the brick lining, inserted by Pittakis behind the orthostates, were picked out, and satisfactory evidence obtained that



FIGURE 234. THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE PANDROSEUM (MAY 30, 1918)

the Greek backing of the orthostates was formed by two ordinary courses, and that consequently the south side of the East Cella, like the north, had no orthostates in the interior.³ East of the iconostasis in both Prothesis and Diaconicum what little remained of the pavement of the church was left undisturbed, since there was no reasonable probability that excavation here would yield any new information on the earlier conditions.⁴

¹ On these foundations for piers, see above, pp. 516, 569.

² On these remains, see above, Ch. I, pp. 6, 138-143.

³ On this construction, see above, Ch. I, p. 48.

⁴ During these excavations sixteen fragments of inscriptions were found (Epigraphical Museum, Nos. 12351-12366) in the grave before the Diaconicum, near the west end of the north aisle wall, beneath the bit of pavement in

On the outside, immediately north of the main building and east of the North Portico the poros foundation of the missing marble pavement (PLATE I) was again uncovered, and a revised plan prepared. On the west the area between the North Portico and the terrace wall of the Hecatompedon was re-excavated to the native rock, and the foundations of the west wall of the Erechtheum and of the north wall and pavement of the Pandroseum were carefully examined. At the northeast corner of the precinct a very little undisturbed earth was found, containing prehistoric sherds in regular sequence, — Early Helladic just above the rock and Late Helladic (Mycenaean) near the top. After the work here was completed, the greater part of the area, where there were no ancient remains, was again filled with earth to approximately its former level, and on February 22, 1917, an olive tree was planted near the spot where the sacred olive may naturally be supposed to have stood. In 1918 the Greek Government replaced the blocks from the wall of the Pandroseum, including the stone with the water-channel, and supported them by steel rods bedded in concrete, which thus held the blocks in their original positions without concealing the ancient foundation behind (Fig. 234). At the same time, north of the west doorway, the lowest step and the paving slab below, which had sunk about 0.05 m., were raised to their original level, and a new sustaining wall built beneath them, solid in front, but composed of loose stones, laid without mortar, at the sides, so that they might easily be removed, should it be desired in the future to examine the undisturbed layers of earth or the foundations behind (Fig. 38).

It would seem that the Erechtheum has now been as completely reconstructed as the surviving remains permit, and that nothing which can contribute materially to its comprehension lies concealed. Many questions still remain to which no final answer can yet be given, but it is not probable that much new material for their solution will be discovered in the building itself. The testing of proposed hypotheses and the establishment of reasonably certain and accepted conclusions can be carried to success only by the repeated and detailed study of the existing material. This material, as a foundation for such critical study, we have tried to make available in the present work.

the nave, and behind the brick lining of the orthostates. None of them is connected in any way with the Erechtheum. Most of them are mere scraps of marble containing only a few letters. One (No. 12353 = *I. G.*, I², 736) is apparently from an Archaic dedication. Five small fragments (Nos. 12355, 12357, 12360, 12363, 12358 = *I. G.*, I², 324, *i*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, ll. 49–54, 68–73) are from the accounts of the logistae, recording loans from the temples during the Archidamian war, and to the same document may belong Nos. 12359 (*I. G.*, I², 306) and 12362. Two large fragments (Nos. 12365, 12366) are from *I. G.*, II, 959, which contained lists of crews of triremes; see *Arch. Anz.*, XXX, 1915, cols. 124 ff., especially 131, 132. (This note is based on a letter of C. W. Blegen.)

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE ERECHTHEUM IN WRITERS OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

A. BEFORE 1750¹

I. CORNELIO MAGNI, 1674. *Relazione della Città d'Athene, colle Provincie dell' Attica, Focia, Beozia, e Negroponte, ne' tempi che furono queste passeggiate da Cornelio Magni, Parmegiano, L'Anno 1674. E dallo stesso pubblicata l'Anno 1688.* Parma, 1688. Pp. 56, 57.

"Incontrammo più avanti [i.e., after leaving the Propylaea] un' altro Tempio con un Vestibolo, che nella facciata viene in cambio di colonne, appoggiato da quattro statue femminili dagli Architeti denominati *Cariati* scolpite con perfetto artificio, e vestite con panneggiamenti delicatissimi. Poco distante da queste incontrasi un' altra fabbrica con qualche Colonna, e muraglie, che mostra essere stata un Tempio, benché angusto."

The same text is found on p. 497 of *Quanto di più curioso, e vago hà potuto raccogliere Cornelio Magni nel secondo biennio da esso consumato in viaggi, e dimore per la Turchia.* Seconda Parte. Parma, 1692.

II. SIR FRANCIS VERNON, 1675. A Letter to Mr. Oldenburg from Smyrna, Jan. 10, 1675-76. Printed in *The Philosophical Transactions*, XI, No. 124, pp. 575 ff., for April 24, 1676. Reprinted in John Ray, *A Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages*, London, 1693, Vol. II, p. 24; second edition, 1738, Vol. II, p. 358. Also in Stuart and Revett, III, p. 4, col. 1, note.

"There is a delicate Temple of the *Conique* [Ionique] order in the castle; whether of *Pandrosos*, or of whom, I cannot tell; but the work was most fine, and all the ornaments most accurately engraven:

The Length of this Temple was	67	} Feet."
The Breadth	38	

III. JACOB SPON, 1676. *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant fait aux années 1675 et 1676 par Jacob Spon . . . et George Wheler.* Lyon, 1678. Vol. II, pp. 159, 160.

After leaving the Parthenon: "Nous n'eûmes pas fait beaucoup de chemin parmi les mesures et les maisons des soldats de la garnison que nous trouvâmes le Temple d'Erechtée du côté qui regarde la Ville. On le connoît par deux indices qu'en donne Pausanias: l'un, qu'il est double, c'est-à-dire qu'il y a deux Temples joints ensemble; et l'autre, qu'on trouve là ce puits celebre d'eau salée, que nous ne pûmes pas voir, parce qu'il y avoit dans le bâtiment où il est enclos, des femmes logées, et qu'il n'y a que le maître du Serrail qui y puisse entrer. Pausanias n'admire pas tant que cette eau soit salée, parce qu'il s'en trouve ailleurs de semblables, qu'une autre particularité qu'elle a. C'est que de son tems, quand le vent du Midy souffloit on y entendoit un bruit semblable à celui des vagues de la mer. On nous assura que presentement il étoit presque à sec. Ces deux Temples sont d'ordre Ionique avec des colonnes canelées, et tout de marbre comme celui de Minerve. Le grand a 63. pieds $\frac{1}{2}$ de long, et 36. $\frac{1}{2}$ de large: Le petit 29. de long, et 21.3. pouces de large.

"De l'autre côté du Temple de Minerve, ou à son Midy, se voyent quelques mesures anciennes et quelques statuës de femmes enclavées dans un mur, qui étoient peut-être les trois Graces, que

¹ This section is believed to contain all the descriptions of the Erechtheum prior to the arrival in Athens of Stuart and Revett.

Socrate y avoit taillé: car les Autheurs remarquent expressement que quoy qu'on les representât ordinairement nuës, neanmoins Socrate les avoit fait habillées, commè sont celles-cy. Ce pouvoit être là le Temple de Minerve Poliade, c'est-à-dire protectrice de la Ville, et de la Nymphé Pandrose."

Same text, Amsterdam, 1679; II, pp. 122 f.: La Haye, 1724; II, pp. 92 f.

IV. GEORGE WHELER, 1676. *A Journey into Greece by George Wheeler, Esq. In Company of Dr. Spon of Lyons*. London, 1682. Pp. 364, 365.

"Going therefore some way further, amongst the Buildings, and Ruins, on the North-side of the Temple of *Minerva*, we came to the Temple of *Erictheus*. It is known to be that, by two Marks out of *Pausanias*: First, Because he saith, It is a *Double Building*, one bigger than the other, as this yet remains. The lesser one, by which the Entrance is to the other, is Twenty nine foot long, and Twenty one foot, three inches broad. The bigger is Sixty three foot, and a half long, and Thirty six foot broad. Its roof is sustained by *Ionick* Pillars, chanelled; but the Chapters are something different from any I have seen of that Order; and seem to be a kind of mixture between it, and the *Dorick* Order. The other Mark is, that, as *Pausanias* saith, There is a Well of Salt-Water in it; which he makes no wonder of, because there are many such in Inland Places, a great way from the Sea; as at *Aphrodisaea* in *Caria*, &c. All that he thinks worth writing of it, was, That it made a noise, like the Waves of the Sea, when the South-Wind bloweth. We could not have permission to go into the Temple, to see it; because the *Turk* that lives in it, hath made it his *Seraglio* for his Women; and was then abroad. But we were assured, That the Well is now almost dry. On the South-side of the Temple of *Minerva*, we saw some antient Ruins; where are to be seen some Statues of Women, in the Walls; which my Comrade thinks, may be the *Graces*, which *Socrates* hath made there: Because Authors expressly say, That although the *Graces* used ordinarily to be represented naked; yet *Socrates* made his to appear clothed, as these here are. 'Tis like also, here was the Temple of *Minerva Poliades*; that is, Protectrice of the City; and the Temple of the Nymph *Pandrosa*; but no Remains of them are now to be seen."

V. GIACOMO MILHAU VERNEDA, 1687. *Pianta del Castello d'Acropolis e Città d'Athene. Tavola delle cose più nottabili conteute [sic] nella Pianta del Castello.*¹

"N. Gran deposito di polvere.

"R. Tempio d'Ericteus, ove si vedono ancora nel Prospetto sei Colonne di 20 piedi d'altezza l'una d'ordine ionico con Architravo, Freggio, e cornise, attorno, il di cui soffito è tutto di marmo di bellissima struttura, havendo i pezzi più di 20. piedi di lunghezza, quali servono di travadura, sostenuti dalle sud? Colonne che formano tre lati d' un quadrato lungo, havendo nel quarto lato la mura della Corte, nella quale si vede una bellissima cornise, et una Porta adornata di fogliame et altro basso Riglievo di finissima mano; à fronte di detta Corte o scala si vedono ancora altre sei Colone simili alle sudette.

"S. Altro Tempio di Minerva Poliades, cioè Protettrice della Città, e della ninfa Pandrosa, le mura del quale sono sostenute dà quatro Statue di marmo, quali rapresentono le Gratie, che Socrate fece far vestite, per burlarsi di quelli che le hanno rappresentate nude."

The manuscript in Vienna and the plate in Fanelli (App. B, I) differ slightly in spelling and punctuation, but the only significant variations in text are in R, line 4, where Fanelli reads "sostenuto," and in line 6, where the Vienna MS. reads "corte o sala" and Fanelli "corte e scala."

VI. RINALDO DE LA RUE, 1687. *Relatione d'alcune principali Antichità d'Atene. Del Sig^r Rinaldo de la Rue. Trovandosi egli stesso all' acquisto della medesima città, nella campagna dell' anno*

¹ Manuscript, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, *Codd. Ital.* Cl. VII, No. 94, fol. 115. Cf. Appendix B, I, p. 601, note 4, for full title and description. The Acropolis from this plan is reproduced in Figure 216.

1687, in qualità di Bombista. Published by F. von Duhn, *Arch. Ztg.* XXXVI, 1878, pp. 55–65.¹ Pp. 59, 60.

“A man sinistra di questo tempio [i.e., the Parthenon] si vede un altro piccolo tempio, secondo alcuni di Minerva *πολλιαδος*, altri dicono che fosse il palazzo d’Eristeo; non restano di questo altro che i muri; questo tempio ha di lunghezza 63 piedi e $\frac{1}{2}$, e di larghezza $36\frac{1}{2}$, la porta è di 22 d’altezza molto ben lavorata; a canto a questo palazzo è un altro tempietto con sei colonne d’ordine Ionico con cornici molto delicate, i travi sono di marmo tutti d’un pezzo di 20 piedi di lunghezza, ha il tempio 29 piedi in lungo, e 20 in largo, si dice che fosse dedicato a Nettuno, altri vogliono a Pandrosa. Vicino v’è un’ altra fabrica con quattro figure di donna con una bellissima chioma sino alla cintura, queste rappresentano le quattro figlie d’Eristeo Re d’Atene, cioè Procris, Cerusa, Ectonia et Oritia chiamate Giacintides.”

VII, A. ALESSANDRO LOCATELLI, *ca.* 1687–1688. *Racconto storico della Veneta Guerra in Levante, Diretta dal Valore del Serenissimo Principe, Francesco Morosini. Opera postuma di Alessandro Locatelli.* Colonia [Parma], 1691. Parte II, pp. 33, 34.

After a description of the Parthenon: “Ed à man destra vi sono il Tempio di Minerva *Puliados*, nella facciata del quale sono quattro statue intiere di Donne, che furono le figlie d’Hericleo VI. Rè degli Atheniesi nominate *Prieris*, Creusa, Hecthania, ed Octorichia; quello di Netunno d’eccellente struttura con dieci Colonne d’ordine Ionico ne Capitelli, nelle quali vi erano incastrate pietre pretiose, attrovandosi ancora alcuni frammenti di Lapis Lazoli, Corniole, ed altre simili con le travature di marmo d’un solo pezzo, ed all’ intorno un fregio di finissimo intaglio, non scorgendosi nel detto Castello quasi tutto distrutto da vicendevoli Dominii di varie Nationi altre rimarcabili antichità.”

VII, B. *Galleria di Minerva, ovvero Notizie Universali ecc.* Venezia, 1696. Vol. I, pp. 382 ff. ‘Descrittione d’Atene mandata dal Sig. N.N. al Signor Girolamo Albrizzi.’

P. 385. — “A man dritta è il tempio di Minerva *Poliados*, e nella faccia di quello 4. statue di Donne intiere, le quali sono le figure [*sic*] d’Erituo 6. Rè d’Athene, Procri, Clausa, Zetonia, Orthoritia, Cat destra del Tempio di Minerva *Poliados*, è il picciolo Tempio di Nettuno di eccellente struttura con 10. colonne d’ordine Ionico, e nel capitello erano pietre preziose, si vedono ancora del Lapis Lazuli, e delle pietre corniolle, ed altre pietre. Le travature sono di marmo tutto d’un pezzo, ed intorno al Tempio è un frigio delicatissimo, Nel Castello non si vedono altre antichità essendo tutto distrutto.”

VIII. FRANCESCO FANELLI, 1707. *Atene Attica, descritta da’ suoi Principii sino all’ acquisto fatto dall’ Armì Venete nel 1687.* Venezia, 1707. Pp. 321, 322.

“DEL TEMPIO DI ERETTEO.

“1. Non molto distante dal Tempio predetto [the Parthenon] s’incontrano gli vestiggi di quello di Eretteo secondo li confronti di Pausania delle mura ineguali, e della sorgente d’acqua marina, ò sia pozzo, che si trova, quantunque sia molto distante dal Mare, il che non parve stravagante all’ Autore predetto, havendone trovati molti consimili in siti diversi.

“2. Osservabile però si rende il suo naturale effetto, quando il vento soffia dall’ Ostro, perche con quello si sentiva il mormorio dell’ onde del Mare, ma essendo al presente ridotto il Tempio al servizio di un deposito di polvere, non si può certificar la relazione, quale da alcuni Nazionali viene limitata, asserendo, che detta sorgente di acqua sia molto diminuita.

¹ He cites the manuscript as under “Filza LVII, No. 17: Notizie di diverse corti d’Europa” in the Archivio Nazionale in the Uffizi, Florence. This reference has not been sufficient to identify the manuscript, and Von Duhn’s text is reprinted here without collation.

“3. La lunghezza di questo è terminata da ventinove piedi, e da ventuno la sua larghezza: è fabricato di marmi bianchi, sostenuto da colonne di ordine Ionico alquanto composte di Dorico ne capitelli, posano sopra questi gran travi di Marmo disposti à sostenere il soffitto formato altresì di gran pezzi di Marmo.

“4. Più che scielta rissalta la scoltura, che adorna la cornice del Portone che apre l'ingresso al Salone spazioso, il di cui prospetto viene reso maestoso da sei colonne di un solo pezzo dell' ordine stesso.

“5. Dalla parte opposta resta nobilitato da due fenestroni chiusi da gelosie di Marmo di un solo pezzo lavorate da scalpello artiftiosamente esquisito.

DEL TEMPIO DI MINERVA

e della Ninfa Pandrosa

“1. Contiguo à detto Salone dalla parte dell' Ostro si trovano gli avvanzi di altro Tempio, per l'opinione Universale eretto à Minerva Poliade, cioè Protettrice della Città, ad [sic] alla Ninfa Pandrosa, nelle mura del quale, che sono rimaste in piedi, si vedono alcuni nicchi con Statue delle tre Gratie vestite conforme il sentimento di Socrate¹ qual condannava l'abuso di rappresentarle ignude contro il costume degli antichi, e perche queste furono considerate dagli Ateniesi figliuole di Giove, ed Eurinome, che significa fertilità de campi, ed abbondanza de frutti, quali dalla humanità conseguire non si possono senza l'ajuto di Giove, da cui dipendono la serenità del Cielo, il soffiare de Venti, e li rinfreschi delle piogge fecondanti la Terra, le collocarono nel Tempio di questa Dea Protettrice, acciò impetrassero dal Motore Superno il necessario sostentamento alla Patria.

“2. Pare poi difficile potersi indagare, perche egualmente à questa Dea, ed alla Ninfa sia stato consacrato il Tempio, atteso che dagli antichi le Ninfe sono state considerate Mortali; tuttavia perche non si può credere, che li Gentili habbiano operato senza mistero nelle cose della Religione, mi persuado habbiano dimostrata tale veneratione alle Ninfe, perche se ben mortali, secondo le opinioni loro vivevano il corso quasi innumerabile d'anni; oltre che edificarono li Tempj agli Eroi, come praticarono li Romani ad honore de Cesari; ma quello pare più probabile si è, che non solo credevano le Ninfe fatidiche, ma ispiranti ancora in alcuni lo spirito della Profezia,² perciò come dalla Dea bramavano la protezione della Patria, così dalle Ninfe la predizione de mali futuri per ripararli³ ò l'estro almeno di profetizzarli, il che è quanto si scorge nelle parti interne del predetto recinto.”

IX. JOHN MONTAGU, Earl of Sandwich, 1738. *A Voyage performed by the late Earl of Sandwich round the Mediterranean in the years 1738 and 1739. Written by Himself. To which are prefixed Memoirs of the noble Author's Life by John Cooke, M. A.* London, 1799. Pp. 64–66.

“On the north side of the Parthenon are two other temples, which agree exactly with the description given by Pausanias of those of Minerva Polias, and the nymph Pandrosa; to whom as the favorite of their goddess, the Athenians paid particular honours. The temple of Minerva, which is the largest of the two, is, like all the public edifices yet mentioned, built entirely of white marble. The front is adorned with four columns, and two pilasters of the Ionic order. The pilasters are at the two corners; and in the three spaces between the pillars are as many windows, which is a thing rather unusual among the ancient temples. There is no space between the pillars and the wall, they being joined together; but on the part opposite to this front, which is formed by six columns, there seems either to have been a portico, or as if the building had been open at that end, the pillars not being joined together. This temple is of a different form from any of those already mentioned, being in length not twice its breadth; it is sixty-three feet one way, and thirty-six the other, the walls standing entire, and little of it wanting except the roof, of which no remains are to be seen. The

¹ “Natalis Com. Mytho. l. 4.”

² “Pausania nella Focide.”

³ “Natalis Comi. Mytho. l. 5.”

workmanship is, I think, the nicest I ever saw; the flutings of the pillars, the volutes, the cornices, and all the other ornaments, being as neatly finished as if they were done in ivory. The pillars are placed upon pedestals, and are about twenty feet high with plinths and bases; the custom of leaving them out being confined by the Greeks to the Doric order alone; the Corinthian and Ionic being never to be seen without them. On the north side of this is the small temple of the nymph Pandrosa, joined to it on one side, and on the three others adorned with ten columns of the same order and proportions. It is a room thirty feet in length, and twenty-three in breadth. Opposite to this, joined to the south side of the greater temple, is another square little room; the roof of which, being still entire, is supported by five caryatides, the sixth being wanting. This to me seems to have been the habitation of the *Κανήφοροι*, or basket carriers, who, according to Pausanias, were two virgins, maintained the whole year in the service of Minerva. These virgins, the night before the festival of the goddess, which was celebrated yearly, entering into the temple, were to receive from the priestess two baskets, which they were to set upon their heads, and carry them to the mouth of a grotto, (neither they nor the priestess knowing what the baskets contained,) where they were to leave them, and receive two others, which they were to bring back to the temple. After this the two virgins were dismissed, and fresh ones constantly taken into their room; who during their employment lived close to the temple; and, I think, not improbably in this room, since I cannot give any more plausible guess at the use it has been put to. The workmanship of this is answerable to the rest of the building, being extremely fine, and worthy to be admired, as it has suffered but little from the injuries of time. The form of the whole will be more easily conceived by the plan."

X. RICHARD POCOCKE, 1740. *A Description of the East and some other Countries*. London, 1745. Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 163, 164; pl. LXVIII.

"About sixty paces to the north of the temple of Minerva in the Acropolis of Athens, is a temple D,¹ which is supposed to be the Erectheion; a plan and view of it may be seen in the sixty-eighth plate; Pausanias says it was a double temple; what now remains seems to be only one part of it; the building is of a very beautiful Ionic order fluted within eight inches of the capital, which space is carved with bass reliefs of flowers; the cushion of the base is fluted horizontally, as described in Caria; the pilasters at the end of the wall appear as if they were Doric, but in reality are only the cornish between the pillars continued round on the pilasters, and below it the relief of flowers is likewise continued on them: The building extends in length from east to west, the other part seeming to have been to the east; at the west end there is a small door, not in the middle; and above, it is adorned with Ionic pilasters, which are about three-quarters of a circle; at the east end are six pillars of a portico with steps up to them; it appears that there was a wall to the west of them; and it is to be supposed that the west end of the east temple corresponded to this, at a proper distance to the east; the room seems to have been divided into three parts; to the western part on the south side was a portico from which there was a door now almost buried under ground; this portico consisted of a colonade of caryatides four in front, and one more on each side, as it is to be supposed, though there is now only one on the west side; they are very fine statues of women, with beautiful drapery, and their tresses hanging down in a fine manner; they are seven feet long; each of them has over its head two quarter rounds adorned with eggs and darts; these members are round; over them there is a square broad fillet which supports the entablature, and if there were six more such statues to the other temple, they might be the nine Muses, and the three Graces, unless they might be the daughters of Erectheus, who were so renowned for their virtue: On the north side there is a portico of four pillars in front, and one more on each side: The whole is built of marble, the walls being two feet thick, and the pillars of this beautiful building are all of hewn stone. It is remarkable that there was a well of salt water in this temple, concerning which they had some fabulous stories."

¹ The letter refers to Pococke's plan of the Acropolis, pl. LXV.

XI. CHARLES PERRY, 1740. *A View of the Levant: particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and Greece. In which Their Antiquities, Government, Politics, Maxims, Manners, and Customs (with many other Circumstances and Contingencies) are attempted to be Described and Treated on. In Four Parts.* London, 1743. P. 504.

"Of the Temple of ERICTEUS.

"Of this Edifice there, at present, remains no more than 14 of its Pillars standing, which are of the *Doric* Order, with a Mixture of the *Ionic*. Indeed the Extent of the whole Fabric (according to what we can discover by its present Remains) was but 29 Feet and an half in Length, and 24 Feet broad.

"This antient Fabric is contiguous to another of the like Style and Antiquity with itself. This too is called a Temple, but we could not learn, from our Conductors, what Name it went by.

"Of the Temple of Minerva Poliada, and of the Nymph Pandrosa.

"Not far from the last-mentioned Edifice is another antient Temple, of greater Extent and Magnitude, which, as 'tis said, was built and dedicated to *Minerva Poliada*, and the Nymph *Pandrosa*.

"This Edifice, at present, exhibits to View several beautiful Marble Pillars, which are chanell'd, and of the *Ionic* Order. Three of these Pillars have expressed, upon their Front Parts, the Representation of the Three *Graces*. 'Tis said, that the *Greeks*, in very early Times, used to represent the *Graces* naked; but these (on the contrary) are represented habited, or cloathed; which (as the Tradition goes) was intirely owing to the Modesty of *Socrates*."

B. FROM 1750 TO 1803¹

XII. JAMES STUART and NICHOLAS REVETT, 1751–1753. *The Antiquities of Athens.* Vol. II, London, 1789. Chap. II, pp. 16 ff.

P. 16. — "To the north of the Parthenon, at the distance of about one hundred and fifty feet, are the remains of three contiguous Temples. That towards the east was called the Erechtheum; to the westward of this, but under the same roof, was the Temple of Minerva, with the title *Polias*, as protectress of the City; adjoining to which on the south side is the *Pandrosium*, so named because it was dedicated to the nymph *Pandrosus*, one of the daughters of *Cecrops*."

P. 18. — "These Temples are now in a very ruinous condition. Those of Erechtheus and Minerva have at present no roof or covering of any kind. The wall which separated them, and that by which the *Pronäus*, or passage to the *Pandrosium*, was parted off from the temple of Minerva, are so demolished, that hardly any traces of them remain, except where they joined the side walls. The pavements are so encumbered with large blocks of marble and variety of rubbish, as to render the inside almost impassable, and a more particular disquisition there fruitless. The *Pandrosium*, though it has suffered least, is filled up to a great height in the same manner, and one of the *Caryatides* is wanting. We found the Portico of Minerva walled up, and being a magazine of military stores, all entrance into it was denied us."

XIII. RICHARD CHANDLER, 1765–1766. *Travels in Greece: or an Account of a Tour made at the Expense of the Society of Dilettanti.* Oxford, 1776.² Pp. 52 ff.

¹ This section contains a selection from the sources for the history and exploration of the Erechtheum from the time of Stuart and Revett to the expedition of Lord Elgin. The complete list of authorities for this period will be found in Appendix C.

² Only so much of Chandler's discussion of the Erechtheum is here printed as relates to its condition and appearance. The omitted portions are chiefly recapitulations or interpretations of Pausanias and other ancient authorities. The corrections by Revett are taken from his copy of the *Travels* in the British Museum: see Chap. V, p. 543, note 1.

P. 52. — "The building was double, a partition-wall dividing it into two temples, which fronted different ways. One was the temple of Neptune Erectheus, the other of Minerva Polias. The latter was entered by a square portico connected with a marble skreen, which fronts towards the propylæa. The door of the cell was on the left hand, and at the farther end of the passage was a door leading down into the Pandroséum, which was contiguous."¹

P. 54. — "The ruin of the Erechthéum is of white marble, the architectural ornaments of very exquisite workmanship, and uncommonly curious. The columns of the front of the temple of Neptune are standing with the architrave; and also the skreen and portico of Minerva Polias, with a portion of the cell retaining traces of the partition-wall. The order is Ionic. An edifice revered by antient Attica, as holy in the highest degree, was in 1676 the dwelling of a Turkish family; and is now deserted and neglected; but many ponderous stones and much rubbish must be removed, before the well and trident would appear. The former, at least, might probably be discovered. The portico is used as a powder-magazine; but we obtained permission to dig and to examine the outside. The door-way of the vestibule is walled up, and the soil risen nearly to the top of the door-way of the Pandroséum."²

P. 55. — "The Pandroséum is a small, but very particular building, of which no satisfactory idea can be communicated by description. The entablature is supported by women, called Caryatides. . . . The images were in number six, all looking toward the parthenon. The four in front, with that next to the propylæa, remain, but mutilated, and their faces besmeared with paint. The soil is risen almost to the top of the basement on which they are placed. This temple was open or latticed between the statues; and in it also was a stunted olive-tree, with an altar of Jupiter Hercéus standing under it."³

The acquisition of the Chandler Inscription is thus described (pp. 57, 58): "Another marble, which has been engraved at the expense of the society of DILETTANTI, was discovered at a house not far from the temple of Minerva Polias, placed, with the inscribed face exposed, in the stairs. The owner, who was branded for some unfair dealing with the appellative *Jefût*, or *the Jew*, prefixed to his name, seeing me bestow so much labour in taking a copy, became fearful of parting with the original under its value. When the bargain was at length concluded, we obtained the connivance of the Disdar, his brother, under an injunction of privacy, as otherwise the removal of the stone might endanger his head, it being the property of the Grand Signior. Mustapha delivered a ring, which he commonly wore, to be shown to a female black slave, who was left in the house alone, as a token; and our Swiss, with assistants and two horses, one reputed the strongest in Athens, arrived at the hour appointed, and brought down the two marbles, for which he was sent, unobserved; the Turks being at their devotions in the mosque, except the guard at the gate, who was in the secret. The large slab was afterwards rendered more portable by a mason."⁴

XIV. LOUIS-FRANÇOIS-SEBASTIAN FAUVEL, 1786-1822.⁵

1. *Fonds fr.* 22873, fol. 157. Choiseul to Fauvel, Constantinople, August 2, 1786; received August 16, 1786.

The firman for which Fauvel has asked will be sent shortly: "Je voudrais bien qu'il put vous servir de prétexte pour enlever quelques beaux Bas-Reliefs; puisque vous êtes si bien avec le disdar, cela devoit vous être facile; pourquoi ne pourriez-vous pas enlever une Cariatide, s'il y en a une

¹ Revett's notes: line 2, "One"; That toward the west [*sic*]. 3, "a marble skreen which fronts;" the front.

² Revett's notes: line 1, "white"; pentelic. 3, "skreen"; west front. 9, "vestibule"; portico.

³ Revett's note: line 5, "or latticed," is erased.

⁴ For the damage unconsciously caused by this last operation, see Chap. IV, p. 281.

⁵ Numbers 1-12 are in the Département des Manuscrits, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The spelling of Fauvel has been generally retained, but accents, which are conspicuous by their absence in his manuscripts, have been added, in accordance with the practice of Omont, *B. Soc. Ant. Fr.*, 1900, pp. 240-245.

bien conservée?" In a postscript: "Je veux bien donner 20 piastres pour qu'on ne rebâtisse point le mur des Cariatides."¹

2. *Fonds fr.* 22877, part 1, fol. 27. Foucherot² to Fauvel, Paris, October 3, 1786. Instructions and inquiries about Greek topography and monuments.

"Vous avez sans doute rapporté le fond du pavé du temple d'Érectée avec une hauteur que nous avons connue et mesurée afin que je la place avec mes plans³; avez-vous trouvé le puits?" In margin a note by Fauvel, "Mesurer et rapporter avec les bases de l'E." (See also No. 4, below.)

3. *Nouv. acq. fr.* 7558, fol. 1 (Omont, *B. Soc. Ant. Fr.*, 1900, p. 240). Fauvel to Choiseul, Athens, February 15, 1787.

"Je m'empresse de profiter de l'occasion . . . pour vous donner avis . . . de l'embarquement de tous mes plâtres, à l'exception cependant de la Cariatide qui n'a pas pu être montée ayant été obligé de donner tous mes soins à l'encaissement et au transport difficile des autres objets. . . La cariatide me reste. Elle est montée mais pas entièrement terminée. Je la mettrai en deux caisses que je ferai porter au port chez M^r Kairac où elles attendront une occasion. J'en ferai de même pour quelques autres plâtres qui j'ai encore à prendre."

4. *Nouv. acq. fr.* 7558, fols. 4 f. Fauvel to Choiseul, Athens, February 20, 1787.

"Je fais retourner les débris qui couvrent les derrières du temple de Minerve pour dire à M^r Foucherot de quel manière il se termine. Je dois aussi découvrir un des piédestaux des Propylées que n'a fait que deviner M. le Roy.⁴ Je me suis contenté, M^r le Comte, d'avoir trouvé le pavé du temple d'Érectée contre toute vraisemblance à huit pieds six pouces au dessous du niveau des bases des colonnes de l'est, de niveau avec les 4 grandes faisant face au nord. Ayant trouvé ce pavé autant surchargé de décombres je n'ai pas cru sans votre consentement devoir chercher le puit dont parle Pausanias. Il en pourroit coûter 40 piastres. J'ai proposé cette dépense aux habitants du château étant les seuls qui y aient intérêt. Le Seliotar devoit donner des hommes mais la malheureuse catastrophe du fils du Disdar a été un empêchement à ce projet. . . La cariatide est montée. Son volume m'oblige de la couper, ne pouvant sans risque la transporter au Pirée; là je la mettrai dans son entier et l'encaisserai solidement ne devant plus voyager que par mer et étant un léger fardeau pour les chaloupes.⁵ Elle est creuse et bien assemblée."

5. *Nouv. acq. fr.* 7558, fols. 9, 10. Fauvel to Choiseul, Athens, October 12, 1788.

"Vous savez, Monsieur L'ambassadeur, que dans mon dernier voyage je fis fouiller dans le temple d'Érectée, que je trouvai le pavé antique à 9 pieds plus bas que les bases du côté de l'est. L'envie de trouver le puit dont je leur [i.e., les Turcs du château] avois parlé d'après Pausanias leur fit continuer. Ils y firent travailler par corvée sans succès. Ce temple avoit été défiguré de toute

¹ On this wall see Chap. V, pp. 550 f.

² The letter is unsigned, but Fauvel's letter to Choiseul of February 20, 1787 (No. 4) shows that it is from Foucherot. Part of this or a similar letter accompanies a plan of the Propylaea among Fauvel's drawings, Bibl. Nat., Estampes, G b. 15, b, fol. 27.

³ The plans were, of course, for Choiseul's book, but Foucherot was at this time helping Barbié Du Bocage in the preparation of his Atlas for Barthélemy's *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis* (edition of 1788, preface, pp. v, vi). The Erechtheum, however, does not appear in the Atlas.

⁴ The inquiry about "les derrières du temple de Minerve" is in the letter of October 3, 1786 (No. 2) just before the question about the Erechtheum. It related to the arrangements in the pronaos, which were concealed by the débris of the apse. The bases of the Ionic columns of the Propylaea seem called for by the plan and letter among the drawings; see note 2 above.

⁵ The plan for repacking the cast of the Caryatid was not carried out, for in the list of cases "embarqué abord du Capitaine Roussel. Expédié par M. Gaspary pour Marseille" (*Nouv. acq. fr.* 7558, fol. 3; Omont, *l. c.*, p. 243), we find:

"1. Le bas de la Cariatide et son chapiteau en 3 pièces.

2. Le haut de la figure précédente avec moulures et ornements du temple d'Érectée.

6. Chapiteaux du temple de Minerve, grand ordre, du plus grand ordre de celui d'Érectée, du petit ordre du temple de Thésée, les moulures du dessus et dessous des bas-reliefs."

manière par les chrétiens. Le pavé que j'avois trouvé est celui qu'ils firent. L'antique étoit au niveau des bases comme à tous les autres temples. Ce qui se voit des murs depuis le niveau de ces bases jusqu'au pavé actuel est fondation, partie marbre partie pierres brutes. Il s'est trouvé employé dans les fabriques modernes, qui y furent faites, de belles inscriptions fort longues et en petit caractères. Je n'en ai encore copié qu'une. Je les tiens enterrées pour éviter qu'elles ne se gâtent."

6. *Fonds fr.* 22873, fol. 161. Choiseul to Fauvel, Constantinople, November 4, 1788; received December 1, 1788.

"Ne pourriez vous pas, toujours sous prétexte de chercher le puits du temple d'Érectée, enlever les belles inscriptions qui ont été employées dans ce pavé fait par les Chrétiens. Vous mettriez d'autres pierres à la place. Elles doivent être fort curieuses."

7. *Nouv. acq. fr.* 7558, fol. 11. Fauvel to Choiseul, Athens, November 21, 1788.

"J'ai moulé le pendant de la cariatide qui est déjà à Marseille. Pendant le mauvais tems qui commence à se faire sentir je travaille à la monter et à mes cartes."

8. *Fonds fr.* 22877, part 1, fol. 23. Extracts from a summary account by Fauvel of his doings in Athens in 1788–1789. This memorandum is not dated, but seems to have been written soon after the events described, as it contains no reference to the disposition of his collections. There are a few corrections or notes in Fauvel's later hand.

"Le défaut de plâtre m'avoit empêché jusqu'à présent de travailler au château. Je n'ai pu mouler qu'une Cariatide et 5–6 pièces des bas-reliefs de Minerve. Le mauvais tems en Décembre m'a empêché de continuer. J'ai fait voler 3 tronçons de colonnes vert antique et je les ai fait jetter par un Turc du haut des murs de la citadelle sur un tas de fumier. Le 12 Décembre j'ai fait aussi glisser le long des murs du côté du monument de trasillus un métope un homme et un centaure mutilés. Un ouragand l'avoit fait tomber. C'étoit en trois pièces qui se rejoint. J'ai pris . . . 2 inscriptions¹ du temple d'Érectée. . . . J'ai fait faire quelques fouilles au château et j'ai decouvert tout le petit temple des Cariatides.² J'en ai mesuré toutes les parties. J'y ai trouvé un petit escalier qui communique dans le vestibule où sont les trois fenêtres et dans lequel on entroit par le portique du nord qui est aujourd'hui magasin à poudre. Le plafond du portique existe dans son entier. . . . Le 9 Février j'ai enlevé du temple d'Érectée une colonne de vert antique de 9 pieds de long. Je l'ai fait transporter le même jour au Pirée. Le 16 j'ai enlevé un tronçon des mêmes colonnes verd antique de 4 pieds de long et une inscription sur une partie de piédestal.³ Ces deux pièces ont été charriés au port en deux jours. J'ai moulé une très grande inscription trouvée dans les ruines du temple d'Érectée qu'il m'étoit trop difficile de copier sur la place. Il ne m'a pas été possible de l'acheter; au reste elle n'est pas entière et elle est presque effacée."

9. *Nouv. acq. fr.* 7558, fol. 12 (Omont, *l.c.*, p. 244). Fauvel to Choiseul, Athens, April 26, 1789. This letter announces his intention to leave at once on account of an outbreak of plague, and gives a summary list of objects belonging to Choiseul which he has left with various people in Athens.

"Vous avez en outre une pièce des bas-reliefs du temple de Minerve,⁴ que j'ai fait scier et mettre chez M. Kairac au Pirée, ainsi qu'une colonne de vert antique entière et une bonne partie d'une autre, un bas relief de deux figures plus grands que nature que j'ai fait ammincer [*sic*] et 2 inscriptions.⁵ Je laisse à Athènes chez Mr Giraud neg^t français 3 tronçons de colonnes vert antique et une

¹ The figure 2 is written in pencil at the beginning of the line, and there is an illegible word written in pencil over a figure 2 in ink at the end of the preceding one. See below, App. B, VI, p. 610, note 7.

² A drawing of the Porch of the Maidens is dated January 15, 1789; Bibl. Nat., Estampes, G b. 15, a, fol. 17.

³ This stone, according to a "Cahier des Inscriptions," contained two inscriptions. See App. B, VI, p. 610, note 9.

⁴ This was the slab from the frieze of the Parthenon now in the Louvre.

⁵ These seem to be the two inscriptions on one stone found in February. See No. 8, note 3, above.

inscription.¹ Au couvent une Cariatide montée et encaissée, quelques plâtres du temple de Minerve, . . . aussi le métope du temple de Minerve en trois caisses," etc.²

10. *Supplément grec* 560, fol. 38. A memorandum on the same sheet with two other items dated in 1791 and 1793.

"J'ai embarqué sur la corvette la Brune commandée par M. Terras³ 14 caisses marquées "C G" renfermant des plâtres moulés sur les bas reliefs du temple de Minerve. Il y en a 12 grandes depuis le No. 2. . . Les numéros 10 et 11 sont restés à Athènes n'ayant pu être transportés à tems." In the margin at the beginning is written "le 9 aoust, 1791."

This shipment was also recorded by Fauvel in later memoranda, two versions of which are in his papers. In both he dates the shipment from memory in 1790, and adds that it contained also fragments of green marble columns. In the second of these versions the description is: "plusieurs tronçons de colonnes de vert antique que j'avois trouvés dans les ruines du temple d'Érectée à Athènes — je n'ai pu savoir si cet envoi est parvenu."⁴

11. The shipment by *L'Arabe*.

a. *Fonds fr.* 22871, fol. 155. Fauvel to Choiseul, Athens, 7 Prairial, An XI (May 27, 1803); Fauvel's rough draft.

"J'ai la satisfaction aujourd'hui de vous annoncer que j'ai tout embarqué sur la corvette l'Arabe, comm^e par le lieutnt de vaisseau Berthelin qui doit effectuer son retour à l'Orient. . . Je vous ai embarqué tout ce qui étoit resté ici sur le sseau de la république après avoir procédé juridiquement à la levée des scelles."

The reverse of fol. 155 contains a rough list of the boxes and their contents, among them the following pieces from the Erechtheum:

"No. 1. Grande caisse contenant une des Cariatides à plâtre."

"24, 25. 3 tronçons de colonnes vert antique de 3^e, 3, et 2."

There is no mention in the list of any inscriptions from the Erechtheum, though the marbles seem given in detail.

b. *Fonds fr.* 22873, fol. 71. A note from Lieutenant Berthelin to Fauvel, "Rade du Pirée le 7 Praireal [*sic*], an 11."

"Je viens de recevoir à bord deux caisses qui, jointe aux vingt-quatre que vous aves envoyées ces jours passés, font la quantité de vingt-six caisses qui, suivant votre avis, contiennent des morceaux antiques. J'ai aussi reçu trois pieces de marbres, trois morceaux de colonnes et un bassin de même espèces. Aussitôt mon arrivée à L'orient je ferai les démarches nécessaires pour que le ministre à qui vous les adresses soit instruit de votre envoi."

c. *Fonds fr.* 22871, fol. 156. "Relevé des Notes" written apparently some years after the event, as the handwriting is that of Fauvel's later years.

"Le 5 prairial an onze j'avais embarqué sur la corvette l'Arabe commandée par M^r Bertelin lieutenant de vaisseau vingt quatre⁵ caisses marquées C G et numérotées contenant des plâtres et quelques marbres que j'avais séquestrés à Athènes n'ayant point été payé de ce que me devait M^r

¹ This seems to be an inscription taken from the Erechtheum in December, 1788. See App. B, VI, p. 610, note 7.

² The objects noted here are those already recorded in the memorandum from which the preceding extract, No. 8, is taken. The large relief is there said to have been found in excavating some tombs near Calirrhoe. It took two days to transport it to the coast. The metope of the Parthenon is in the British Museum.

³ The name of the commander was De Terrasse: cf. *Fonds fr.* 22873, fols. 172, 177; *Now. acq. fr.* 7558, fol. 24.

⁴ The memoranda are in *Fonds fr.* 22870, fol. 84, and 22871, fol. 156. Both refer to the loss of l'Arabe in 1803, and cannot, therefore, be earlier. The second is a free copy of the first, and, judging from the handwriting, was made considerably later than 1803. The correct year is certainly 1791, for in a letter to Choiseul Fauvel mentions that he left Athens on *La Brune* on August 9, 1791 (*Now. acq. fr.* 7558, fol. 26).

⁵ In an earlier set of notes (*ibid.* 22870, fol. 84) of which this "relevé" is a revised copy, Fauvel says eight boxes. Berthelin's receipt (11, b) proves that there were at least twenty-six.

de Choiseul, à qui je les envoyai alors, par ordre de M^r de tallerand [*sic*] ministre des affaires étrangères. . . . La caisse No. 1 a 6 pieds de long et 4 pieds de large. Elle renferme une des caryatides en plâtre du temple de Pandrose à Athènes."

d. *Fonds fr.* 22873, fol. 187. Choiseul to Fauvel, Paris, January 8, 1804; received May 30, 1804.

"Vous aurez su, mon cher Fauvel, le malheur que nous avons éprouvé. Je vous ai donné déjà ce traite noir dans ma dernière lettre,¹ mais leur marche est si incertain que peut-être ne vous sera-t-elle pas parvenue. La Corvette sur laquelle vous aviez chargé mes richesses a été la seule prise par les Anglais, et toutes nos caisses sont à Malte. J'ai fait des démarches multipliés pour être admis à les racheter, mais les Communications sont si difficiles en saison de la guerre, que je ne sais encore rien de certain sur mon sort."

e. *Now. acq. fr.* 7558, fol. 35. Fauvel to Choiseul, Athens, 18 Nivôse, An XII (January 9, 1804).

"Je ne reçu que le 7 nivose [December 29, 1803] la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 14 Juin en réponse à celle que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire des Dardanelles; je vois avec peine que vous n'aviez point encore reçu à cette époque ma lettre de 7 prairial, par la quelle je vous annonçois l'embarquement sur la corvette l'Arabe, de tous les objets d'art et d'antiquités qui vous étoient restés ici et de quelqu' autres que j'y avois ajoutés; pris malheureusement par les Anglais, perte à la quelle je suis aussi sensible que vous même."

12. Fauvel's references to Lord Elgin's work on the Erechtheum.

a. *Now. acq. fr.* 7558, fol. 32 (Omont, *l.c.*, p. 245, in part). Fauvel to Choiseul, 30 Floréal, XI (May 20, 1803), after speaking of the doings of Lord Elgin's agents, he continues:

"Ils ont en partie détruit le temple d'Érectée. Non seulement ils ont emporté des ornemens de la frise mais encore une colonne de l'angle, des 6 du côté du levant. . . . J'ai écrit à ce sujet au général Brun,² mais les dégâts continuent et bientôt on ne sera plus à tems de les empêcher à moins qu'ils ne se disposent à enlever le temple même. Ils ont eu une Caryatide, aujourd'hui ils ont jetté bas un des poutres et l'angle N O de la cella."³

b. In his letter of January 9, 1804 (11, e, above) Fauvel writes:

"J'arrêtois certainement les dégâts des Anglais à Athènes si la réponse du Général Brun n'étoit restée 5 mois à Salonique. Je lui envoy le procès-verbal dont il me dit avoir besoin, mais c'est trop tard. Il ne reste plus qu'une partie de la frise de la façade du temple de Minerve. J'aurais sauvé toute cette frise, les métopes, une Cariatide, et une portion du temple d'Érectée. C'est ny ma faute ny celle du Général Brun, j'ai fait mon devoir, mais le défaut d'occasion à Salonique et la negligence d'expédier des duplicata."⁴

c. *Fonds fr.* 22877, part 1, fol. 82. In a list of "Objets enlevés par Elgin à Athènes," perhaps a draft of the "procès-verbal" sent to General Brune, are these items:

"1 colonne de l'angle N E du temple d'Érectée."

"Une Cariatide du temple de Pandrose. Des architraves et plus de quarante pierres du corps du temple pour le marbre seulement."⁵

At the end of the list is added:

"Sans un office présenté à la Porte par le général Brune il ne serait rien resté à Athènes de sculpture. Cet office qui conserva ce qui reste aujourd'hui arrêta la main des gens d'Elgin. Les frontons

¹ This earlier letter is not among Fauvel's papers.

² General Brune was the French Ambassador at Constantinople. Fauvel generally spells the name, Brun.

³ The O is faint in Fauvel's manuscript, but perfectly distinct. It is clearly a slip of the pen for E, since the reference must be to the destruction of the northeast anta.

⁴ In a letter (*ibid.*, fol. 38) of 24 Pluviôse, An XII (February 14, 1804), which is in substance a duplicate of the letter of January 9, Fauvel repeats his belief that he could have stopped "les dévastations des Anglais" but for the delay in receiving Brune's letters.

⁵ This last statement seems wholly unfounded. No plain marble blocks are known to have been taken by Elgin.

avaient été dépouillés avant mon arrivée et sans la négligence du consul de France à Salonique, Magalori, exceptés les frontons tout le reste était conservé.”¹

13. Observations of Fauvel on the Erechtheum in Jacques-Guillaume Legrand, *Monumens de la Grèce, ou Collection des chefs-d'oeuvre d'architecture, de sculpture, et de peinture antiques* [Galerie antique, I]. P. 76.

“M. Fauvel a observé une petite porte antique pratiquée dans le soubassement de ces figures [i.e., les Caryatides], et placée au-dessous de la corniche du piédestal dans l'angle de la façade orientale. Cette porte coupe les moulures de la base, et descend jusque sur le premier gradin. Il y avoit intérieurement des marches qui montoient au temple de Pandrose. Il a fait de vaines recherches pour trouver le puits d'eau salée, et n'a pu y parvenir.

“Voici encore quelques-unes des observations que je dois à son obligeance:

“On a pratiqué une porte au milieu du soubassement de l'élévation occidentale, au dessous de la croisée; mais cette porte est moderne. Les croisées, leurs chambranles et leurs appuis sont bien antiques, et non modernes, comme on pourroit le soupçonner d'après leur forme. La frise de l'entablement est d'un marbre bleuâtre. Dans l'élévation orientale, elle est rustiquée et percée de trous de crampons qui annoncent qu'elle a été revêtue de bronzes. Le reste de l'entablement est de marbre blanc. Il y a dans les cannelures, des coussinets, des volutes, des clous de bronze qui servoient probablement pour attacher des guirlandes aux jours de fêtes. Il y avoit aux portes extérieures des temples, sous les peristyles, des chambranles de marbre appliqués après coup, comme on applique aujourd'hui des chambranles de bois dans nos appartemens. On en voit encore la trace sur les murs et l'on en a trouvé des fragmens. Certains ornemens qu'il eût été trop difficile de sculpter dans les caissons renfoncés du plafond, y étoient peints.”

XV. EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE, 1801. *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Part the Second — Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land; Section the second.* London, 1814. Pp. 498–502. The quotations are from Volume III of the first edition in quarto.²

P. 499. — “The whole structure was called *Erechthéum*, consisting only of two contiguous temples; that of *Minerva Polias*, with its portico towards the east; and that of *Pandrosus* towards the west, with its two porticoes standing by the north and south angles, the entrance to the *Pandroseum* being on the northern side.”³

P. 496. — “Among the ruins of this [i.e., the Parthenon] and of other buildings in the Acropolis, we noticed the fragments of almost every kind of marble . . . but particularly of the *verd-antique*, entire columns of which had once adorned the *Erechthéum*: under a heap of loose stones and rubbish in the centre of it, we discovered the broken shaft of a verd-antique pillar of uncommon beauty: this we purchased of the Disdar; and having with great difficulty removed it from the Acropolis, we sent it to England.⁴ A bluish-gray limestone was also used in some of the works; particularly in the exquisite ornaments of the *Erechthéum*, where the frieze of the temple and of its porticoes are not of marble, like the rest of the building, but of this sort of slate-like limestone: the tympanum of

¹ Fauvel repeats this tribute to General Brune in another note in his later handwriting (*ibid.*, fol. 49): “Ce qui se voit encore de sculpture est dû à cet ambassadeur.” On Fauvel's hostile activity at this time, see Lusieri's letter to Elgin, February 6, 1804 (Smith, *J. H. S.*, XXXVI, 1916, p. 257). It is at least doubtful whether Fauvel's intervention was as efficacious as he declared. Lusieri apparently secured everything he thought it worth while to take.

² Clarke says little about the actual appearance of the building, and adds nothing of importance on this point.

³ This seems the earliest statement of a theory, later elaborated by Wilkins in *Atheniensiâ* and perhaps suggested to Clarke by him, which in the early nineteenth century generally superseded the identification of the parts of the building proposed by Chandler (XIII, above), see Ch. V, p. 543, note 5.

⁴ See *Greek Marbles*, p. 39, No. XVII, Cambridge, 1809. In this catalogue of the antiquities presented by Clarke to Cambridge University it is thus described: “Part of a Column of that rare antient Breccia called by the Italians *Verde Antico*. It was taken from the Temple of *Eretheus* in the Acropolis of Athens.” See also Ch. V, p. 502, note 4.

the pediment is likewise of the same stone; a singular circumstance truly, and requiring some explanation."¹

P. 797. — "Mr. Cripps has preserved, in his MS. Journal, a note, dictated by Lusieri, relative to a very curious discovery made by that artist with regard to the sculptured ornaments of the *Erechtheum*. The author also well remembers its being pointed out to him by the same person upon the spot. Lusieri found among the most delicate intertexture of the wreaths and foliage, small brass nails, and bits of antique glass, which had been fastened on to heighten the general delicacy and exquisite finishing of the work. This circumstance has been noticed by no other traveller."

XVI. Passages relating to the Erechtheum in the papers of Lord Elgin, as published by Arthur Hamilton Smith, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXVI, 1916, pp. 163–372.²

P. 196. — Hunt to Elgin, Athens, July 31, 1801. A block of the Erechtheum cornice had been taken down and the Caryatid porch cleared of disfiguring accretions. "The Cariatids that support it, and the rich ornaments of its cornice and ceiling, are now open to the day." "If your Lordship would come here in a large Man of War that beautiful little model of ancient art might be transported wholly to England. Nothing can exceed the exquisite beauty and delicacy of all its details."

P. 198. — August 6, 1801, Lusieri hopes to secure a considerable piece of the cornice of the Erechtheum.

P. 202. — Lusieri to Elgin, Athens, October 26, 1801. "With a single saw that I have got from the convent, they have sawn a precious fragment of the cornice of the Temple of Neptune Erechtheus."

P. 203. — Captain Lacy of the Engineers, then Elgin's agent at Athens, in a letter of December 8, 1801, is eager that the Porch of the Maidens should be secured entire for the collection.

P. 204. — Lusieri, writing on December 7, 1801, is not so enthusiastic about the "Pandroseum." The five Caryatids are very like each other, and not of such fine sculpture as the metopes and reliefs [i.e., of the Parthenon].

P. 207. — Elgin to Lusieri, Constantinople, December 26, 1801. After urging the continuance of excavation, he writes: "I name very especially the temple of Pandrosos. I flatter myself that you have already thought of ways of transporting it. If Captain Lacy is with you, with the means that Mr. Hamilton will have supplied, such as levers and so forth, perhaps you could get down the statues one after another, and put them on my brig, and by degrees transport the whole to Zea. . . . I should wish to have, of the Acropolis, examples in the actual object, of each thing, and architectural ornament — of each cornice, each frieze, each capital — of the decorated ceilings, of the fluted columns — specimens of the different architectural orders, and of the variant forms of the orders — of metopes and the like, as much as possible."

P. 208. — Lusieri to Elgin, Athens, January 5, 1802. "If I cannot get the Pandroseum entire, I do not despair of one of the Caryatids."

P. 209. — Lusieri to Elgin, Athens, January 11, 1802. "The formatori are engaged on the temple of Neptune Erechtheus, of Minerva Polias, and the Pandroseum. The details of these various little monuments are masterpieces. Without a special firman it is impossible to take away the last. The Turks and the Greeks are extremely attached to it, and there were murmurs when Mr. Hunt asked for it.³ Also I do not think it would be worth while, on account of its bad condition. The five

¹ "For this fact the author is indebted to Mr. Wilkins, author of the *Antiquities of Magna Grecia*, etc." For this curious error of Wilkins and some of his contemporaries see above, Chap. I, p. 93, note 3.

² The quotation marks enclose the passages quoted by Mr. Smith from the letters; the other statements are based on his summaries of the letters without quotation. It is to be noted that the correspondence between Elgin and Lusieri is only published in translation.

³ Cf. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Earl of Elgin's Collection of Sculptured Marbles*, etc., pp. 145, 146. Hunt had testified that he sailed from Athens with the ambassador on his return to England. "Was one of the Caryatides removed at that time? I think it was. Do you know whether the removal of that piece

Caryatids are exactly similar, and the base, the cornice, and the upper part are in a pitiful state. It will not be difficult, by means with which I am acquainted, to get the best of these Caryatids, to have it restored at Rome, and afterwards to have it moulded. In this way your Excellency might have this little monument quite complete. In pursuance of this idea I am having moulded the few details that remain."

P. 218. — Lady Elgin to Lord Elgin, Athens, May 25, 1802.¹ "As for getting the other things you wished for down from the Acropolis it is *quite impossible* before you return. Lusieri says Capt. Lacy was upon his *first* coming here against the things being taken down, but at last he was keener than anybody and absolutely wished you to have the whole Temple of the Cari — something, where the Statues of the Women are."

P. 234. — Elgin to Lusieri, Constantinople, October 8, 1802. "The least little things from Athens are invaluable. . . . The first on the list are the metopes, the bas-reliefs, and the remains of the statues that can still be found. . . . Would it be permissible to speak of a Caryatid? I leave the decision to you, if you have the possibility. Do not forget some capitals on the Acropolis. . . . To sum up, the slightest object from the Acropolis is a jewel — all the details of the different orders of Architecture. Further, some fragments of Minerva Polias — a capital from these if possible."

P. 236. — Lusieri to Elgin, Athens, October 28, 1802. In a list of objects which had already been moulded are "the bust of a Caryatid," and "all the different ornaments of the portico and of the temple of Erechtheus and of the Pandroseum." All these casts from the Erechtheum were lost.

P. 256. — Lusieri to Elgin, Athens, April 27, 1803.² In a report upon new acquisitions he includes the Caryatid and the column from the East Portico. Captain Gore of the *Medusa* had already taken away the Caryatid and some other marbles.

XVII. JOHN LEWIS WOLFE, 1820. *Sketch-books and Diaries*, in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects.³

The material relating to the Erechtheum is contained in a large folio volume of *Drawings*, with many marginal notes, and in a small *Note-book*. There are twenty-seven drawings of architectural details (pp. 99–120), almost wholly taken from the North Portico. It would seem that Wolfe studied and drew in the garret over the powder magazine (Fig. 223), where all the interior decoration could be examined at close range. A striking feature of Wolfe's notes is his free criticism of details that did not please him. His remarks do not contain much new information, but their critical character, at a time of generally uncritical eulogy of everything Athenian, gives them a special interest quite apart from their descriptive value, and for that reason they are here printed, by kind permission of the Council of the Institute, although their date is later than the limit assigned to this section. The following extracts show Wolfe's close observation and independence of judgment.

of sculpture created any discontent or sensation among the people of Athens? I had no personal knowledge that it did; no such discontent was ever expressed to me." Hunt's memory was at fault also in the matter of dates, for Lord Elgin sailed from Athens for Malta on February 3, 1803 (Smith, *l.c.*, p. 253), while the acquisition of the Caryatid was not reported by Lusieri until April 27 (*ibid.*, p. 256). On the local belief that the statues of the Maidens were real beings, petrified by enchantment, see, for example, T. S. Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania*, p. 261, and John Bramsen, *Travels in Egypt, Syria, Cyprus, the Morea, Greece, Italy, etc.*, II, p. 83; "Signor Lusieri informed us that the superstitious Athenians not a little regretted the loss of these statues, and were heard very gravely to assert, that the other four sisters used frequently, during the silence of night, to utter plaintive laments for the loss of their companions." Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and other Provinces of Turkey*, p. 345, note, refers to a general belief that all the statues were held in stone by enchantment, which would have power so long as the Turks were masters of Greece.

¹ Lord Elgin had left Athens to visit other parts of Greece.

² Lord Elgin was at this time on his way back to England by way of Italy and France.

³ These books were presented to the Institute by Mr. Wolfe Barry, son of Sir Charles Barry; *Transactions R. I. B. A.*, 1895, pp. 73 ff.

DRAWINGS (p. 119). A drawing of the exterior mouldings of the architrave and cornice. "Upper eggs very wide apart and poor. Ornament of bed mould very bold — broad and well-relieved — differs from others in the great projection of dart beyond fillet. Ornament finishing bed moulding is very pretty. Frieze of bluish gray stone covered with cement laid on in two coats — outer one beautifully polished and the colour of the marble.¹ Iron cramps seen in it on flanks and front." "The mouldings of architrave are very delicate but the ornament they contain is rather too much squeezed together. Eggs in abacus excellent shape. Those below plat-band excellent but want some relief below. Bronze nails seen in the whole circuit of channel between volutes as well as in eye and deep sunk angle. No glass eyes remaining in 'plat-band.'" ² "Footing for raking cornice got out of same block as horizontal one." "The top of cornice rakes sensibly."

NOTE-BOOK (p. 39). Interior of North Portico. "Mouldings of pannels unwrought. I could discover no remains of painting in them, which some have. In the center of each is a hole for affixing rosettes — face left rough — Greek border painted on margin. . . . Cap of column. In the eyes of plat-band glass eyes remain composed of opaque vitreous substance — of bright colours — yellow, blue and purple. In one instance two of these eyes in angle. Bent nails on top of plat-band and in every other channel on the baluster side of Cap! . . . Door. I cannot judge of the effect of the proportion the lower part being walled up. The great cymatium enriched with an ornament most vilely executed and as vilely designed. It would disgrace the middle ages. The consoles are pretty for interior decoration. No broad light sufficient for external work. The face is very graceful. But the volutes might be improved in profile especially the lower one which is clumsy. The cavetto and eggs are remarkably bold, more so than any Greek I have seen while the cymatium is peculiarly flat. The patera [*sic*] are stiff and formal — those at Bari much better. The architrave ³ mouldings are very much confused and betray a poverty of invention in the triple repetition of the mould⁴."

P. 40. — "Exterior. The entablature unrivalled. Beautiful in the highest degree. Ornament judiciously introduced producing richness without confusion. Proportions of entablature excellent — both generally and particularly. The great cutting up of the larmier produces rather a tin-like appearance about the fascia in corona. The Capitals are entitled to the same undivided praise at least in their present state for when the temple was perfect the glass and gilt ornaments about it must have been very injurious to the effect — filling up the channels between the volutes, which now give distinctness to them. The deep sinking in the angle is very effective and certainly to be adopted in like cases. The hem might perhaps with advantage have been sunk deeper as the northern aspect of the temple scarcely allows light enough to prevent confusion in the volutes. The platted band is very pretty: how much preferable to the unwieldy ovolo in the same situation in Roman caps. The ornamented necking is well introduced in a cap of the proportion of these, which requires height to bear it out. The abacus is not square being wider in front than in flank — giving greater projection to the volutes. The latter are admirably proportioned to the Cap of the Column. The angle volutes have a very good effect. I should have no hesitation in introducing them in like circumstances. The proportions of the columns cannot be judged of being walled up and partly buried."

P. 41. — "Hexastyle Portico. The columns are very candle-like. No visible diminution — very lofty. Caps wretchedly executed — ornaments in neck grapy. . . ."

"Front with engaged columns. Caps also very badly done. But that of pilaster done as well as

¹ It is hard to explain this statement of Wolfe's. There is no trace of any such coating on the frieze; see Chap. II, p. 181, note 4.

² This seems to apply only to the exterior of the column, for in his note-book Wolfe records the presence of beads in the interior guilloche.

³ Wolfe designates by "architrave" the portion of the lintel below the rosettes; the part above he calls "cornice"; see *Drawings*, p. 109, where he notes at the bottom of a drawing of the "architrave" of the door; "Width of the lower fascia not determined — being buried in the rubblework of vault." This "lower fascia" apparently included the later lining of the door.

Tetrastyle Portico. Caps have been raised by the addition of a piece in neck. Windows are very much crowded in between $\frac{1}{2}$ columns. Best effect of $\frac{1}{2}$ columns I have ever seen."

"Stylagalmatic Portico.¹ — Roof in 4 blocks sloped a little from center to flank. No contrivance for covering joints visible. Blocks or oreilles at angles — and on each side indications of holes for discharging water which must have been cut through echinus."

P. 42. — "Portico with Caryatides. There can be no doubt the introduction of these figures in this Portico was suggested by the nature of the ground which obliged the architect to employ a high Podium thereby diminishing the height of his order so much that columns would have been insignificant. The two figures on the left of the Portico have the right leg advanced and those on the right the left one. I should have liked them better had the leg been less brought forward as it gives them the appearance of having but one. Nothing can be more beautiful than the whole of the drapery on the front of the figures but the back is too flat: no care seems to have been bestowed on [it] although it is seen from many points of view. . . . In one point of view all the upper part appears much too large for the legs and has a most disagreeable effect. The hair on the back is most frightfully arranged. . . . The entablature I think in itself not amiss except that the dentils are too large. When the echinus remained the whole must have been too heavy for the figures. The double row of eggs in the pilaster cap I object too [*sic*]. The whole of that part is too much cut up by ornament — the interposition of some plain surface would be an improvement. The eggs in the Podium are the best I have ever seen for effect at some distance from the eye: too bold perhaps in their actual situation."

¹ The name given by Wilkins to the Porch of the Maidens, because the columns (*στύλοι*) were statues (*ἀγάλματα*).

APPENDIX B

NOTES ON THE SOURCES FOR THE LATER HISTORY OF THE ERECHTHEUM ¹

I. THE VENETIAN SOURCES

THE examination of the sources for the later history of the Erechtheum may properly commence with the occupation of Athens by the Venetians in 1687. The scanty references from earlier years are collected in Appendix A, and discussed in the chapter devoted to the history of the building. None of them presents a definite picture. Magni and Vernon do not go beyond a brief mention, and even the longer narratives of Spon and Wheler contain little more than the reasons for identifying the temple north of the Parthenon with the Erechtheum described by Pausanias. It is in the Venetian records that we first find material, however inadequate, for an approximate reconstruction of conditions at this time. The available sources are threefold: drawings, plans, and descriptions of the antiquities.

Three drawings show the Acropolis from the north, from which side alone the Erechtheum was at that time visible,² — the original drawings of the engineers Miller and Verneda, and the rude cut of the destruction of the Parthenon in Fanelli, *Atene Attica*, p. 308.³ The two engineers fill the space north of the Parthenon with a series of small gable roofs, none of which can be fairly identified with the Erechtheum. Fanelli's engraver has inserted near the site of the temple a house with a gable roof and chimney at its east end, and in place of the North Portico a projecting wing with a sloping roof, the whole irresistibly suggesting an old-fashioned New England farmhouse with a "lean-to." We may fairly believe that the source of this engraving represented the Erechtheum, but the copyist has so transformed the original as to deprive his version of any value.

The case is a little better when we turn to the Venetian plans and descriptions of the Acropolis, for in spite of obvious defects they throw some light on the appearance of the building. The plans are four in number:

1. The plan of the city of Athens⁴ prepared by the engineer Giacomo Milhau Verneda and

¹ This account of the chief sources for the history of the Erechtheum in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is not intended to be complete in itself, but merely to supplement the History (Chapter V), by giving fuller information as to some of the authorities there mentioned and the nature and value of their work than could well be presented in footnotes to the text. It is further supplemented by the Chronological Bibliography given in Appendix C.

² The views from the south — e.g., Omont, *Athènes*, pls. XXIX–XXXI, XXXVI, XXXVII — show that the Erechtheum was hidden by the numerous houses between the Propylaea and the Parthenon. The two small engravings at Athens and Marburg (*ibid.*, pl. XXXII) are taken from the north, but are on too small a scale to show any details.

³ The original drawings are reproduced by Omont, *op. cit.*, pls. XXXIII, XXXIV, and Verneda's drawing also by Laborde, *Athènes*, II, p. 172. Fanelli, p. 113, gives a view of Athens copied somewhat carelessly from this drawing. The view of the destruction of the Parthenon is reproduced by Laborde, II, p. 150, and Omont, pl. XXXVI.

⁴ Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, *Codd. Ital.* Classe VII, No. 94, fol. 115. The volume is a large folio, acquired in 1772, containing 119 maps and plans, chiefly connected with the campaigns of Morosini in Greece. A colored title-page bears the inscription: *Dominio / della Seren^{ma} / Repubblica / di / Venetia / Sopra il / Mare. / Tomo / Secondo.* (The first volume is a folio of the same character, but containing material relating to the Cretan war and earlier battles with the Turks.) Verneda's plan is on a large double sheet, and measures on the inside line of the border 0.759 m. × 0.496 m. It bears the title "PIANTA DEL CASTELLO D'ACROPOLIS E CITTÀ D'ATHENE. Oue s'osseruano le Cose più cospicue che contengono tanto antiche quanto moderne, fatta con l'accuratezza maggiore d'all' Ing^{re} Verneda d'ordine d'ell' Ecc^{mo} Sig^{re} Francesco Moresini [sic] K^{re} Procūor Cap^{re} Gñal, dopo il glorioso acquisto che ne fece in otto giorni d'assedio li 28: 7^{bre} 1687 s.m." The Acropolis is apparently finished, but it is possible that more details were to be added in the lower town. The volume

forwarded to the Venetian Senate by Morosini on November 15, 1687¹ (the Acropolis alone, Fig. 216). The Acropolis from this plan was published by Fanelli, *Atene Attica*, opp. p. 308.² The accompanying key is discussed below in connection with the Venetian descriptions, to which it may be assigned on account of its length. In spite of its mistakes this is by far the best of the Venetian plans. It gives the relative position of the Erechtheum with considerable accuracy, though it fails in rendering the proportions and disposition of the several parts. The main building is simply an open quadrangle with six detached columns at the eastern end,³ and no indication of the half-columns and windows at the west. The two porticoes are drawn in more detail, and it is significant that they alone are lettered. Both are apparently walled up,⁴ and by a curious error only three columns and three Maidens are drawn on the long side of each portico, although the text implies correctly that there were four. In the North Portico a small rectangle (N) marks, according to the key, the chief powder magazine.⁵ Fanelli's engraver omitted the magazine and the letter from the plan, while retaining the letter in his key. He may also have intended to show four columns and four Maidens instead of Verneda's three, but his execution is so careless that it is hard to be certain on this point.

2. A plan of the whole city by the Conte di San Felice,⁶ published by Fanelli, *Atene Attica*, p. 318.⁷ The Erechtheum is grotesquely misrepresented. It is placed close to the Parthenon, the Porch of the Maidens is omitted, and the North Portico is separated from the main building, provided with an apse, and outlined by dots as though an open colonnade. The apse may well have arisen from the remains of the house upon the north side. There are only four columns at the east end. As compensation for these errors the western inner wall is plainly drawn. The key interprets D (the main building) as "Tempio di Minerva Poliados" and E (the North Portico) as "Tempio di Nettuno."

was discovered by Bodo Ebhardt, who published this plan and also the plan of the Acropolis on folio 116 (No. 4, below) in *Der Burgwart*, XI, 1910, pp. 45-49, but without giving the number of the manuscript or the dimensions of the plans. The plans were further discussed in *C. R. Acad. Insc.*, 1910, pp. 278-285, by the late Adolf Michaelis, who, however, had no further information as to the manuscript. In the summer of 1913 I examined the manuscript and through the courtesy of the authorities secured the photograph of the Acropolis reproduced in Figure 216.

¹ Verneda seems to have been a somewhat important officer in Morosini's corps of engineers. According to his petition, forwarded to the Senate by Morosini with the plan, he had been ten years in the Venetian service and had taken part in all the sieges of Morosini's successful campaign (Laborde, *Athènes*, II, p. 180, note, and compare the end of the report on Corinth). He is mentioned by Locatelli (I, pp. 129, 145, 147) as directing mining and trenching operations at Coron, where he was severely wounded. On March 18, 1688, he submitted to Morosini a long report on the best system of defences for Corinth and the Isthmus (*The Ionian Anthology*, 1834, No. 3, pp. 557-566, from the original manuscript owned by A. Mustoxidi; the plan which accompanied this report has not yet been identified). He was killed September 2, 1688, while directing operations against the fortress of Kara Babá on the mainland opposite Negroponte (Locatelli, II, p. 120). In the volume with the plan of Athens is a plan (fol. 107) by Verneda, or copied from him, of this fortress and of the system of trenches by which it was to be attacked.

² The plan of the Acropolis is reproduced from Fanelli by Laborde, *Athènes*, II, opp. p. 182, and Omont, *Athènes*, pl. XLV, 2. Fanelli's version is by no means an accurate copy of Verneda's drawing.

³ Pencil marks on the drawing show that the continuation of the south wall to the corner column is due to a slip of the pen.

⁴ For the North Portico this is obvious, and it seems highly probable for the Porch of the Maidens, which is also outlined in solid red. Unless this porch was also filled or surrounded by walls, it is impossible to understand why only four Maidens are ever mentioned, although five were certainly in place.

⁵ The key to the plan says: "Il color di Cinaprio dinotta il Recinto di Muro tanto in Fortezza come in Città. Il color di Carmin dinotta tutte le fabbriche antiche lavorate di Marmo." In accord with this statement the walls of the Erechtheum, including even the inner rectangle of the North Portico, are red. The columns are marked in gold ink.

⁶ Mutoni, Conte di San Felice, was in command of the mortar batteries in Königsmarck's army (Locatelli, I, p. 211), and according to his fellow-officers exceedingly incompetent, since he regulated his fire so badly that his bombs did more damage to his own side than to the enemy; see the documents in Laborde, *Athènes*, II, pp. 141 f., note.

⁷ Also in Laborde, *Athènes*, II, p. 180; Omont, *Athènes*, pl. XLV, 1, and p. 18, I.

3. A plan of the city of Athens, dedicated to Girolamo Duodo, published by Coronelli, *Teatro delle Città e Porti principali dell' Europa*, Vol. I.¹ In preparing this plan Coronelli certainly used Verneda, to whom he owes the indications of the position of the troops and many of his legends, but apparently also San Felice and a third lost source, for in many details he differs from both the engineers. The small scale of the Acropolis made it necessary to substitute letters for the inscriptions used in the lower town, and the Erechtheum as a whole is marked *m*, explained in the key as "Tempio di Ericteus." The position of the building is rather better than on San Felice's plan, but there are five columns at the east end and also on the front of the North Portico. The scale is too small to admit of details.

4. An anonymous plan of the Acropolis in the same volume with Verneda's plan of the city,² and reproduced by Coronelli in the *Teatro*. Here too the Erechtheum is somewhat misplaced and there are other errors, such as five columns on the front of the North Portico, and at the east end of the main building a wall and door with only five columns in front. The west inner wall, however, is indicated — here by four columns rather than by a wall and door — and the door into the Porch of the Maidens appears for the first time. The plan as a whole ranks but little below Verneda's. Beside the North Portico is written "Tempio di Nettuno" and beside the Porch of the Maidens is "Tempio di Minerva Poliados."

The Erechtheum also appears in four Venetian descriptions of the antiquities of the city:

1. The detailed and carefully written key to Verneda's plan (App. A, V), which is repeated with unimportant variations in a manuscript in Vienna,³ and, for the Acropolis, on Fanelli's plate.⁴

2. The description in the "Relatione" of the bombardier De la Rue⁵ (App. A, VI), published from a manuscript in Florence by Von Duhn, *Arch. Ztg.*, XXXVI, 1878, pp. 59, 60.

3. An account (App. A, VII, A) published in 1691 in the posthumous work of A. Locatelli,⁶ *Racconto storico della Veneta guerra in Levante*, Pt. II, p. 33, and republished (App. A, VII, B) in the *Galleria di Minerva*, I, 1696, p. 385, with numerous alterations and corrections of the very carelessly printed original, but without any mention of its previous appearance.

4. The description (App. A, VIII) inserted by Fanelli in his text (pp. 321, 322), which is quite independent of the key by Verneda, attached to the plan of the Acropolis also published by Fanelli.

The evidential value of these descriptions is by no means equal. The first three are the work of men who had been in Athens, and, if we leave out the mythology, both Verneda and De la Rue

¹ This work (Venice, 1697) is a large folio containing many maps and plans. The plates are not numbered, but are arranged by countries, and those relating to the same place are grouped together. The work contains three plans of Athens, Coronelli's version of Spon's plan, the modification of Guillet's plan dedicated to Martinelli (on these two plans see J. R. Wheeler, *Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.*, VII, 1896, pp. 177–189), and the plan cited in the text. The Acropolis from this plan is published by Omont, *Athènes*, pl. XLV, 3; see also p. 20, III.

² Venice, *op. cit.*, fol. 116. Also reproduced by Ebhardt and Michaelis, see p. 601, note 4. The plan measures 0.53 m. × 0.285 m. Coronelli's copy is reproduced by Omont, *Athènes*, pl. XLV, 4; see also p. 20, IV. Other plates in the *Teatro* are also the same as those in the manuscript.

³ Vienna, *Tabulae codd. mss. Bibl. Palat.*, IV, p. 203, No. 5827. The text, in parallel columns with that of Fanelli, is given by Omont, *Athènes*, pp. 19–20.

⁴ The discovery of the original plan has shown that Laborde (*Athènes*, II, pp. 13 note, 182 note) and Von Duhn (*Arch. Ztg.*, XXXVI, 1878, p. 60) were wrong in assuming that the key was the work of Fanelli and that Verneda was not responsible for the errors it contains. The most fateful blunder in its influence on later opinion was the identification of the north wing of the Propylaea with the temple of Athena Nike.

⁵ Nothing seems to be known of Rinaldo de la Rue, except that he was severely wounded, September 15, 1688, during the siege of Negroponte (Locatelli, II, p. 128). For the full title of De la Rue's manuscript see App. A, VI.

⁶ Another edition of this work appeared in 1705 with the title "*Historia della guerra Veneta in Levante, opera postuma di Alessandro Locatelli*." Locatelli was one of Morosini's secretaries and accompanied him during the greater part of his campaigns. The first edition appeared "a spese di Girolamo Albrizzi," who was also the publisher of the *Galleria di Minerva*, a fact which may account for the republication of Locatelli's text without acknowledgment. The description is there attributed to "Signor N. N."

give clear and reasonably accurate, though incomplete, accounts of the building as they saw it. Locatelli's confused statement has obviously little intrinsic worth, although the eye-witness appears in the mention of the colored glass in the capitals of the North Portico. The ten columns given to his "Tempio di Nettuno" might in a more careful writer suggest the inclusion of the west front of the main building, but in him are much more likely to be a mere blunder. Fanelli's description rests on a wholly different basis. He had never been in Athens, and published his book in 1707, twenty years after the capture of the city by the Venetians. His account of the "Tempio di Eretteo," by which he means only the North Portico, is obviously in great part a mere paraphrase of Wheler, to whom he is indebted for the lengthy discussion of the salt spring, the dimensions of the temple, and especially the unique error — conclusive evidence that Wheler and not Spon is his source — about the Doric element in the Ionic capitals. Yet he had other information at his disposal: the salt spring is now inaccessible because of the powder magazine, not the harem; the great door is described, and now leads not into Wheler's "bigger temple" but into a "salone spazioso" with six monolithic (!) columns at one end and two windows with marble "gelosie" at the other. Such statements could well come from men who had shared in Morosini's campaign, and are evidently to be treated on the same basis as those of Verneda and his companions. For the Porch of the Maidens these informants seem to have failed (unless, indeed, the wall with niches containing statues of the three Graces is derived from such a source rather than constructed from Wheler), and Fanelli therefore took refuge in a mythological disquisition based on Natalis Comes. It is illuminating for Fanelli's methods of composition that, although he published a plate containing Verneda's plan of the Acropolis with its key, he paid no heed to either in his text.

II. FOURMONT

There is no need to devote much space to the stay of Michel Fourmont in Athens, since the story has been told and all the significant documents published in M. Henri Omont's *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, I, pp. 537 ff.; II, pp. 1086–1088, 1129–1134. It will suffice here to call attention to those points which throw light on his curious error in drawing the Erechtheum. During his stay in Athens the letters of Michel Fourmont¹ are strangely silent about the monuments, and, although he certainly visited the Acropolis, it is equally certain that he can have spent but little time there.² Yet the ancient remains were not wholly neglected, for we hear of a very detailed plan of Athens and of drawings of all the ancient buildings prepared by the younger Fourmont, who was the draughtsman of the party. The plan has disappeared, and there is little from Athens among the maps and sketches in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Nor is the loss a serious one, for what has survived gives but an indifferent impression of the artist's skill or accuracy, though there is probably nothing so completely unsuccessful as the drawing of the Erechtheum. This has survived in two

¹ The Fourmont papers are for the most part in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The letters from Athens are chiefly in *Supplément grec*, 295, 930 (copies by Villoison); the inscriptions, *ibid.*, 569–571, 854; the drawings, *ibid.*, 853, 856. See also *Now. acq. fr.* 5384, 8985, and Omont, *op. cit.* Omont has published practically all the documents relating to Athens; the little left unpublished contains nothing significant. The manuscript *Now. acq. fr.* 1892 contains an account of the tour in Greece by the younger Fourmont, with numerous small and rude drawings, almost wholly copied from the larger ones; cf. Omont, *op. cit.*, I, p. 661, note 1.

² Fourmont's accounts show that he made a present of coffee and pepper to the Disdar (commandant of the Acropolis), and paid fees to the captain of the guard (Omont, II, p. 1130). He also mentions the Disdar among the Turkish officials who aided him in his search for inscriptions (*ibid.*, p. 1086). Yet only three inscriptions (*Supplément grec*, 569, fols. 249, 251; 571, fol. 213 = *I. G.*, III, 1602, 1547, 632) are noted as copied on the Acropolis, although it is clear that even a brief search must have yielded a much greater harvest. The inevitable conclusion, that the Fourmonts spent little time on the Acropolis, is confirmed when we find in the narrative of C.-L. Fourmont brief notices of the monuments in the lower town, but nothing about those on the Acropolis, though four blank pages (*Now. acq. fr.* 1892, fols. 142, 143) have evidently been reserved for them.

versions, one of which (Fig. 217) is a copy of the other. The original is a carefully executed but very badly damaged drawing in ink, now divided between *Supplément grec*, 853, fol. 11, and 856, fol. 17. The former fragment contains only the lower right portion, including rather more than half the length and less than a third of the height; the upper margin is very irregular and very badly defaced. The other fragment has preserved all the left side as far as the second engaged column in the façade, the upper margin for the full length, and about half the right margin, including the head of the maiden at the right corner of the portico. The preserved margins show that the drawing originally measured 0.492 m. $\times$ 0.315 m. Much of the right centre of the drawing has disappeared, but what remains is sufficient to show that the copy (0.218 m. $\times$ 0.156 m.) in the younger Fourmont's manuscript (*Nouv. acq. fr.* 1892, fol. 86), though far inferior in delicacy of line, has faithfully reproduced the errors of the original. Nor are these errors a mere accident of draughtsmanship; they represent apparently a deliberate opinion, formed doubtless from a study of rough notes after Fourmont's return to France.

In a list of drawings and maps prepared by Fourmont (*Supplément grec*, 856, fol. 3) there appears as No. 2 "Façade du temple d'Erechthée. Ce temple est de la dernière élégance. Le pronaon [*sic*] est soutenu par cinq figures qui sont de la dernière beauté. Il est situé dans la forteresse d'Athènes." A rough plan in pencil in the same volume (fol. 10) shows at the left a foundation with six columns in line, then the projecting Porch of the Maidens, and then a wall of equal length to that on the left, though no columns are indicated. The positions of the five Maidens are marked by the letter F in a square; that of the missing figure by FM. The whole resembles the plan of the west façade of the Library of Hadrian.¹ Another sheet (fol. 15) contains rough pencil-sketches of four Maidens, including the one in the return, and above to the left three Ionic columns on a podium, the upper part of three more, and an outline of the return and engaged column at the left.² The podium and columns are higher than the Maidens and not directly connected with them. On other sheets (fols. 18, 88) are sketches for a perspective reconstruction of the Maidens and the columns, grouped as in the finished drawing. It is not at all improbable that these sketches on a single sheet were made from different points and later combined in forgetfulness of their correct orientation. Since the Fourmonts were certainly very seldom on the Acropolis, perhaps only once, such a lapse of memory is not very surprising, especially when their methods of work are examined. It was their custom to make on the spot in pencil hasty, or at any rate rough, sketches, copies of inscriptions, and brief notes, which were later (apparently after their return to France) elaborated into finished drawings and neat copies, not without alterations in detail. For the inscriptions carefully drawn bases, columns, and stelae were prepared in advance, and one volume (*Supplément grec*, 571D) contains merely these outlines into which the inscriptions have never been inserted. It is possible in another volume (*ibid.*, 571B) to compare the original sketches with the finished drawings of a number of reliefs, and thus to see how the copyist was compelled to define the vague indications of the original. There are few, if any, such glaring lapses as occur in the drawing of the Erechtheum, but less conspicuous errors can be found in almost every map or drawing, and were indeed unavoidable under the circumstances.³

III. SANDWICH, POCOCKE, PERRY

Nine years after Fourmont's visit, in 1738, John Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, and a party of friends came to Athens in the course of their tour of the Mediterranean. They had brought with them the artist J.-E. Liotard, who was "to draw the dresses of every country they should go into; to take

¹ Cf., for example, Stuart and Revett, I, Chap. V, pl. I; or Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, plan opposite p. 498.

² This sheet has also similar hasty sketches of some of the sculptures of the Parthenon.

³ On these double versions of the drawings and inscriptions of Fourmont, see Conze, *Arch. Anz.*, XI, 1896, p. 39, and Wilhelm, *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Classe*, XXXVIII, 1901, p. 139.

prospects of all the remarkable places which had made a figure in history; and to preserve in their memories, by the help of painting, those noble remains of antiquity which they went in quest of;"¹ but if he made any drawings in Athens, they have disappeared. At the time, this tour attracted little attention, but in 1799, seven years after Sandwich's death, there appeared a large quarto, *A Voyage around the Mediterranean in 1738 and 1739*, which purported to contain his journal on the cruise. It is probable that the narrative owed a good deal to the aid of his lordship's tutor,² but however that may be, it is certain that, although Sandwich was a member of the Society of Dilettanti, his description of the antiquities of Athens bears no trace of revision in the light of the works of Le Roy, Stuart, or Chandler, and may very well have been written at the time of the visit. His account of the Erechtheum (App. A, IX) is, for the time when it was written, intelligent and rather surprisingly accurate, the only glaring error being the ascription of ten columns to the North Portico. The absence of any wall at the east end and the difference of level probably account for the belief that the west end was the principal front of the main building. It is curious to find one of the alternatives in De la Rue reappearing after fifty years in the identification of the main building with the temple of the Polias, and of the North Portico with that of Pandrosus, while the Porch of the Maidens — nameless to the Venetian — becomes, in default of a better explanation, the dwelling of the Arrephori.

After a prolonged tour in Asia Minor and the nearer East, Richard Pococke arrived in Athens in the autumn of 1740, and on October 11 and 12 (N.S.) visited the Acropolis.³ A man far better versed in classical and oriental learning than his predecessors, he was much less dependent on local guides and traditions, and his theories, even when erroneous, rest on his own reading and observation. While his description (App. A, X) and drawings add nothing appreciable to our knowledge of the state of the building at this time, they contain several points which had hitherto escaped notice. Pococke first called attention to the door in the west wall and to its irregular position, though his plan and view agree in placing it under the wrong column. He also remarked the ancient triple division of the interior, and the door leading into the Porch of the Maidens. His independence of tradition and reliance on his own judgment appear in his refusal to see subordinate temples in the north and south porticoes, and his consequent assumption that the second temple, which he found in Pausanias, must have totally disappeared.

About the same time as Pococke an English surgeon, Dr. Charles Perry, who had been for many months in the Levant, stopped at Athens on his way to England from Alexandria. In 1743 he published his *View of the Levant*, dedicated to Lord Sandwich, in which he gave the most space to Egypt and its monuments, as least familiar to English readers. The few pages on Athens are a medley of ignorance and carelessness,⁴ and the account of the Erechtheum (App. A, XI) deserves citation only as a curiosity worthy of a place beside Fourmont's drawing.

¹ *A Voyage around the Mediterranean*, Introduction, p. iii, from a letter of Lord Sandwich. Liotard's known works include many portraits and costumes from the East, but no landscapes or monuments. See the list in Humbert, Revilliod et Tilanus, *La vie et les œuvres de J.-E. Liotard*, Amsterdam, 1897.

² See *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.n. 'John Montagu, Earl of Sandwich.'

³ See his letter to his mother from Corinth, Oct. 6/17, 1740, in the British Museum, MSS, *Add.* 22,998, fol. 192, letter XLVIII; it contains no details about the monuments.

⁴ Perry seems to have depended, when in Athens, exclusively upon local guides (he lodged with the British consul, Nicolas Logotheti) and to have refreshed his memory, while writing, from Wheler and Fanelli. Only with the eyes of the former can he have seen some remains of the Propylaea between the first and second gates of the Acropolis, and the Temple of Nike with its fluted Ionic columns and its sculptured frieze. Among other things we also learn that the inscription "over the Portal of the Palace" (i.e., the Arch of Hadrian) is in *Italian*, and that the monument of Philopappus is "the Façade of the Museum of the Greeks, called Scégio."

IV. STUART AND REVETT¹

Stuart and Revett drew up the first "Proposals" of their project to study the monuments of Athens as early as 1748, during their stay in Rome, but, owing to delay in obtaining the necessary funds and the difficulty of securing passage to Greece, they did not reach Athens until March 18, 1751. Their visit was cut short by disturbances in the city and a serious quarrel with their host, the British consul, Logotheti, and on September 20, 1753, Stuart went to Salonica, whither Revett followed him on January 27, 1754. After spending considerable time there, they returned slowly via the Aegean islands and Smyrna to England, arriving early in the following year.² Seven years elapsed, however, before, in 1762, the first volume of their great work, containing only buildings in the lower town, appeared. Then followed a still longer delay, for Stuart had now bought Revett's interest and taken the entire publication into his own hands. It was 1787 before the plates of the Erechtheum were even partially engraved, and at Stuart's death in 1788 the second volume, devoted entirely to the Acropolis, was still incomplete. Finally, by the aid of William Newton, it was brought out in the following year. The text for the Erechtheum seems to have been written by Stuart, but not all the plates had been engraved, and for some of them no finished drawings had been made, though the gaps could fortunately be filled by recourse to Stuart's (or Revett's) sketches and memoranda.³ A drawing of the Erechtheum from the northeast, described by Stuart in the text, could not be found, and was replaced by one from the same point by Pars.

The chief importance of Stuart and Revett's work at the time of its publication lay, of course, in the careful architectural drawings, which for the first time brought an adequate knowledge of Greek architecture to western Europe. For the Erechtheum these include eighteen plates, containing all that seemed to the authors necessary for an appreciation of the building. Their attitude as to the relative importance of details and the desirability of complete presentation becomes clear when we find that, while all the elements of the orders are carefully and even minutely measured, the number of courses in the east and north walls (II, Ch. II, pls. IV, VII) and, in the former plate, the relation of these courses to the Porch of the Maidens and to the North Portico is incorrectly given. Such matters were evidently deemed of little value, since there could have been no serious difficulty in ascertaining the facts.

Stuart's text, though far more detailed than anything which had yet been written, except Chandler's account, is very brief about actual conditions (App. A, XII), and is chiefly concerned with the testimony of Pausanias and other ancient writers about the original building. His interpretation is generally the same as Chandler's, to whose book he was probably indebted, and calls for no discussion here.

The papers and drawings of Stuart and Revett for their work on Athens have for the most part disappeared. Stuart's water-colors, and a few rough sketches and notes, are in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects,⁴ and the British Museum contains two volumes of papers (MSS, Add. 22,152 and 22,153) concerning Stuart and Revett. There is, however, very little from the hand of either, and all that relates to the Erechtheum belongs to a much later date (see App. C, No. 55).

¹ For the visit of Lord Charlemont, and the valuable work of his artist, Richard Dalton, see Chap. V, pp. 538 ff.

² For a history of this undertaking see the Prefaces to Vols. I and IV of *The Antiquities of Athens*; A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pp. 69 and 99.

³ According to Newton's Introduction (Vol. II, p. iv), plates IV, VII, and XX (east and north elevations, and the back and profile of one of the Maidens) were engraved from Stuart's finished outlines, while plates V, VI, and X (the base, capital, and entablature of the east column, and the base and capital of the anta; the reversed plan and sections of the east capital; and the west elevation) were prepared from "the original sketches and dimensions." In Vol. IV, Ch. V, pl. II are further architectural details from the East Portico, compiled from sundry sketches among Stuart's papers and corrected from the Elgin marbles by Joseph Woods, the editor of the volume, which appeared only in 1816, although the plates are dated in 1810.

⁴ See above, Chap. V, p. 541, note 2.

V. LE ROY

Julien-David Le Roy received the second prize in Architecture at the Royal Academy in Paris in 1749, the first prize in 1750,¹ and in August, 1751, was admitted, as *pensionnaire*, to the French Academy in Rome. He seems to have proved somewhat self-willed and insubordinate, but nevertheless in 1754, near the end of his term as student, succeeded in procuring permission to visit Greece. Although he left Venice in May, he spent so much time in Constantinople that it was not until February, 1755, that he reached Athens.² He was back in Rome in July, and left that city before the end of the month, apparently arriving in Paris not long after. So rapidly did he work that his book, a large folio, *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*, appeared in 1758. Its success was immediate.³ A pirated edition in smaller form was quickly published in England, and the English plates, once more reduced in size, were brought out in Germany. A peculiarity of these editions was that the original engravings were so redrawn that two buildings appeared, reversed, on each plate, to the utter confusion of the natural surroundings.⁴ The original plates, much reduced in size, were beautifully engraved by G. B. Cipriani in his *Monumenti di Fabbriche antiche estratti dei disegni dei più celebri autori*, II, 4, *Vedute della Grecia*.⁵

Le Roy's publication provoked sharp comment from Stuart, who not unnaturally considered it an unfair endeavor to anticipate and injure his own work, and in his first volume devoted no small space to correcting the author's numerous errors. Le Roy replied to Stuart's criticisms with considerable asperity,⁶ but the controversy then dropped, since Stuart decided to ignore his rival in his later volumes.⁷ There can be little doubt that Le Roy published his book in competition with Stuart's long-delayed work, though he does not seem to have planned his trip to Greece with this in view. There is no reference to it in the letters already noticed, where, indeed, Stuart is not even mentioned, and on April 7, 1755, he wrote from Greece to Caylus, in words that scarcely suggest rivalry: "Les étrangers qui voyagent ici ont obligation à MM. Stuard et Rivet [*sic*]. Ils ont découvert à Athènes des trésors cachés sous la terre ou dans d'épaisses murailles, et je ne doute point que leur ouvrage ne soit fort exact et fort beau."⁸

So popular was Le Roy's work that in 1770 a second edition, *corrigée et augmentée*, appeared with a rearranged and partly rewritten text, but the same plates. The account of the Erechtheum was wholly changed, but not improved. In the first edition Le Roy had considered the building to be the "double temple" of Erechtheus described by Pausanias, having one temple at the upper level of the

¹ H. Lemonnier, *Procès-verbaux de l'académie de l'architecture*, pp. 128, 147.

² These facts are taken from the letters by and about Le Roy published in Montaiglon et Guiffrey, *Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, X, pp. 229, 272, 282, 287, 295, 314. The trip to Greece appears in XI, pp. 15, 21, 23, 28, 503, though for this the chief source is Le Roy, *Ruines*, pp. 1 f., 7, 48. Stuart's statement (I, Preface, p. vi, note) that Le Roy was already in Rome in 1748, when he and Revett first announced their plans, must be an error. The letters show that Le Roy arrived in Rome in June, 1751, some four months after Stuart had reached Athens. There is no mention of an earlier visit, and Le Roy's language is that of a young artist seeing Rome for the first time.

³ The work was presented to the Academy of Architecture, August 7, 1758, and on November 20 the Academy recommended the author for a vacant chair among the members of the second class, an unusual honor for so young a man (Lemonnier, *op. cit.*, pp. 329, 334, 337).

⁴ Le Roy was justly irritated by this travesty; cf. his *Observations sur les édifices des anciens peuples*, p. 2.

⁵ The Brandegee Collection in the Library of the American Academy in Rome contains a volume of drawings reproducing the plates in Le Roy, but with variations in detail. The titles and other legends are in Italian. It is possible that these drawings were made by or for Cipriani. The Italian text makes it improbable that they are the work of Le Roy himself.

⁶ Le Roy, *Observations*, pp. 3-17; *Ruines*, second edition, Preface.

⁷ See Stuart and Revett, II, Introduction, p. 4.

⁸ Bourlet de Vauxcelles, *Lettres sur Constantinople de M. l'Abbé Sevin*, etc. . . . *Le tout imprimé sur les originaux inédits*, p. 109.

East Portico, the other at the lower level of the North. In the second he decided that it was more probable that the Erechtheum of Pausanias was on the south side of the Parthenon, and that the building to the north was the temple of Athena Polias with the adjacent temple of Pandrosus in the North Portico.¹ It is characteristic of Le Roy's attitude toward the monuments that he devotes his text to the grounds for these and other theories, and says almost nothing of the actual condition of the building,² beyond the remark that the interior was so filled with débris that he could not search for the salt "well," as to the existence of which he became very sceptical in the later edition. In addition to the plan of the Erechtheum in pl. III (plan of the Acropolis) and the view from the northwest in pl. V (PLATE L, 3), details of the architecture are given in pls. XVI–XXI (second edition, XXVII–XXXII), including elevations of the east and west façades and of the Porch of the Maidens, as well as details of the capitals and bases of the columns of both North and East Porticoes, of the ceiling, entablature, and podium of the Porch of the Maidens, and of the entablature and anta capital at the west end.

VI. FAUVEL

Among the mass of papers and drawings left by Fauvel the Erechtheum occupies but a small place,³ yet during his several visits to Athens while in the service of the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, he seems to have given considerable time to examining it, though chiefly, it must be admitted, as a possible source of material for his collections. We are told that during his first visit (1781–1782) he and his companion, the architect and engineer Foucherot, were greatly attracted by the delicacy of the carving on the Erechtheum and carefully measured all its details;⁴ but their drawings have apparently disappeared with the other papers of Foucherot, who was the senior member of the party.⁵ His second long stay (1786–1787) was chiefly occupied in making casts of the reliefs of the

¹ This change of view appears not only in the descriptive text to pl. V, but in the key to the Plan of the Acropolis (pl. III).

	<i>First edition</i>	<i>Second edition</i>
Main Building.	Temple d'Érechthée, qui étoit double.	Temple d'Érechthée, ou plus vraisemblant de Minerve Poliade.
East Portico.	Vestibule par lequel on entroit dans le Temple supérieur.	Vestibule par lequel on entroit dans le Temple.
North Portico.	Vestibule par lequel on entroit dans le Temple inférieur.	Temple de Pandrose.
Porch of the Maidens.	Espèce de Vestibule soutenu par des Caryatides et appuyé contre le corps du Temple.	Petit monument construit contre le Temple de Minerve Poliade, et dont l'entablement est soutenu par des Canéphores ou des Caryatides.

² It is for this reason that no citation from Le Roy is given in Appendix A.

³ The significant references to the Erechtheum in Fauvel's letters and notes are collected in Appendix A, XIV.

⁴ Legrand, *Gal. ant.*, p. 74: "MM. Fauvel et Foucherot en ont de nouveau relevé tous les details et ne se lassoient point d'admirer la finesse de leur exécution."

⁵ Legrand, *R. Arch.*, XXX, 1897, pp. 43–47. Some of these drawings may have survived in a volume in the Louvre, which formerly belonged to Choiseul-Gouffier, and contains illustrative material for the continuation of the *Voyage pittoresque*. Some of the drawings are certainly by L.-F. Cassas and the collection passes under his name, but it is difficult to find a place in his Eastern travels for the numerous views in Athens and other parts of Greece. We know that he spent two days in Athens in 1784 while accompanying Choiseul to Constantinople; that from October, 1784, to January, 1786, he was travelling in Asia Minor, Syria, and Lower Egypt; that in July, 1786, he was in the Troad with Le Chevalier; and finally that in February, 1787, he arrived in Rome, where he remained until his return to Paris in 1792 (R. Pourtalis, *Les dessinateurs d'illustrations au XVIII^e siècle*, I, pp. 53–57; M.-J. Dumesnil, *Histoire des plus célèbres amateurs français*, III, pp. 211–245, containing letters of Cassas to S.-A. Desfriches). If the drawings are by him, they must have been made on his journey from Constantinople to Rome, although he nowhere refers to any second visit to Greece. The volume contains a colored drawing signed by Foucherot, and a map by Kauffer, so that, in default of positive evidence, the conjecture may be allowed that the Greek drawings belong to the only artists whom we know to have worked for Choiseul in Greece proper. The drawings of the Erechtheum (see App. C, No. 13)

Parthenon and Theseum, but he found time to include also the principal order and some of the mouldings of the Erechtheum and a Caryatid.¹ A suggestion of Choiseul's, now French Ambassador at the Porte, that he should use his firman to secure some of the original reliefs, or even a Caryatid, seems to have met with no response from Fauvel.² He also found time, under the stimulus of inquiries from Foucherot, to excavate a little in the Erechtheum, and was agreeably surprised to discover a pavement, though his endeavors to induce the Turks of the Acropolis to search for the *θάλασσα* were thwarted by local disturbances.³ It is, however, during his next visit to Athens (September 17, 1788, to April 27, 1789) that we hear most about the Erechtheum. In his absence the Turks had searched in vain for the "well" of which he had told them, but in their digging had so far cleared the interior as to show Fauvel inscriptions built into the walls, and convince him of the presence of extensive Christian alterations.⁴ He began, however, by making a cast of another Caryatid,⁵ and it was only when urged by Choiseul,⁶ who was eager to secure the inscriptions, which he supposed were in the late pavement — though Fauvel had not said so — that he turned collector, and in December, 1788, "stole" — it is his own word — three fragments of the green marble columns and a little later took two inscriptions⁷ from the Erechtheum. In January, 1789, he partially cleared and measured the Porch of the Maidens and prepared the plan and sections already noticed.⁸ In February, having by this time won over the Turkish authorities, he removed openly and transported to the Piraeus a complete column of green marble, a large fragment of another, and an inscription.⁹ With

do not add materially to the picture of the building, though they throw some light on the anthemion of the north capital of the East Portico (Ch. II, p. 217) and on the presence of a late wall between the statues of the Porch of the Maidens (Ch. V, p. 550).

¹ App. A, XIV, 3, 4.

² App. A, XIV, 1. Fauvel nowhere refers to this suggestion, and it is doubtful whether he approved of removing sculpture which was still *in situ*, though he certainly had no scruples about acquiring detached specimens.

³ App. A, XIV, 2, 4. On the rough plan of the Acropolis (Fig. 218), which was made about this time, see above Chap. V, p. 545. Fauvel's activity during this period is remarkable. He reached Athens in May, 1786, without any experience in making casts, yet on February 1, 1787, Gaspary, the French consul, reported that he had finished his work (which was not quite true), and on February 6 he shipped 26 (or 28) cases of casts to Marseilles (Gaspary, published by Rayet, *B. Soc. Ant. Fr.*, 1884, p. 55; cf. *Nouv. acq. fr.* 7558, fols. 1, 3). Twelve more cases, including the casts from the Erechtheum, followed in September (App. A, XIV, 4). It should be noted that the summary of Fauvel's early work in Greece in Millin's *Magasin encyclopédique*, 1802, VIII^e Année, T. II, p. 240, does not distinguish between the successive visits, and assigns to 1787 almost all that was accomplished before 1792.

⁴ App. A, XIV, 5. This Turkish excavation is mentioned by Bisani, *A Picturesque Tour through Part of Europe, Asia, and Africa*, p. 66 (also *Lettres sur divers Endroits de l'Europe, l'Asie, et l'Afrique*, p. 70): "A traveller having obtained permission of the aga to dig in the temple of Erecteus, with a view to discover the well. . . they dug up two beautiful columns of ancient green marble, which are trod under foot, no one being at the trouble to elevate them." Bisani was in Athens in the summer of 1788, and obviously refers to Fauvel's search in 1787 and its Turkish sequel.

⁵ App. A, XIV, 7.

⁶ App. A, XIV, 6.

⁷ App. A, XIV, 8. The fact that the figure 2 is due to a later correction in pencil, while in his letter of April 26, 1789 (App. A, XIV, 9) Fauvel mentions only one inscription as left with the three fragments of green marble, suggests that the correction may be an error, and that only one inscription was taken in December. This suspicion is confirmed when we find in a "Cahier des Inscriptions" (*Fonds fr.* 22877, part I, fols. 92-117), containing inscriptions copied before 1791, No. 137 (*ibid.*, fol. 94), marked "trouvée dans le temple d'Érectée à Athènes et prise." It is *I. G.*, II, 1386 (*J.-M. App. Ep.*, No. 91) and is now in the Louvre (Fröhner, No. 62). Apart from the stone taken in February, 1789 (see below, note 9), this is the only inscription noted as being from the Erechtheum, though in general the provenience is carefully recorded.

⁸ Chap. V, pp. 546 f. Cf. App. A, XIV, 8.

⁹ According to the "Cahier des Inscriptions" this was the stone containing Nos. 144 and 145. Above No. 145 is written "Cette inscription a été trouvée au temple d'Érectée et elle fut emportée le 16 Février, 1789," and below, "Les deux inscriptions cy-dessus sont sur la même pierre de 3 pieds de long." These inscriptions are *I. G.*, III, 553 and 588 (*J.-M., App. Ep.*, No. 57 a, b). The stone has disappeared. Boeckh published one inscription from an imperfect copy, furnished by Akerblad, of uncertain date and source, *C. I. G.*, I, 359, and later (*ibid.* I, App., p. 911, Nos. 359 and 370 b) both from a complete copy by Fauvel, which had been sent him from St. Petersburg by Koehler.

these acquisitions he seems to have abandoned the Erechtheum as a profitable field of operations; at any rate it does not appear again in the record of his activities.¹

It remains to consider briefly the history of Fauvel's collections from the Erechtheum. The first set of casts was shipped from Athens to Marseilles in 1788, arrived safely, and apparently shared the fate of Choiseul's other property during the Revolution. His antiquities were confiscated and some were exhibited in the Louvre, but they were later restored to him, at any rate in part, and in the Sale Catalogue of his collection we find the cast of the Caryatid and a restored copy.² The objects collected in 1788 and 1789, which were left somewhat scattered on Fauvel's hasty flight from an outbreak of the plague,³ were not removed from Athens until August, 1791, when fourteen cases of casts and marbles were taken to Smyrna on the corvette *La Brune*.⁴ The casts seem to have remained there, and to have been destroyed in the great fire of 1797,⁵ but some of the marbles were forwarded to France, including the complete column of green marble and the large fragment found in February, 1789, and one inscription from the Erechtheum,⁶ as well as a number of the other objects reported by Fauvel as left in Athens in 1789.

The second cast of a Caryatid, three fragments of the green columns, a considerable number of casts, and a few marbles were still in the Capuchin convent when Fauvel left Athens for Constantinople in March, 1792. He returned in 1793, but no longer as Choiseul's agent. The rise of the Terror in France had driven the Ambassador to seek refuge in Russia, and Fauvel, who sympathized

¹ That the Erechtheum continued to interest Fauvel is made certain by the late notes added to his plan (Chap. V, p. 547, note 3), by the information furnished Legrand (App. A, XIV, 13), and by sundry brief references in his papers. There is, however, no mention of any special attention to the building, nor is there any further information about its condition, apart from the references to Lord Elgin's operations (App. A, XIV, 12).

² J. J. Dubois, *Catalogue d'antiquités égyptiennes, grecques, romaines et celtiques . . . formant la collection du feu M. le Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier*, Paris, 1818, Nos. 313, 314. The casts of architectural details are not in the catalogue, and their fate is unknown.

³ App. A, XIV, 9. According to this letter the objects found in February were at Piraeus in the warehouse of Kairac (or Cayrac), a French merchant; those taken in December were in Athens in keeping of another French merchant, Giraud; while the cast of the Caryatid was in the Capuchin convent at the monument of Lysicrates. The apparent discrepancy in the number of inscriptions (one with Giraud, two with Kairac) is easily explained, if only one was found in December and two on one stone in February (p. 610, notes 7, 9).

⁴ App. A, XIV, 10. Although Fauvel's note refers only to casts and fragments of green marble columns, it is certain that many of the other objects mentioned in his letter of April 26, 1789 (*Nouv. acq. fr.* 7558, fols. 12, 13), including the slab from the frieze of the Parthenon and busts and marble vases from Marathon, reached France in safety. It seems fair to infer that they formed part of the shipment by *La Brune*, since neither in Fauvel's papers, nor in Gaspary's correspondence (Rayet, *B. Soc. Ant. Fr.*, 1884, pp. 54-59), nor in the list of shipments collected from the records at Marseilles (Espérandieu, *Mém. Soc. Ant. Fr.*, Sér. 6, Vol. VIII, 1898, p. 163) is there any record of a shipment from Athens after September, 1788, except those on *La Brune* and *L'Arabe* (in 1803). That *La Brune* went to Smyrna is stated by Fauvel in a letter to Choiseul, September 4, 1791 (*Nouv. acq. fr.* 7558, fol. 24). As early as February 6, Choiseul had informed Fauvel that he was going to write De Terrasse, who commanded *La Brune*, to take the casts from Athens to Smyrna (*Fonds fr.* 22873, fol. 172).

⁵ On this fire at Smyrna see Cousinéry to Fauvel, April 2, 1797 (*Fonds fr.* 22873, fols. 238, 242); Fauvel to Choiseul, May 20, 1803 (*Nouv. acq. fr.* 7558, fols. 32 f.); Dubois, *Catalogue d'antiquités*, Préface, p. viii. The number of cases burned is variously given as 12, 14, and 25. It seems highly probable that the stone with the two inscriptions from the Erechtheum perished in this fire. It was at the Piraeus, and must surely have been taken by *La Brune* with the other things in Kairac's warehouse.

⁶ Dubois, *Catalogue d'antiquités*, No. 463: "Marbre vert, antique. Une colonne antique de la plus belle proportion. Envoyée d'Athènes, par M. Fauvel. Hauteur, 2.94 m., D. 33 cm."; No. 464: "Même matière que la précédente. Une colonne antique, rompue vers sa partie supérieure. Envoyée d'Athènes, par M. Fauvel. Hauteur, 2.17 m., D. 37 cm."; No. 465: "Même matière. Un fragment de colonne antique, envoyé d'Athènes, par M. Fauvel, Hauteur, 1.35 m., D. 36 cm." From the dimensions it appears that Nos. 463 and 465 were the two taken in February, 1789, to the Piraeus. No. 464 is not mentioned by Fauvel and may possibly have been sent by Gaspary. The catalogue is hardly conclusive evidence on such a point. From the dimensions it seems to have come from the Erechtheum. There is no record, apparently, of the purchaser of these marbles. The inscription, as has been said (p. 610, note 7), was acquired by the Louvre.

with the revolution,¹ soon after his return to Athens in 1793 sequestered his old employer's collection as security for arrears of salary, and also, as he and his friends asserted, to save it from confiscation as the property of an *émigré*.² The latter motive, however, did not prevent him from selling it to the Directory in 1796 for 2000 piastres.³ Before it could be removed, Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt and the war with Turkey led to the arrest and later to the expulsion of all the French in Athens, and Fauvel's ultimate return to France in 1801.⁴

About this time also Choiseul, having made his peace with the government, returned to France, recovered in large part his confiscated property, and resumed friendly relations with Fauvel.⁵ Accordingly when the latter returned to Athens in January, 1803, as vice-consul (*sous-commissaire*),⁶ he prepared to ship the collections which had been so long under the seal of the Republic, and which an order from Talleyrand, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, directed should be returned to their former owner.⁷ Accordingly on May 24, 1803, he embarked on the corvette *L'Arabe* 26 boxes, including the cast of the Caryatid, and the three small fragments of the green marble columns, formerly in the keeping of Giraud.⁸ The corvette was captured by a British frigate and taken to Malta. Her cargo was later sold as prize in London,⁹ when Lord Elgin's agents bought some of the marbles, but the fate of the Caryatid and of the green marble fragments is unknown.

VII. GELL

Sir William Gell travelled in Greece, Asia Minor, and the Ionian Islands during the opening years of the nineteenth century, but the exact dates of his several visits to Athens are apparently unrecorded. One of the drawings of the Erechtheum (Fig. 219) is dated in 1800, and he was also there with Dodwell in July, 1801,¹⁰ when he probably made the drawing (Fig. 220), which shows the Porch of the Maidens as cleared by Lusieri. None of the drawings was made after the removal of the Elgin marbles in 1803, in which year, indeed, Gell returned to England.¹¹ His drawings, in thirteen volumes and a packet of loose sheets, are now in the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum.¹² The drawings of the Erechtheum are all in Volume XIII, a strongly bound sketch-book. In addition to the four here published (Figs. 219–222) are two [106 (75), 121 (92)] showing the inside of the Porch of the Maidens, and the inside of the East Portico, but they are unfinished and add nothing of value.

¹ Legrand, *R. Arch.*, XXX, 1897, p. 186.

² App. A, XIV, 11, c. On Fauvel's motives see also the letters of Cousinéry, January 11 and June 30, 1794 (*Fonds fr.* 22873, fols. 212, 220), which show that Fauvel's action had given great offence to Choiseul and his friends, and Fauvel's letters to Choiseul, January 9 and February 14, 1804 (*Now. acq. fr.* 7558, fols. 35, 37). Gaspary, reporting the sequestration on June 22, 1796, says the collection included 23 boxes and sundry marbles at the former Capuchin convent (Rayet, *B. Soc. Ant. Fr.*, 1884, p. 57).

³ Legrand, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 ff. Cf. Cousinéry to Fauvel, August 22, 1797 (*Fonds fr.* 22873, fol. 245).

⁴ Legrand, *op. cit.*, pp. 195 ff.; A. H. Smith, *J. H. S.*, XXXVI, 1916, p. 195.

⁵ See Fauvel's letters to Choiseul, October 15, 1802, May 20 and 27, 1803 (*Now. acq. fr.* 7558, fols. 30, 32; *Fonds fr.* 22871, fol. 155), and those cited in note 2, above; Cousinéry's letter, December 13, 1803 (*Fonds fr.* 22873, fol. 255); Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

⁶ Legrand, *op. cit.*, pp. 199–201; *Fonds fr.* 22877, part 1, fol. 13.

⁷ Fauvel to Choiseul and Talleyrand, May 20, 1803 (*Now. acq. fr.* 7558, fols. 32–34). Fauvel protested repeatedly that the intervention of the Minister was wholly unnecessary, and that he had always intended to restore everything to Choiseul, including his own acquisitions between 1793 and 1801; see the letters cited above. He is silent about his sale to the Republic in 1796.

⁸ App. A, XIV, 11, a, b, c.

⁹ App. A, XIV, 11, d, e. The capture of *L'Arabe*, the disposal of her cargo, and Choiseul's efforts to recover his property are fully discussed by A. H. Smith, *J. H. S.*, XXXVI, 1916, pp. 356 ff. See also Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

¹⁰ A. H. Smith, *J. H. S.*, XXXVI, 1916, p. 195. See also Dodwell, *Tour*, I, p. 2.

¹¹ See *Dictionary of National Biography*, and *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s. n. 'Gell'.

¹² The contents of the bound volumes are fully given in the *Catalogue of Drawings by British Artists*, Vol. II, s. n. 'Gell'.

Gell had studied painting, and a number of his drawings are skilfully executed, though scarcely "with great detail and exactness,"¹ but his sketches of the Erechtheum are very poor examples of his ability, being little more than a somewhat hasty record of things that interested him. Considering the obstacles which the Turkish authorities about this time put in the way of Elgin's artists and of Dodwell, it is extremely probable that Gell worked under difficult and hampering conditions which go far to explain many of his defects.² The disregard of perspective, proportion, and especially of all architectural detail, such as courses, mouldings, and ornamentation, is obvious and so clearly marked that it is not difficult, after comparison with other works and the existing remains, to make due allowance for the errors thus produced. It would be absurd to attach much weight to details or to be concerned over inconsistencies, such as the difference in the entablature of the northeast angle as shown in Figures 219 and 222, where the former is certainly nearer the truth.³ If, however, Gell was careless as to minute accuracy, he seems to have avoided deliberate elimination of the modern, and there are only two fairly certain cases of restoration: the insertion of the return of the architrave at the southwest corner along the south wall (Fig. 220), although this block had disappeared at least fifty years earlier, and the presence on the west entablature of the frieze (Fig. 219), which is missing in Gell's other drawings, and indeed is found so far south only in Stuart (PLATE LI, 1). Yet in spite of all their defects these drawings have a very real importance in the documentary history of the Erechtheum, since through them alone is it possible to determine with some degree of precision the gradual disintegration since the days of Dalton and Pars, and the amount of injury wrought by Lusieri and his assistants.

¹ As stated in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

² According to E. D. Clarke (*Travels*, II, p. 211, note 2), "Mr. Gell . . . was actually interdicted making drawings within the Acropolis of Athens" by Lord Elgin's agents; but Clarke was bitterly hostile to the ambassador, and in 1800, at any rate, Lusieri and his assistants were themselves hampered in every way by the Turkish authorities, so that they were hardly in a position to interfere with Gell. In 1805 Dodwell was certainly not troubled by anybody except the Disdar.

³ It is possible to interpret Figure 222 as showing on the north side only the architrave with very exaggerated heaviness in the fasciae and mouldings, while the curious drawing of the inside of the frieze over the columns might be accounted for by the survival of an interbeam *in situ*. Carelessness is, however, a more probable explanation.

APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF SOURCES LATER THAN 1750

A COMPLETE bibliography of the Erechtheum would include, in addition to specific studies of the building and its parts, practically all works on Greek architecture or sculpture, as well as the numerous descriptions of Athens and its monuments by modern travellers. Even if such a bibliography could be compiled, its very completeness would largely destroy its utility, since, quite apart from its unwieldy bulk, it must needs include much that is mere compilation, derived from neither direct observation nor independent investigation. Since, therefore, some elimination is necessary and the personal opinion of the compiler is an unsatisfactory basis of choice, it has seemed better to exclude altogether certain categories and to make the list as complete as possible within restricted limits, even though these cannot be so rigidly determined that some inconsistencies in selection may not have crept in. Accordingly, all histories of Greek architecture and sculpture have been omitted, also encyclopedias and dictionaries of classical antiquities, reviews, and all books of travel later than 1852. For the period of restoration in the second quarter of the last century a selection has been made from many, generally rather unsatisfactory, descriptions by visitors, but in the interval between Lord Elgin's work and the Greek revolution only those travellers have been passed over who, like Chateaubriand and Pouqueville, confined themselves to purely perfunctory notices, while the record from 1750 to 1803 is intended to be complete. Manuscript notes, drawings, and paintings, especially if made before the restorations by Pittakis and others, are, of course, included, although here the catalogue doubtless contains many gaps, but photographs, even when united in such valuable publications as those of Stillman and Boissonnas, are omitted. Furthermore, it has seemed best to exclude the numerous works called forth by the discovery of the Hecatompedon and the ensuing "Old Temple" controversy, in spite of the references in them to the Erechtheum and its history.

As the special bibliographies of the sculptures and inscriptions have already been given in Chapters III and IV, the titles have not been repeated here, except in a few cases where the inscriptions are studied primarily as an aid in the reconstruction of the building.

1751-1752

1. RICHARD DALTON. *A Series of Engravings representing Views in Sicily, Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt*. London.

In Athens, 1749. See Ch. V, pp. 538 ff.; PLATE L, 1, 2. The engravings were republished in 1791 under the title *Antiquities and Views in Greece and Egypt*.

1751-1753

2. JAMES STUART. "The Erechtheum from the southwest," a water-color in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects, London.

See Ch. V, pp. 541 f.; PLATE LI, 1.

The library also contains four sheets with diagrams and notes by Stuart on the construction of the Ionic volute of the Erechtheum.

1758

3. JULIEN-DAVID LE ROY. *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*. Paris.

In Athens, 1755. *Erechtheum*, pp. 8, 10, 11. See Ch. V, p. 542; App. B, V; PLATE L, 3; also Nos. 4, 5, 6, 8.

1759

4. ROBERT SAYER. *Ruins of Athens, with Remains and other valuable Antiquities in Greece.* London.

A pirated edition of Le Roy, with two views combined on each plate and reversed. See Nos. 3, 5, 6.

1764

5. GEORG CHRISTOPH KILIAN. *Ruinen und Ueberbleibsel von Athen nebst andern merkwürdigen Alterthümern Griechenlands, herausgegeben von M. R. Sayer, mit einem . . . kurz verfassten historischen Auszuge nach dem . . . englischen Original verfertigt.* Augsburg.
6. GEORG CHRISTOPH KILIAN. Also a Latin version, *Ruinas Athenarum una cum reliquiis atque antiquitatibus Graeciae aliis excudit Robertus Sayer Calcographus Anglus Londini. Nunc ad Exemplar Anglum . . . expressit atque excudit Georgius Christophorus Kilianus Calcographus Augustanus.*

Reduced copies of Sayer's version of Le Roy's plates. See Nos. 3, 4.

1765-1766

7. WILLIAM PARS. "The Erechtheum from the northeast," a water-color in the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum.

See Ch. V, p. 544; PLATE LI, 2.

1770

8. JULIEN-DAVID LE ROY. *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce.* Second edition. Paris.

Erechtheum, pp. 7, 8, 11, 12. See No. 3.

1773

9. [JOHANN HERMANN VON RIEDESEL.] *Remarques d'un voyageur moderne au Levant.* Amsterdam.

In Athens, 1768. *Erechtheum*, p. 122. See also Nos. 10, 29.

1774

10. [JOHANN HERMANN VON RIEDESEL.] *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise nach der Levant.* Leipzig. *Erechtheum*, p. 100. Apart from some misprints the text agrees with that of the French edition. See also Nos. 9, 29.

1776

11. RICHARD CHANDLER. *Travels in Greece or an Account of a Tour made at the expense of the Society of Dilettanti.* Oxford.

In Athens, August 31, 1765, to June 11, 1766. *Erechtheum*, pp. 52-55, 57, 58. See Ch. V, pp. 543 f.; App. A, XIII; also Nos. 12, 32, 76.

1777

12. RICHARD CHANDLER. *Reisen in Griechenland. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt.* Leipzig.

This translation, by J. H. Voss and H. C. Boie, contains no additional notes on the Erechtheum. See No. 11.

1784 (?)

13. Drawings made for the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier by Cassas and others, now in the Louvre.

See App. B, VI, p. 609, note 5.

Erechtheum: p. 43, east elevation, partly restored, with many measurements; p. 89, the Erechtheum from the northwest, drawn from a point close to the North Portico; p. 105, the four Caryatids on the south, drawn singly without any indication of the podium or architrave (see p. 550, note 2); pp. 136–142, carefully measured drawings, including plans, elevations, and sections, of the corner capitals of the East and North Porticoes and of a capital of the West Façade; p. 147, details of the anthemion on the lintel of the North Door and on the epieranitis.

1785

14. WILLEY REVELEY. "The Erechtheum and Temple of Minerva Polias" and "Southeast View of the Erechtheum"; two drawings made for Sir Richard Worsley and formerly at Brocklesby Park.

In Athens, May 10 to July 1, 1785. Reveley, an architect and the editor of the third volume of Stuart and Revett, accompanied as artist Sir Richard Worsley on his tour of the Levant, and his finished drawings formed part of the collection at Appuldurcombe House on the Isle of Wight, and later passed by inheritance to the Earl of Yarborough (A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Antiquities in the Collection of the Earl of Yarborough at Brocklesby Park*, London, 1897, pp. 2, 6). They perished in a fire which seriously damaged Brocklesby Hall. The two drawings of the Erechtheum are recorded in the list of drawings belonging to Worsley in *A Catalogue Raisonné of the principal Paintings, Sculptures, Drawings, etc., etc., at Appuldurcombe House, the seat of the Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Worsley, Bart., taken June 1, 1804*, p. 41. Reveley evidently kept copies of his drawings, for two views of the Erechtheum, from the southeast and southwest, appear in the catalogue of his books and drawings sold by Christie, May 11, 1801. According to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXI, p. 419, the drawings were sold singly and widely scattered. A folio volume, entitled *MS. Notes on Architecture by W. Reveley* was bought at the sale by a Mr. Bowyer for 28 guineas, and is now in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects. It contains extracts and notes on buildings, chiefly in Italy, a journal covering the first months of his tour with Worsley (unfortunately with nothing about Athens except the dates of their arrival and departure), and the printed catalogue of the sale at Christie's. The drawings at Brocklesby Hall were apparently never critically examined, but the engravings after Reveley in the second volume of the *Museum Worsleyanum* do not give a very favorable impression of his ability as a painter of landscape; see A. H. Smith, *J. H. S.*, XXXVI, 1916, p. 167.

1789

15. LOUIS-FRANÇOIS-SEBASTIAN FAUVEL. Plan, Interior Elevations, and Architectural Details. Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Estampes, G b. 15, fol. 65; 15, a, fols. 12–17.

See Ch. V, pp. 546 f.

16. JAMES STUART AND NICHOLAS REVETT. *The Antiquities of Athens measured and delineated*. Vol. II. London.

In Athens, 1751–1754. *Erechtheum*, ch. II; 20 plates. See Ch. V, pp. 541 f.; App. A, XII; App. B, IV; also Nos. 37, 43, 79, 84.

The title-page of the volume bears the date 1787, but the frontispiece, an engraved medallion portrait of Stuart, is marked August 1, 1789; some of the plates are dated in 1787, others in 1789.

1791

17. [ALESSANDRO BISANI.] *Lettres sur divers endroits de l'Europe, de l'Asie, et de l'Afrique, parcourus en 1788 et 1789*. London.

In Athens, 1788. *Erechtheum*, pp. 69, 70. See No. 19.

1792

18. THOMAS WATKINS. *Travels through Switzerland, Italy, Sicily, the Greek Islands, to Constantinople; through part of Greece, Ragusa, and the Dalmatian Isles; in a Series of Letters to Penoyre Watkins, Esq. . . . in the years 1787, 1788, 1789*. 2 vols. London.

In Athens, December, 1788. *Erechtheum*, II, pp. 285–288.

He considers that the Caryatids were erected in mockery of Artemisia of Caria. A second edition, unaltered in the passage describing the Erechtheum (II, pp. 295–298), appeared in 1794.

1793

19. [ALESSANDRO BISANI.] *A Picturesque Tour through Part of Europe, Asia, and Africa: containing many new remarks on the present state of society, remains of ancient edifices, etc. With Plates after designs by James Stuart, . . . Written by an Italian Gentleman.* London.

Erechtheum, pp. 67, 68. See No. 17.

The plates are reduced copies of the views in Stuart's first volume.

1795

20. JOHN BACON SAWREY MORRITT. Letter from Athens, January 18–22, 1795.

See *Letters of John B. S. Morritt of Rokeby: Descriptive of Journeys in Europe and Asia Minor in the years 1794–1796.* Edited by G. E. Marindin (London, 1914), pp. 175, 176.

1799

21. GIOVANNI BATTISTA CIPRIANI. *Monumenti di Fabbriche antiche estratti dei disegni dei più celebri autori.* Roma.

Erechtheum, II, § 7. "Tempi di Minerva Poliade, di Pandrosa, Cariatide, e Propilei in Atene."

The nine engravings are copied, with minor fanciful changes, from Le Roy; see App. B, V, p. 608, note 5.

22. JOHN MONTAGU, EARL OF SANDWICH. *A Voyage . . . round the Mediterranean, etc.* London.

In Athens, 1739. See App. A, IX; App. B, III.

23. SAVERIO SCROFANI. *Viaggio in Grecia: fatto nell' anno 1794–1795.* 2 vols. London.

In Athens, September, 1794. *Erechtheum*, II, pp. 104–110. See No. 27.

His account of the Erechtheum is diffuse, obscure, and very inaccurate. It contributes nothing to our knowledge of the building or of its condition.

1799–1801

24. MICHEL-FRANÇOIS PRÉAULX (or PRÉAUX). "The East Portico of the Erechtheum from the north," etched in Clarke's *Travels* (No. 42), III, p. 498; "The Erechtheum from the north-west," a water-color, formerly in the possession of a Parisian dealer in antiquities.

In Athens, 1799 with Tweddell.

See Clarke, *Travels*, III, p. 544, note 3; A. Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore au dix-huitième siècle*, pp. 188, 200–205, 223–226; and above, Ch. V, p. 548, note 1.

1800–

25. Sir WILLIAM GELL. Drawings in the British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings.

See App. B, VII, and Figs. 219–222.

1800–1803

26. SEBASTIANO ITTAR. Drawings made for Lord Elgin, now in the British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.

Vol. I contains a plan, and finished drawings of the East, West, and North Elevations, the North Door, and architectural details of the North Portico. All are restorations with a somewhat free use of the imagination, and are inaccurate in the rendering of existing details. There are no studies of the Erechtheum among the working drawings in Vol. V. See App. A, XVI, and also A. H. Smith, *J. H. S.*, XXXVI, 1916, po. 254, 294.

1801

27. XAVIER SCROFANI. *Voyage en Grèce de Xavier Scrofani, Sicilien, fait en 1794 et 1795; traduit de l'italien, par J. F. C. Blainvillain, etc.* 3 vols. Paris et Strasbourg.

Erechtheum, II, pp. 74–79. See No. 23.

1802

28. JEAN-BAPTISTE LECHEVALIER. *Voyage de la Troade; fait dans les années 1785 et 1786. Troisième édition. Revue, corrigée et considérablement augmentée.* 3 vols. Paris.
In Athens, 1784, with Choiseul-Gouffier. *Erechtheum*, I, pp. 155, 156.
Very brief and unimportant mention. Athens was not described in the earlier editions.
29. JOHANN HERMANN VON RIEDESEL. *Voyage en Sicile, dans le Grande Grèce, et au Levant par M. le Baron de Riedesel, etc.* Paris.
Erechtheum, pp. 282, 283. See Nos. 9, 10.
The description of the Erechtheum shows only minor verbal changes from that in the edition of 1773.

1803

30. SIR ROBERT SMIRKE. Water-color drawing in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
See Ch. V, p. 548, note 2; PLATE LI, 3.

1806

31. LOUIS-FRANÇOIS CASSAS. Models of the Erechtheum and of the Porch of the Maidens. See *Collection des chefs-d'oeuvre de l'architecture des différens peuples exécutés en modèles sous la direction de L.-F. Cassas . . . décrite et analysée par J.-G. Legrand.* Paris.
Erechtheum, pp. 95, 96. No. 16, "Temple de Minerve-Polias, d'Erechthée, et de la vierge Pandrose, réunis dans la citadelle d'Athènes"; No. 17, "Peristyle du Temple précédent." The text shows that the latter is the Porch of the Maidens.
32. RICHARD CHANDLER. *Voyages dans l'Asie Mineure et en Grèce . . . traduit par J. P. Servois et Barbié Du Bocage.* 3 vols. Paris.
Erechtheum, II, pp. 400 ff.; 546, notes. See No. 11.
The five short notes add nothing of present value to Chandler's description.
33. THOMAS GABB. *Finis Pyramidis; or, Disquisitions concerning the Antiquity and scientific end of the great Pyramid of Giza, or ancient Memphis in Egypt, and of the first standard of linear measure, etc.* Retford.
Erechtheum, pp. 267-272.
A discussion of Vitruvius, IV, 7, with somewhat severe criticism of Stuart and of the inconsistency between his text and plates. See Ch. V, p. 471, note 1.
34. JOHN PALMER. *Journal of Travels in the East, 1805-1807.* Six note-books in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge; *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, No. 466.
Vol. III contains about a page of very brief and unimportant notes on the Erechtheum. Palmer was in Athens during the latter part of May and early June, 1806.

1808

35. JACQUES-GUILLAUME LEGRAND. *Galerie antique, ou Collection des chefs-d'oeuvre d'architecture, de sculpture, et de peinture antiques, etc. Tome Premier. Première division: Monumens de la Grèce. Tome I.* Paris.
No more published. *Erechtheum*, pp. 71-76. See App. A, XIV, 13.
The plates are reduced copies of those in Stuart and Revett. The text is in part a translation of Stuart (pp. 71-73).

1810

36. [THOMAS BRUCE, EARL OF ELGIN.] *Memorandum on the Subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece.* Edinburgh.
Erechtheum, pp. 14-16.

This work is often wrongly attributed to William Hamilton; see A. H. Smith, *J. H. S.*, XXXVI, 1916, p. 308, and note 273. The text relating to the Erechtheum remained unchanged in the later editions, published in 1811 and 1815.

37. JAMES STUART AND NICHOLAS REVETT. *Les Antiquités d'Athènes, mesurées et dessinées par J. Stuart et N. Revett, peintres et architectes. Ouvrage traduit de l'anglais par L[aurent-]F[rançois] F[euillet] et publié par C. P. Landon, peintre, etc.* Paris.
Erechtheum, II, pp. 33–39; pls. XVIII–XXXIV. See No. 16.

1810–1817

38. CARL, FREIHERR HALLER VON HALLERSTEIN. Drawings and Note-books in the Bibliothèque de l'Universitaire, Strasbourg (MSS 2720–2724).

The drawings of the Erechtheum are almost all careful renderings of architectural details, such as the plan from above and profiles of the roof of the Porch of the Maidens, the west elevation of this porch with the southern inter-columniation of the West Façade, the ceiling of the North Portico with the carving on the mouldings, and an elevation of the wall in the Portico. The notes are generally brief memoranda of minutiae, most of which seem to have escaped earlier observers; for examples see above, pp. 85 (glass beads and forked bronze pins in the capitals of the North Portico), 101 (inferiority of the carving on the lintel of the North Door), 227 (“verniss noir” in the North Portico). There are no finished drawings showing the Erechtheum as it then was. On Haller's drawings see Williams, *Travels in Italy, Greece, and the Ionian Islands*, II, pp. 330 ff.

1811–1814

39. CHARLES ROBERT COCKERELL. Drawing of the loft in the North Portico (Fig. 223).

In Athens, 1811, 1813, 1814. See Miss C. A. Hutton, ‘A Collection of Sketches by C. R. Cockerell, R. A.,’ *J. H. S.*, XXIX, 1909, p. 55.

1813

40. JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE (later LORD BROUGHTON). *A Journey through Albania, and other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia during the years 1809 and 1810.* London.
In Athens, 1810. *Erechtheum*, pp. 343–346. See No. 157.

41. CHARLES-PAUL LANDON. *Grandes vues pittoresques des principaux sites et monuments de la Grèce et de la Sicile et des sept collines de Rome, dessinées et gravées à l'eau-forte, au trait, par MM. Cassas et Bence . . . expliquées par M. C.-P. Landon.* Paris.

Pl. II, “Portique et Cariatydes [*sic*] du Temple de Pandrose à Athènes.” The Porch of the Maidens from the southwest, inaccurately restored.

1814

42. EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE. *Travels in various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa. Part II, Greece, Egypt and the Holy Land. Section the Second.* London.

In Athens, 1801. *Erechtheum*, Vol. III, pp. 496, 498 ff., 797; engraving after Préaux, p. 498. See App. A, XV.

The later editions of Clarke's *Travels* are unchanged in text, and are not catalogued.

1816

43. JAMES STUART AND NICHOLAS REVETT. *The Antiquities of Athens.* Vol. IV, edited by Joseph Woods. London.

Ch. V, pl. II. Details from the Erechtheum, chiefly variations in the carving on the antae; taken from a sketch-book of Stuart. The title-page bears the date 1816, but many of the plates were engraved in 1810. The material in this volume was not included in the second edition (No. 79) published by Kinnard.

44. ENNIO QUIRINO VISCONTI. *Lettre du Chev. Antonio Canova; et deux mémoires lus à l'Institut royal de France sur les ouvrages de sculpture dans la collection de Mylord Comte d'Elgin par le Chev. E. Q. Visconti, etc.* London.

The Caryatid in the Elgin collection, pp. 112–117.

The two memoirs were presented to the Institute on October 21 and November 10, 1815. They were also published separately at Paris in 1818, *Mémoires sur des ouvrages de sculpture du Parthénon*, etc. (Caryatid, pp. 88–92). The original drafts, in several versions, are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS., *Nouv. acq. fr.* 5981, fols. 38, 46, 130, 133 (the fair copy).

45. ENNIO QUIRINO VISCONTI. *A Letter from the Chevalier Antonio Canova: and Two Memoirs read to the Royal Institute of France on the Sculptures in the Collection of the Earl of Elgin: by the Chevalier E. Q. Visconti . . . translated from the French and Italian.* London.

"Caryatid of the Temple of Pandrosos," pp. 118–123.

46. WILLIAM WILKINS. *Atheniensiæ or Remarks on the Topography and Buildings of Athens.* London.

In Athens, 1802. *Erechtheum*: pp. 127–149, description; 193–218, the Greek text of the Chandler Inscription with an English translation and notes. In *The Dictionary of National Biography* it is stated that the first edition, in 12mo, appeared in 1812, and an edition in folio in 1816. I find no other record of either of these editions.

The description of the building is intelligent and, on the whole, accurate. For his identification of the ancient divisions, which was generally accepted, see Ch. V, p. 543, note 5. His interpretation of the inscription was vitiated by his misunderstanding of the architectural terms.

1817

47. FRANCIS BEDFORD. "Temple of Minerva Pallas" (? Polias). Exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1817, No. 922.

See A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, I, s. n.

This may possibly have been a painting of the Parthenon.

48. EDWARD JOHN BURROW. *The Elgin Marbles, with an abridged historical and topographical account of Athens.* London.

Erechtheum, pp. 130–133. The text, so far as concerns the Erechtheum, is a compilation, for Burrow had never been in Athens. The book also contains Stuart's view of the Erechtheum from the southwest, and Visconti's catalogue of the Elgin marbles. Its publication led to the controversy recorded under the following number.

49. W. WILKINS AND E. J. BURROW. *The Literary Gazette*, I, ii, 1817, pp. 214, 266, 267, 332, 355, 356, 409. Also, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXXVII, ii, pp. 403 ff., 599 ff. (reprint of the first two articles in the *Gazette*).

A controversial correspondence on sundry points in Athenian topography, in which the nature of the Porch of the Maidens was discussed, Wilkins maintaining that it was a portico, and Burrow that it was an adjunct to the main building, not an entrance. In his last article Wilkins claimed priority in the correct interpretation of the marginal numbers in the Chandler Inscription, as his article on this inscription (Walpole's *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*, pp. 580–603) had been in Walpole's hands for two years before the publication of Visconti's explanation in the *Museo Chiaramonte* (see Ch. IV, p. 283).

1818

50. GEORGE BASEVI. Drawings made in Athens, now in Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

Three drawings of the Erechtheum: the west end from the southwest; the East Portico from within (these two drawings are unfinished in some details); the North Portico from the north (similar to, but much better than, Gell's drawing, Fig. 222; see Ch. V, p. 554, note 5).

For Basevi and his studies in Greece, see Arthur T. Bolton, 'Architectural Education a Century Ago,' *Journal R. I. B. A.*, XXX, 1923, pp. 569, 578.

51. JOHN BRAMSEN. *Letters of a Prussian Traveller; descriptive of a Tour through Sweden, Prussia, Austria, . . . the Morea, Greece, . . . interspersed with Anecdotes of distinguished Characters and Illustrations of political Occurrences.* 2 vols. London.
 In Athens, 1814. *Erechtheum*, II, pp. 83, 84. See Nos. 52, 56.
 A second edition, under the title *Travels in Egypt, Syria, Cyprus, The Morea, Greece, Italy, etc., etc.*, was published in London in 1824, but the text and pagination are unchanged in the reference to the Erechtheum.
52. JOHN BRAMSEN. *Promenade d'un voyageur prussien en diverses parties de l'Europe, de l'Asie et de l'Afrique, en 1813, 1814, et 1815 en forme de lettres.* 2 vols. Paris.
Erechtheum, II, pp. 88, 89. See No. 51.
53. WILLIAM PAGE. Oil Painting of the Erechtheum from the southwest (PLATE LII, 3).
 This painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy, London, in 1825 (No. 977). It later passed into the possession of Sir Walter Campbell, K. C. V. O., and was sold at Christie's, May 19, 1916. It is now in the Gennadeion, American School of Classical Studies, at Athens. See Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, VI, s. n.
 Page seems to have visited Greece between 1816 and 1824, probably about 1818. A drawing of the temple at Bassae by him was engraved in the Supplementary Volume to Stuart and Revett (No. 86), to illustrate Donaldson's article on this temple.
54. [GEORGE LEDWELL TAYLOR.] Water-color drawing of the Erechtheum from the northwest, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington (PLATE LII, 2).
 The drawing is unsigned and was formerly attributed to H. W. Inwood, but, as I am informed by the Director, comparison with other drawings of Athens by George L. Taylor shows conclusively that he is the artist. See also No. 179.
55. JOSEPH WOODS AND R. H. SHARPE. Drawings made in Athens in March, 1818, now in the British Museum, MSS., Add. 22,153, fols. 45-69, 153.
 In Add. 22,152, fol. 10 is "List of drawings made at Athens in 1818. Those marked W are laid down by Mr. Woods, those marked S by R. H. Sharpe of York." Most of the drawings of the Erechtheum in this list can be identified in the other volume, which also contains a few studies not catalogued separately, and probably included in the list under the head of "minutes." Woods contributed four drawings, showing the masonry at the southwest corner both inside and outside, the inner elevation of the west end of the north wall, including two of the church windows, and the inner elevation of the greater part of the south wall. The other drawings, attributed to Sharpe or unsigned, are carefully finished studies of architectural details (e.g., Fig. 65) chiefly in the North Portico (two at least were finished after Sharpe's return to York), and some rough sketches. Unfortunately, in such matters as the details of the mouldings and the jointing of the courses, the drawings are not wholly accurate. See also No. 82.
- 1819
56. JOHN BRAMSEN. *Reise durch die Ionischen Inseln, Aegypten, Syrien, Palästina und Griechenland.* Jena.
 See No. 51.
57. EDWARD DODWELL. *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece during the Years 1801, 1805, and 1806.* 2 vols. London.
 In Athens, 1801, 1805. *Erechtheum*, I, pp. 346-357; opposite p. 346, the Erechtheum from the west, after a drawing by Pomardi, Dodwell's artist; p. 356, the southwest corner of the Erechtheum from the northwest. See also No. 65.
58. [GUILLAUME MARTIN.] *Voyage à Constantinople, fait à l'occasion de l'ambassade de M. le Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier à la Porte ottomane. Par un ancien aumonier de la marine royale.* Paris.
 In Athens, August, 1784. *Erechtheum*, pp. 32, 33, very brief and inadequate description.
 A. A. Barbier (*Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes*³, IV, col. 1056d) attributes this anonymous work to Guillaume Martin.

1820

59. JAMES DONALDSON. Two drawings of Caryatids in a volume entitled *Scrap-book — Greek and Roman*, in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
60. THOMAS LEVERTON DONALDSON. Drawing showing the disposition of the colored glass beads in the guilloche of the capitals of the North Portico, in the Library of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum.
See Ch. I, p. 85, note 4.
61. CHARLES LOCK EASTLAKE. A Drawing of the Erechtheum.
See *A Catalogue of the beautiful Sketches made by C. L. Eastlake, Esq., R. A., during his Travels in Greece and Italy, etc. . . . sold by auction by Messrs. Mason and Christie . . . June the 18th, 1847.*
No. 94. "Temple of Erechthus, Athens."
62. Conte GIANFRANCESCO GALEANI NAPIONE DI COCCONATO. *Monumenti dell' Architettura antica, lettere al Conte Giuseppe Franchi di Pont.* Vol. III, *Delle Rovine della Grecia.* Pisa.
Erechtheum, pp. 21–28.
The three letters in this volume are dated October 31, November 5, and November 10, 1802. The author does not appear to have visited Greece. The passage cited discusses the Ionic order as shown in the Erechtheum. He considers the building to be late, belonging approximately to the time of the Antonines, and its style far inferior to the Roman Ionic, as it appears in the temple of "Fortuna virilis" in Rome.
The three letters were reprinted by VINCENZO MARCHESE, *Raccolta artistica I, Manuale storico dell' arte greca*, Firenze, 1846. *Erechtheum*, pp. 369–374.
63. THOMAS SMART HUGHES. *Travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania.* 2 vols. London.
In Athens, 1813. *Erechtheum*, I, pp. 260, 261; a brief and unimportant notice. A second edition appeared in 1830, with a somewhat enlarged account of the Erechtheum based on Leake. See No. 69.
64. CARL OTTFRIED MÜLLER. *Minervae Poliadis Sacra et Aedes in Arce Athenarum.* Göttingen.
The first critical study of the literary and epigraphical evidence. As Müller had not visited Athens, he relied for his knowledge of the actual remains upon Stuart and Revett and other publications.
Reprinted in *C. O. Müllers Kunstarchaeologische Werke*, I, pp. 86–147, Berlin, 1873.
65. SIMONE POMARDI. *Viaggio nella Grecia fatto da S. Pomardi negli anni 1804, 1805, e 1806.* 2 vols. Roma.
Erechtheum, I, pp. 125–127; brief and unimportant description. See No. 57.
The view of the Erechtheum from the west is a poor copy of the drawing reproduced in Dodwell, *Tour*, I, opposite p. 346. Pomardi accompanied Dodwell as his artist.
66. HUGH WILLIAM WILLIAMS. *Travels in Italy, Greece, and the Ionian Islands: In a Series of Letters, descriptive of Manners, Scenery, and the Fine Arts.* 2 vols. Edinburgh.
In Athens, 1817. *Erechtheum*, II, pp. 305–309.
67. JOHN LEWIS WOLFE. Diaries and drawings now in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
In Athens, 1820. See App. A, XVII.

1821

68. EDWARD DODWELL. *Views in Greece.* 2 vols. London.
In Athens, 1801, 1805. "South-West View of the Erechtheum" (PLATE LII, 1).
69. THOMAS SMART HUGHES. *Voyage à Janina en Albanie, par la Sicile et la Grèce. Traduit de l'anglais . . . par l'auteur de Londres en 1819* (Auguste-Jean-Baptiste Defauconpret). 2 vols. Paris.
Erechtheum, I, pp. 109, 110. See No. 63.

70. PETER EDMUND LAURENT. *Recollections of a Classical Tour through various parts of Greece, Turkey, and Italy, made in the years 1818 and 1819.* London.

Erechtheum, pp. 108, 109.

This edition was privately printed. A second edition in two volumes was published in 1822. The account of the Erechtheum (I, pp. 204-206, 208) is unchanged.

71. WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE. *The Topography of Athens with some Remarks on its Antiquities.* London.

Erechtheum, Introduction, p. xciii; pp. 257 ff. See No. 118.

1823

72. JOSEPH THÜRMER. *Ansichten von Athen und seinen Denkmälern nach der Natur gezeichnet und radirt. Vues d'Athènes et de ses Monumens, dessinées et gravées d'après Nature.* Rome.

In Athens, 1819. "Oestliche Ansicht der Tempel des Erechtheus, der Minerva¹ Polias und der Pandrosus" (PLATE LIII, 2). The text (in both German and French) is negligible.

1824

73. HENRY WILLIAM INWOOD. "Ideal of the Erechtheum, etc." Exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts, 1824, No. 888.

In Athens, 1819. See A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, IV, s. n. See also No. 80.

74. J. J. SCOLES. "Ruins of the Erechtheum at Athens, sketched in oil on the spot in 1824." Exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts, 1829, No. 988.

See A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, VII, s. n.

1825

75. EDWARD BLAQUIERE. *Narrative of a Second Visit to Greece, including Facts connected with the Last Days of Lord Byron, Extracts from Correspondence, Official Documents, etc.* 2 vols. London.

In Athens, July, 1824. *Erechtheum*, I, p. 96 (account of a visit to the temple); II, p. 167 (letter of Gropius).

76. RICHARD CHANDLER. *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece. . . . A new edition with corrections and remarks by Nicholas Revett, Esq. to which is prefixed an introductory account of the author by Ralph Churton, M. A.* 2 vols. Oxford.

Erechtheum, II, pp. 67-69, 71, 72. See No. 11.

77. THOMAS LITTLE. "Ruins of the East Portico of the Erechtheum at Athens in 1825." Exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts, 1832, No. 1037.

See A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, V, s. n.

78. HUGH JAMES ROSE. *Inscriptiones Graecae Vetustissimae: collegit et observationes tum aliorum tum suas adjecit.* Cambridge.

Erechtheum: pp. 145-179, Prolegomena; 180-208, Text, Latin translation, and Latin notes on the Chandler Inscription (see Ch. IV, p. 283), with three plates after Wilkins.

The Prolegomena are in great part a reprint of the work of C. O. Müller (No. 64), and throughout this chapter Rose is largely a compiler, adding little of value to his sources.

79. JAMES STUART AND NICHOLAS REVETT. *The Antiquities of Athens . . . edited by William Kinnard, Architect. A new edition.* London.

Erechtheum, II, ch. II, pp. 59-75. See No. 16. Stuart's text and notes are unaltered, but many new, and sometimes important, notes are added. The plates of the Erechtheum are unchanged, but are reduced, and occasionally two are combined on a single page.

1827

80. HENRY WILLIAM INWOOD. *The Erechtheion at Athens: Fragments of Athenian Architecture and a few Remains in Attica, Megara, and Epirus. Illustrated with outline Plates and a descriptive, historical view combining also under the divisions Cadmeia, Homeros, and Herodotos the Origin of Temples and of Grecian Art of the Periods Preceding.* London.

In Athens, 1819. Books XVIII to XXIV, pp. 91–114, treat of the Erechtheum, and contain a discussion of its date; notes on the Chandler Inscription and some of its architectural terms, in which Wilkins is followed; an abstract of Pausanias with notes; short notes on other classical passages referring to the Erechtheum; an architectural description of the temple and of its proportions; the epistyle and the parts above; the doorways and windows.

Only the last three sections are now of special interest or value. An edition was published in 1831 in which all the introductory matter, including the description of the building, was omitted.

81. WILLIAM JENKINS. "Southwest view of the Triple Temple in the Acropolis of Athens." Exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts, 1827, No. 1061.

See A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, IV, s. n. Graves has identically the same entry also under J. Jenkins, but it seems probable that the picture was the work of W. Jenkins, Jr., who was in Athens about 1820, and collaborated in the Supplementary Volume to Stuart and Revett.

1828

82. JOSEPH WOODS. *Letters of an Architect from France, Italy, and Greece.* 2 vols. London.

In Athens, March, 1818. *Erechtheum*, II, pp. 254–258. See No. 55.

This account of the Erechtheum is noteworthy for its attention to the actual state of the building, especially in the interior, and for its generally sensible comments. It is one of the best of the earlier descriptions.

1829

83. [JOHN FULLER.] *Narrative of a Tour through some parts of the Turkish Empire.* London.

In Athens, 1819–1820. *Erechtheum*, pp. 541, 542; not important.

84. JAMES STUART AND NICHOLAS REVETT. *Die Alterthümer von Athen; beschrieben von J. Stuart und N. Revett: aus dem Englischen übersetzt nach der Londoner Ausgabe von Jahren 1762 und 1787 und bereichert mit einigen eigenen und allen Zusätzen der neuen Ausgabe vom Jahre 1825.* Darmstadt.

The additional German notes add nothing of importance for the Erechtheum. See Nos. 16, 43, 79.

85. HUGH WILLIAM WILLIAMS. *Select Views in Greece with Classical Illustrations.* 2 vols. London.

The plates and pages are unnumbered. Vol I, "Temples of Erechtheus and Minerva Polias, the Parthenon appearing in the distance." An inaccurate view from the north; see Ch. V, p. 554, note 4. "Temple of Pandrosus, dedicated to the nymph Pandrosus, one of the daughters of Cecrops, founder of Athens." The Porch of the Maidens from the southwest.

1830

86. WILLIAM JENKINS, JR. In *Antiquities of Athens and other Places in Greece, Sicily, etc., supplementary to the Antiquities of Athens by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett* . . . London.

Jenkins contributed a short note on the entasis of various columns in Athens, including those of the Erechtheum; pp. 4, 5; pl. V. See Ch. I, p. 20, note 2.

This volume formed the fourth of the second edition of Stuart and Revett (No. 79), as the original fourth volume was still protected by copyright and could not be reprinted. It was also published in large folio, uniform with the four volumes of the original edition.

1831

87. JACQUES-IGNACE HITTORFF. *Rapport sur les dessins de Monumens de l'Acropole d'Athènes présentés à la Société libre des beaux-arts par M. Itar, architecte.* Paris.

Also published in *Annales de la Société libre des Beaux-Arts*, I, 1830-1831, pp. 169-182 (Paris, 1836).

There is no special description of the Erechtheum, but a small plate contains an elaborate, though inaccurate, restoration of the North Door, and a defective plan. These drawings by Itar seem to have disappeared.

1831-1835

88. FILIPPO TROJANI. *Vedute della Grecia incise da F. Trojani sotto la direzione del Cav. Sir William Gell in numero trenta.* Rome.

Small, finely engraved copies of the plates in Stuart and Revett, including both views of the Erechtheum.

1833

89. THOMAS LEVERTON DONALDSON. *A Collection of the most approved examples of Doorways from Ancient Buildings in Greece and Italy.* London.

In Athens, 1820. Pl. I, The Doorway in the Porch of the Maidens; pls. XXIII-XXV, The North Door. See No. 104.

90. PETER WILHELM FORCHHAMMER UND C. O. MÜLLER. *Zur Topographie Athens. Ein Brief aus Athen und ein Brief nach Athen.*

Erechtheum, pp. 15, 16; a description by Forchhammer of the state of the southwest corner before the restoration by Pittakis.

1833-1836

91. EDUARD SCHAUBERT. Drawings and Notes in the Archaeological Museum of the University of Breslau. Also in *Museum, Blätter für bildende Kunst*, I, 1833, pp. 233, 261, notes on the Erechtheum by Von Quast based on conversations with Schaubert. His drawings were also used by Von Quast in his edition of Inwood (No. 116).

The material in Breslau is in seven portfolios. Drawings of the Erechtheum are collected in II, 178^a-182, 209-238, while a few scattered drawings of coffers and other details are in VI. In V, 311, 312 are brief and now unimportant notes, apparently made about the time the interior was cleared. Almost all the drawings are careful renderings, often fully figured, of details of the mouldings and decorative carvings, sometimes with notes on the use of color. They are more complete in their measurements than the publications of Inwood and Von Quast, but contain little of present value. They are not dated, but it seems probable that most of them were made about 1833-1836, when Schaubert was associated with Ross in the excavation of the Acropolis. See F. Koepp, 'Eduard Schauberts handschriftlicher Nachlass,' *Arch. Anz.*, V, 1890, pp. 129-148.

1834

92. LUIGI CANINA. *L'Architettura antica: Sezione II: L'Architettura Greca descritta e dimostrata coi monumenti.* Rome.

Erechtheum: Part II, pp. 73-75, the Chandler Inscription with an Italian translation; Part III, pp. 57-60, description with plates (LXXI-LXXVI) derived entirely from the works of Stuart and Revett and of Inwood, as Canina had no personal knowledge of the building.

A second edition contains the Chandler Inscription in Vol. V (1837), pp. 305-313; the description in Vol. VI (1841), pp. 163-173.

93. ANTON PROKESCH VON OSTEN. *Julius Schnellers hinterlassene Werke . . . herausgegeben von Ernst Münch.* Vol. II, *Briefwechsel zwischen Julius Schneller und seinem Pflegsohne Prokesch.* Stuttgart.

Erechtheum, pp. 305-309, letter XXIX, dated August 21, 1827, a description of the building after the Turkish bombardment. The letter contains some details about the collapse of the North Portico which are lacking in the later publication (No. 107). A second edition appeared in 1840.

1835

94. WILLIAM COLE. *Select Views of the Remains of Ancient Monuments in Greece as at present existing, from Drawings Taken and Coloured on the Spot in the Year 1833*. London.
Pl. VIII, "The Temples of Erechtheus, Minerva Polias, and Pandrosos." See Ch. V, p. 559; PLATE LIII, 3.
95. KYRIAKOS PITTAKIS (PITTAKYS). *L'ancienne Athènes, ou la description des antiquités d'Athènes et de ses environs*. Athens.
Erechtheum, pp. 391-409; of very little value.
96. LUDWIG ROSS. *Kunstblatt* (Supplement to *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*), 1835, No. 78, p. 321.
Letter dated July 18, 1835, announcing the discovery of the passage from the crypt under the North Portico; see Ch. V, p. 560; also No. 159.
97. WILLIAM WILKINS. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Literature*, I, 6, pp. 55-58.
A summary of a paper by Wilkins, read by Hamilton, discussing the Chandler Inscription. It appears to have been an earlier form of the work published two years later in *Prousiones Architectonicae* (No. 110).

1836

98. FRANCIS ARUNDALE. "The Pandroseum." Exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts, 1836, No. 976.
See A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, I, s. n.; also No. 146.
99. EDWARD NORTON CLIFTON. "View of the Erechtheum on the Acropolis of Athens, etc." Exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts, 1836, No. 1058.
See A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, I, s. n.
100. H. HERRMANN. 'Bemerkungen über die antiken Dekorations-Malereien an den Tempeln zu Athen,' *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1836, pp. 86 ff. Vienna.
In Athens, 1835. For the text relating to the Erechtheum see Ch. II, note C, I, p. 228.
101. LUDWIG ROSS. *Kunstblatt*, 1836, Nos. 39, 40, 60, 76, 84; pp. 165-167, 170-172, 249, 250, 314, 347.
Letters dated January 28, May 7, June 5, July 6, 1836, reporting the discovery of numerous fragments of the accounts of 408/7 B.C., and in the last letter (p. 347) the recovery, in the ruins of a Turkish hut, of the throne of the priest of Butes (Ch. V, p. 484, Fig. 206). See also No. 159.
102. CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH. *Athens and Attica: Journal of a Residence there*. London.
In Athens, 1832. *Erechtheum*, pp. 131-138. A second edition, unaltered so far as the notice of the Erechtheum is concerned, appeared in 1837. See No. 161.

1837

103. C. H. BRACEBRIDGE. *Patterns and Colors from the Erechtheum, 1837*. Manuscript letter, dated April 17, 1837, in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
See Ch. II, note C, II, p. 229.
104. THOMAS LEVERTON DONALDSON. *Collection des exemples les plus estimés des portes monumentales de la Grèce et de l'Italie*. Paris.
French translation of the work which appeared in 1833 (see No. 89).
105. PETER WILHELM FORCHHAMMER. *Hellenica I, Griechenland, im Neuen das Alte*. Berlin.
In Athens, 1832-1833. *Erechtheum*: pp. 31-41, description and interpretation of the Erechtheum in accordance with the author's theory of Greek religion; p. 363, restored plan and explanation.
106. EDWARD GIFFARD. *A Short Visit to the Ionian Islands, Athens, and the Morea*. London.
In Athens, February 4-7, 1836. *Erechtheum*, pp. 153-162.

107. ANTON PROKESCH VON OSTEN. *Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient vom Ritter Prokesch von Osten. Aus Julius Schnellers Nachlass herausgegeben von Dr. Ernst Münch.* 3 vols. Stuttgart.

Vol. II, pp. 409–413, 639, 646 f., the Erechtheum in 1825; vol. III, pp. 509 f., the Erechtheum in 1827, after the Turkish bombardment. See No. 93.

108. ALEXANDER RIZO RANGABÉ. 'Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογική, I, pp. 12, 13.

A brief account of the beginning of the restoration of the Erechtheum after the Greek Revolution (Ch. V, p. 561).

109. LUDWIG ROSS. *Kunstblatt*, 1837, No. 79, pp. 325, 326.

Letter describing the discovery of the sixth Caryatid (Ch. V, p. 565) and excavations along the north side of the Erechtheum. See No. 159.

110. WILLIAM WILKINS. *Prousiones Architectonicae: or Essays on Subjects connected with Grecian and Roman Architecture.* London.

Pp. 1–38, "The Building and its Restoration"; 39–82, "The Athenian Inscription"; 83–96, "On the Construction of the Roofs of Temples." The 14 finely engraved plates are all restorations. See No. 97.

While correcting some inaccuracies in detail, Wilkins retained his interpretation of the technical terms in the Chandler Inscription in the face of the criticism of Boeckh and C. O. Müller. Characteristic is his defence of his translation of *πλινθοί* as *simae*; "The meaning of the term in the inscription is so obvious, that I considered all authority in support of it superfluous" (p. 43).

1838

111. *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg), July 16, 1838, Beilage, pp. 1495, 1496.

A severely critical summary of an article in the Athenian *Σωτήρ* (date not given), describing the recent clearing and restoration of the Erechtheum.

112. WILLIAM JAMES MÜLLER. "Several studies of the Caryatides" and other sketches.

See N. N. Solly, *Memoirs of the Life of W. J. Müller* (London, 1875), p. 61, Müller's stay in Athens; pp. 335 ff., Nos. 24, 50, 118 in a list of 453 paintings and sketches sold, April, 1846, after Müller's death.

1838–1841

113. JAMES SKENE (of Rubislaw). Four drawings (Figs. 224–227).

James Skene (1775–1864) of Rubislaw, near Aberdeen, lived in Athens from 1838 to 1844, and during that time is said to have made upwards of five hundred water-color drawings of the monuments and scenery of Greece. Many pen-and-ink sketches were also included in his *Journal* for the year 1838. On his life and work, see W. F. Skene, *Memorials of the Family of Skene of Skene*, pp. 139, 140; *Dictionary of National Biography*, s. n. The drawings of the Erechtheum have been reproduced by the kind permission of the owners, his grandson, Felix Skene of Send, Woking, and his great-grandson Maurice Skene-Tytler of Keith Marischal.

1839

114. EUGENE FLANDIN. *Belgique, France, Grèce, 1839.* A volume of original drawings in the Department of Prints, Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London.

Fol. 64, Parthenon and Erechtheum. "15 Nov. 1839. Eug. Flandin. No. 19." (PLATE LIV, 1.)

1840

115. VLADIMIR DAVYDOV. Путевыя Записки, веденныя во время пребыванія на Ионическихъ островахъ, въ Греціи, Малой Азіи и Турціи въ 1835 году. (*Putevyiâ Zapiski, vedennyiâ vo vremiâ prebyvaniâ na Ionicheskikh ostrovakh, v Gretsii, Maloi Azii i Turtsii v 1835 godu.*) 3 vols. St. Petersburg.

Erechtheum, I, p. 226; III, Atlas, pl. 19. The Erechtheum from the southeast after a drawing by J. J. Wolfensberger. It shows the building in much the same state as Cole's drawing (PLATE LIII, 3).

116. ALEXANDER FERDINAND VON QUAST. *Das Erechtheion zu Athen . . . Nach dem Werke des H. W. Inwood mit Verbesserungen und vielen Zusätzen herausgegeben, durch eine genaue Beschreibung dieses Tempels und eine vollständige Geschichte der Baukunst in Athen vermehrt.* Text and Atlas. Berlin.

The plates are taken from Inwood (No. 80), with numerous additions and corrections from drawings by Schaubert. The text includes a translation of Inwood's description of his plates, but is otherwise the work of Von Quast.

1840–1846

117. *Résumé des actes de la société archéologique d'Athènes. Deuxième édition.* Σύνοψις τῶν Πρακτικῶν τῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας τῶν Ἀθηνῶν. Ἔκδοσις δευτέρα. Athens (dated 1846 but published in 1847).

This edition contains the annual reports for the first eleven years, in both Greek and French. *Erechtheum*: 1840, pp. 84, 85, the repairs on the walls and the clearing of the interior are said to be finished; 1843, pp. 186, 187, project for clearing the North Portico; 1845, pp. 198–201, account of the clearing of the North Portico; 1846, pp. 222, 223, 228–231, the completion of the work in the North Portico, the restoration of the sixth Caryatid, and plans for setting in place the cast from England and for other work in the Porch of the Maidens, to be carried out with the help of the French Minister, Piscatory; 1847, pp. 312–317, completion of the work in the Porch of the Maidens and a brief notice of the excavations of Tétaz.

1841

118. WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE. *The Topography of Athens and the Demi of Attica.* Second edition. 2 vols. London.

Erechtheum, I, pp. 338–345, 574–592 (including the text of the Chandler Inscription), 626–627 (note dated 1839). See No. 71.

This edition was later reprinted, with no change in the title-page or text but with a new set of plates. The *Erechtheum* appears only on pl. III, the plan of the Acropolis. In the original impression this is marked "Published for the Author by J. Rodwell, New Bond Street, May, 1841." In later copies it is inscribed "Published for the Author by John Murray, Albemarle St., London, 1854," and bears the legend "Plan of the Acropolis of Athens showing the extent of recent excavations, and the levels and relative bearings of the principal Monuments: with the additions and corrections of Mr. F. C. Penrose in 1847."

119. PROSPER MARILHAT. The *Erechtheum* from the west: a painting (No. 334) in the Wallace Collection, Hertford House, London.

Marilhat, a French artist, was in the Levant between 1831 and 1833, although this painting was not executed until 1841. The view is reversed, having the North Portico on the spectator's right and the Porch of the Maidens on the left, while both the building and its surroundings are very freely treated in other respects. It is, therefore, of little value as a witness to the condition of the building.

1842

120. E. GARSTON. *Greece Revisited in 1840.* London.

Erechtheum, pp. 125, 126, 131. Unimportant.

121. ALEXANDER RIZO RANGABÉ. *Antiquités helléniques.* I. Athens.

Erechtheum, pp. 9, 45–86; pls. IV, V.

The text is chiefly given up to the publication and discussion of the Accounts of 408–7 B.C. (Ch. IV, Inscriptions XIII, XIV, XVI, XVII, XXIII), but also includes a brief notice of the fragments of the frieze, and of the original arrangement of the interior. The plates contain the fragments of the frieze (Ch. III, pp. 241, 276), a restored plan of the *Erechtheum*, and a very poor view of the building from the southeast.

122. GR. M. SANTZO. Two lithographs: (1) "Portique du Temple d'Erechthée," from the south; (2) "Temple d'Erechthée à Athènes," the west end from north of west.

I owe my knowledge of these lithographs to Mr. A. M. Woodward, Director of the British School at Athens, who kindly showed me the copies in the British School.

123. PAULINA JERMYN TREVELYAN. The Erechtheum from the southwest, drawn by Lady Trevelyan, July 17, 1842; now in the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum; see *Catalogue of Drawings by British Artists*, IV, *s.n.*, No. 33.

This water-color is rather sketchy and not accurate in details. In the Porch of the Maidens the copy of the Elgin statue is in place and all the supports of rough masonry removed on the south and west sides, but the architrave has not been replaced over the second figure from the east, which stands free. As it is certain that the Porch was not repaired until 1846 (see Ch. V, p. 567), the artist has here indulged in a little restoration.

1843

124. PETER WILHELM FORCHHAMMER. 'Ueber einige der ältesten Bauten, Tullianum, Carcer Marmertinus, Gefängnis des Socrates, Ohr des Dionysios, Grab des Kekrops, des Erechtheus, etc.,' *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg), No. 256, September 13, 1843, Beilage.

An argument to show that the excavations since 1833 have fully confirmed the views expressed in *Hellenica*, I (No. 105), as to the arrangement and significance of the different parts of the Erechtheum.

125. C. MILES. "View of the Erechtheum, etc." Exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1843, No. 1258.

See A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, V, *s. n.*

126. ADOLF SCHÖLL. *Archaeologische Mittheilungen aus Griechenland nach Carl Ottfried Müllers hinterlassenen Papieren*. Frankfurt.

P. 20, brief notice of the discovery in 1837 of the fragments of the frieze and of the sixth Caryatid; pp. 125, 129-131, remarks on the sculptors and the style of the frieze.

1844

127. THÉODORE BALLU. "Restauration du Temple de Minerve Poliade à Athènes faite en 1844 par M. Ballu, Architecte Pensionnaire de l'Académie de France à Rome."

Six large drawings in the Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-Arts, Paris. These drawings are not now of great importance, being superseded by the more careful and accurate studies of Tétaz; see No. 132.

1845

128. THÉODOSE-ACHILLE-LOUIS, COMTE DU MONCEL. *Vues pittoresques des monuments d'Athènes*. Paris.

In Athens, 1843. Pl. III, the Erechtheum from the southwest.

It closely resembles the drawing by Hansen (Fig. 228), but is not quite so careful in its rendering of details. The same view appears as pl. XI in the author's *De Venise à Constantinople à travers la Grèce et retour par Malte, Messine, Pizzo et Naples*.

129. CARL POPPE. *Sammlung von Ornamenten und Fragmenten antiker Architektur, Sculptur, Mosaik und Toreutik auf einer Reise durch Griechenland, Italien und Sicilien aufgenommen*. Berlin.

The plates include a view of the Erechtheum from the southwest. It is not of much importance, as it seems made rather with a view to a striking effect than to accuracy of representation. On Poppe see Ross, *Arch. Aufs.*, I, p. 73.

130. ALEXANDER RIZO RANGABÉ. 'Lettre à M. de Sauley,' *R. Arch.*, II, 1, 1845, pp. 321-324.

A notice of the removal of the Turkish vault in the North Portico and of the discovery of some fragments of the frieze (see Ch. III, p. 240). An accompanying plate contains an inaccurate restoration of the North Door.

131. HARRY RALPH RICARDO. "Drawings made on the spot by H. R. R. (1823-1860), for some time (1845-1850) an Associate R.I.B.A. Presented to the Museum, Jan. 19, 1908, by Halsey Ralph Ricardo." In the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum.

Fol. 12, the Erechtheum from the northeast (PLATE LIV, 3), dated December, 1845; fols. 13-17, carefully executed architectural drawings of details in the Porch of the Maidens, the North Portico, and the West Façade.

1848

132. JACQUES-MARTIN TÉTAZ. "Académie des Beaux-Arts de l'Institut de France. Section d'Architecture. Restauration du Temple d'Erechthée à Athènes exécutée par M. Tétaz en 1848"; also his manuscript *Mémoire explicatif*. In the Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-Arts, Paris.

Seventeen carefully executed drawings from studies made in Athens in 1847-1848, though some of the restorations were finished in Rome in 1849. They include a plan, north, south, east, and west elevations, and a section looking south; all show the present state of the building and also restorations (the restored south elevation is missing). The last five sheets are devoted to very finely executed renderings of architectural details. The whole series is of great importance for the condition of the building in 1848, though the restoration is now known to be erroneous. See Nos. 143, 222, 263.

1849

133. CARL BOETTICHER. 'Neueste Forschungen über das Erechtheion,' *Arch. Ztg.*, VII, 1849, pp. 120*ff.

A sharp criticism of the theories of Thiersch (No. 135), read before the Berlin Archaeologische Gesellschaft, December 9, 1849. See also No. 140, which is an enlarged version of this paper.

134. ANTOINE-MARIE CHENAVARD. *Voyage en Grèce et dans le Levant fait en 1843-1844 par A. M. Chenavard, architecte, E. Rey, peintre, professeurs à l'école des Beaux-Arts de Lyon, et J. M. Dalgabio, architecte. Relation par A. M. Chenavard*. Second edition. Lyons.

Page 23 contains a brief and unimportant notice of the Erechtheum. The first edition (1846) omits even this notice. Neither of these editions contains any illustrations. See No. 169.

135. FRIEDRICH THIERSCH. 'Ueber das Erechtheum auf der Akropolis zu Athen. I, Ueber die innere Einrichtung, Mannigfaltigkeit und Absicht des Baues,' *Abh. Münch. Akad.*, V, 2, pp. 81-185; 5 pls.

Read August 5, 1843. Pp. 173-183 contain answers by A. R. Rangabé (dated Dec. 13/25, 1848) to questions by Thiersch about the actual state of the building and the latter's comments. See No. 138.

1850

136. LUDWIG ROSS. 'Brunnen im Erechtheion,' *Arch. Ztg.*, VIII, 1850, pp. 178f.

A suggestion that the "sea" had been replaced by the great cistern and that search for it was useless. Reprinted in *Arch. Aufs.*, II, p. 280.

137. LUDWIG ROSS. 'Griechenland und Morgenland,' *Z. Alterthumswissenschaft*, VIII, 1850, cols. 206-208.

An argument to show that the cults connected with the Erechtheum were of Egyptian origin. Reprinted in *Arch. Aufs.*, II, pp. 44-46.

138. FRIEDRICH THIERSCH. 'Ueber das Erechtheum auf der Burg von Athen. II. Ueber den Baustyle und die historische Entwicklung desselben,' *Abh. Münch. Akad.*, VI, 1, pp. 101-250.

Read August 5, 1843, but completely revised before publication. It is a discussion of the origins of Greek architectural forms, with little reference to the Erechtheum, but pp. 230-249 contain a very sharp reply to the criticisms of Boetticher (No. 133). See No. 135.

1850-1851

139. DÉSIÉ-RAOUL ROCHETTE. 'Ueber das Erechtheum auf der Akropolis, von Athen, I^{ste} und II^{te} Abhandlungen von Fr. Thiersch,' *Journal des Savants*, 1850, pp. 654-666 (plan after Thiersch), 751-764; 1851, pp. 27-46 (plan after Tétaz), 79-97.

A detailed examination of the publications of Thiersch (Nos. 135, 138), whose conclusions he is disposed to view with favor, and, in the later numbers, of Tétaz (No. 143).

1851

140. CARL BOETTICHER. *Der Polias-Tempel als Wohnhaus des Königs Erechtheus, nach der Annahme von Fr. Thiersch. Beleuchtet und seinen Freunden in der archäologischen Gesellschaft zugeeignet.* Berlin.

A violent and destructive criticism of the theories of Thiersch (No. 135), but contributing little of value for the understanding of the building itself. In it the view that the Pandroseum lay west of the Erechtheum was first presented, although Bötticher maintained that the *cella* of Pandrosus was within the Erechtheum.

141. PETER WILHELM FORCHHAMMER. 'Athen — Altes im Neuen. Die religiösen Heiligthümer im Erechtheion. Thiersch, Raoul-Rochette,' *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg), Nos. 211, 212, July 30, 31, 1851, Beilage.

A defence of his earlier theories and a criticism of Thiersch and of Raoul-Rochette. See No. 144.

142. JACQUES-IGNACE HITTORFF. *Restitution du Temple d'Empedocle à Selinunte ou l'architecture polychrome chez les Grecs.* Paris.

The use of color in the Erechtheum is treated on the basis of the report of the committee appointed by the Institute of British Architects (see Ch. II, Note C, II, pp. 228 f.). The Atlas, pl. XI, 1-3, contains colored restorations of details in the Erechtheum.

143. JACQUES-MARTIN TÉTAZ. 'Mémoire explicatif et justificatif de la restauration de l'Erechthéion d'Athènes,' *R. Arch.*, VIII, 1851, pp. 1-12, 81-96; pls. 158, 159.

An enlargement of the manuscript *Mémoire explicatif*, which accompanied his original drawings; see No. 132.

A free translation, signed "Stauffert, ehem. Stadtarchitekt von Athen," with additional drawings of details by Hoffer, a restored plan and section and a good drawing of a fragment from the frieze (p. 250, No. 18) by Theophilos Hansen, and a view from the southwest by Christian Hansen (Fig. 228) was published in the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (Vienna), XVI, 1851, pp. 335-353, pls. 429-435.

144. FRIEDRICH THIERSCH. *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg), No. 219, August 7, 1851, Beilage.

A reply to the criticism of Forchhammer (No. 141).

145. FRIEDRICH THIERSCH. *Vorerinnerung in Architektonische Zeichnungen, als Beilage zu den zwei Abhandlungen ueber das Erechtheum . . . von Eduard Mezger.*

Pp. 154-158 of the separate publication of Thiersch's second article on the Erechtheum (No. 138), with 5 plates by Mezger (or Metzger). The brief text contains comments on the publications of Raoul Rochette (No. 139), Bötticher (No. 140), and Forchhammer (No. 141). The plates include a fanciful restoration of the Porch of the Maidens and a number of architectural details.

1852

146. FRANCIS ARUNDALE. "Ruins of the Temple of Erectheus, Athens." Exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1852, No. 611.

See A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, I, s. n.; also No. 98.

147. JEAN-LOUIS-CHARLES GARNIER. An extremely delicate and careful drawing of the Erechtheum from the southwest before the great storm of 1852, in Vol. I of the Collection Charles Garnier, in the Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-Arts, Paris.

The same volume contains a few small and unimportant sketches of architectural details.

148. B. K. HELLER. *Archäologisch-artistische Mittheilungen über die Ausgrabungen auf der Akropolis zu Athen, 1835, 1836, und 1837.* Nuremberg.

Erechtheum, p. 2.

Heller was artist for Ross during the excavations, but his report is wholly unimportant.

1853

149. HERMANN JULIUS THEODOR HETTNER. *Griechische Reiseskizzen*. Brunswick.

In Athens, 1852. *Erechtheum*, pp. 123–144, with plan. See No. 155.

His chapter is in great part occupied with a presentation of his own theories of the original arrangement of the building and of its artistic merits. He says very little about its actual condition.

150. Πρακτικά τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑρεχθείου ἐπιτροπῆς, ἡ ἀναγραφὴ τῆς ἀληθοῦς καταστάσεως τοῦ Ἑρεχθείου γενομένη κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Συλλόγου καὶ ἐκδοθεῖσα δαπανῇ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας. Athens.

The report of the Greek Commission of 1852, presented to the Archaeological Society on October 4/16, 1853. Owing to delays in preparing the plates the report, although dated in 1853, was not actually published until 1855; see Thiersch, *Epikrisis* (No. 166), pp. 357, 358.

151. FRIEDRICH THIERSCH. 'Ueber die neuesten Untersuchungen des Erechtheums auf der Akropolis zu Athen. Ein Sendschreiben an Herrn Geheimrath August Boeckh,' *Gelehrte Anzeigen herausgegeben von Mitgliedern der Königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XXXVI, 1853, pp. 268–285.

Also published separately. It contains a brief statement of the results of the work of the Greek Commission as interpreted, not always correctly, by Thiersch. See No. 166.

152. A. VON VELSEN. 'Athenische Ausgrabungen,' *Arch. Ztg.*, XI, 1853, p. 360*.

A note, dated July 15, 1853, on the progress of Thiersch's excavation of the Erechtheum, i.e., the work of the Greek Commission. It contains the statement that borings showed the marks in the crypt of the North Portico to be at least 3m. deep.

1854

153. CHARLES-ERNEST BEULÉ. *L'Acropole d'Athènes*. 2 vols. Paris.

Erechtheum, II, pp. 216–294, with plate reproducing the restoration of Tétaz (see No. 143).

154. CARL BOETTICHER. *Arch. Ztg.*, XII, 1854, p. 473*.

A summary of a paper read before the Berlin Archaeologische Gesellschaft, July 4, 1854, containing a criticism of Tétaz's restoration as published by Beulé; the original publication is not mentioned.

155. HERMANN JULIUS THEODOR HETTNER. *Athens and the Peloponnese with Sketches of Northern Greece (Constable's Miscellany of Foreign Literature, II)*. Edinburgh.

Erechtheum, pp. 93–108. See No. 149.

1855

156. CARL BOETTICHER. *Arch. Ztg.*, XIII, 1855, pp. 101*–103*.

A summary of a paper read before the Berlin Archaeologische Gesellschaft, December 9, 1855, on the royal graves on the Acropolis. He argued that the grave of Erichthonius was in the Porch of the Maidens and the grave of Cecrops outside of the Erechtheum.

157. JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE, LORD BROUGHTON. *Travels in Albania and other Provinces of Turkey in 1809 and 1810*. A new edition. 2 vols. London.

Erechtheum: I, pp. 297–299; 301, rather carelessly executed views of the Erechtheum from the east and from the west; II, pp. 448, 449, a note on the restoration of the Erechtheum after 1837, following information given by Pittakis. See No. 40.

The text of the first edition remained unaltered in the passage relating to the Erechtheum, but additional notes refer to Leake, Wilkins, Dodwell, Wordsworth, and Hettner.

158. CHRISTIAN PETERSEN; CARL BOETTICHER. 'Zur Kenntniss des Erechtheion,' *Arch. Ztg.*, XIII, 1855, cols. 65–78, with a plan by Boetticher to show Petersen's reconstruction.

An open letter from Petersen to Boetticher, proposing a new (and wholly untenable) restoration and interpretation of the building, and Boetticher's destructive reply.

159. LUDWIG ROSS. *Archäologische Aufsätze*, I, pp. 98, 99, 112, 121–125. Halle.
References to discoveries in the Erechtheum during the work on the Acropolis, reprinted, with omissions and corrections, from the letters in the *Kunstblatt*, Nos. 96, 101, 109.
160. GOTTFRIED SEMPER. 'Briefe aus der Schweiz. Die neben den Propyläen gefundenen Inschrifttafeln,' *Deutsches Kunstblatt*, VI, 1855, pp. 332, 333, 370, 371, 377–381, 388–390, 397, 398, 404–407.
A plate contains restored plans of the Acropolis and of the Propylaea, the latter showing the construction of the ceiling, and a section of the Erechtheum, looking north, to show Semper's restoration.
The first letter is dated Zürich, August 30, 1855; the others were all written in London in December, 1852. The letters contain a curious attempt to prove that these inscriptions (fragments of the Accounts of 408/7 B. C.) refer to the Propylaea and not to the Erechtheum. See No. 200.
161. CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH. *Athens and Attica: Notes of a Tour*. Third edition, revised. London.
Erechtheum, pp. 110–117.
The account is fuller than that in the first edition, and there is a restoration by G. Scharf, Jr. See No. 102.
162. JOHN DAYTON WYATT. "The Erechtheum on the Acropolis at Athens, etc." Exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts, 1855, No. 1179.
See A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, VIII, s. n.
- 1856
163. PAUL-RENÉ-LÉON GINAIN. Eight very fine tracings, including a plan (present state), section, elevation, and details, in the Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-Arts, Paris.
164. CHRISTIAN PETERSEN. 'Das Erechtheum,' *Z. Alterthumswissenschaft*, XIV, 1856, cols. 236–240, with plan.
A correction and explanation of his restored plan of the Erechtheum which had not been correctly rendered by Boetticher in *Arch. Ztg.*, XIII (No. 158).
165. CHRISTIAN PETERSEN. 'Das Erechtheion und die Quellen der Akropolis,' *Arch. Ztg.*, XIV, 1856, cols. 193 ff.
- 1857
166. FRIEDRICH THIERSCH. 'Epikrisis der neuesten Untersuchungen des Erechtheums auf der Akropolis zu Athen,' *Abh. Münch. Akad.*, VIII, 2, pp. 335–425; 7 plates.
Pp. 359–364 contain extracts from the "Sendschreiben an A. Boeckh" (No. 151); pp. 364–377, the German translation by Conrad Bursian of the Report of the Greek Commission (No. 150), with six plates. The rest of the paper is a polemical discussion of the views of Boetticher, Tétaz, and Beulé, with a defence of his own theories, somewhat modified in detail but essentially unchanged.
167. FRIEDRICH THIERSCH. 'Ueber das οἶκμα bei Pausanias. Eine Beilage zur Epikrisis der neuesten Untersuchungen des Erechtheums,' *ibid.*, pp. 429–456.
- 1858
168. CARL BOETTICHER. 'Das Prostomiaion und die Parastas der Bauinschrift am Tempel der Athena Polias,' *Arch. Ztg.*, XVI, 1858, cols. 117–128.
A discussion, directed against the views of Thiersch, of the passage in the Chandler Inscription (Chap. IV, Inscription II, col. I, ll. 69–74). As he read ἐκτός in line 69 he placed both Prostomiaion and Parastas outside the temple and connected them with the small doorway in the North Portico.
169. ANTOINE-MARIE CHENAVARD. *Voyage en Grèce et dans le Levant fait en 1843 et 1844*, etc. Lyons.
Erechtheum: pl. XVI, the Erechtheum from the south; pl. XVII, the Erechtheum from the east; pl. XVIII, details of the North Door (by E. Rey).
The drawings were made in 1843, and give an excellent idea of the condition of the building at that time, though they do not seem always accurate in detail. See No. 134.

1859

170. CARL BOETTICHER. 'Ueber die letzte bauliche Untersuchung des Erechtheion auf der Akropolis von Athen,' *Z. Bauwesen*, IX, 1859, cols. 203-210, 317-336; pls. K-N.

The first article is dated August, 1858. The two articles are a detailed analysis of the Report of the Greek Commission of 1852 (No. 150), in order to show that its statements are destructive of the theories of Thiersch, but fully confirm his own views. The plates are taken from the Report of the Commission.

171. PETER WILHELM FORCHHAMMER. 'Das Erechtheion,' *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, LXXIX, 1859, pp. 186-189.

Reiteration of his previous views, slightly modified, with special reference to the publications of Thiersch, Tétaz, and Beulé.

1860

172. OTTO JAHN. *Pausaniae descriptio arcis Athenarum in usum scholarum edidit. Accedit forma arcis ab Adolfo Michaelis descripta.* Bonn.

The article by Michaelis (No. 173) was written to accompany the plans in this volume. See Nos. 194, 228.

1861

173. ADOLF MICHAELIS. 'Der jetzige Zustand der Akropolis,' *Rh. Mus.*, XVI, 1861, pp. 210-235; also separately.

Erechtheum, pp. 231-233 (pp. 24-26 of reprint).

Very brief notice. The article is a commentary on the plan of the Acropolis by Michaelis in the first edition of Jahn's Pausanias (No. 172).

1862

174. ERNEST BRETON. *Athènes décrite et dessinée.* Paris.

Erechtheum, pp. 147, 153-175.

His description and interpretation are based on Tétaz (No. 143) and Beulé (No. 153), with some slight modification in details. A second edition, apparently unchanged, was published in 1868.

1863

175. CARL BOETTICHER. *Bericht über die Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis von Athen im Frühjahr, 1862.* Berlin. Also published in *Z. Bauwesen*, XIII, 1863, cols. 195-224, 405-407, 557-608; pls. N-N₁₂.

Erechtheum, pp. 20-22 (cols. 208, 209), 32-35 (cols. 215-217), 43-44 (col. 222), 48-49 (col. 407), 190-217 (cols. 580-597); figs. 39-43 (pl. N₁₂).

On this expedition and its results see Ch. V, pp. 570 ff.

1866

176. RICHARD PHENÉ SPIERS. "The Erechtheum from the northeast" (water-color), and "The Erechtheum from the southwest" (drawing), in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London.

See No. 183.

1867

177. ETIENNE REY. *Voyage pittoresque en Grèce et dans le Levant fait en 1843-44. . . . Par E. Rey, peintre, et A. Chenavard, architecte . . . et Dalbagio, architecte. Journal de Voyage, dessins et planches lithographiées par Etienne Rey.* Lyons.

Pl. XXIV, the Erechtheum from the north peristyle of the Parthenon; pl. XXV, the North Portico (PLATE LIV, 2); both plates are dated "19 Oct. 1843."

The text is of no independent value, being avowedly derived from Beulé (No. 153) and the *Guide d'Orient* of Joanne and Isambert.

1868

178. AUGUST MOMMSEN. *Athenae Christianae*. Leipzig.

The Erechtheum as a church, p. 40, No. 37.

179. GEORGE LEDWELL TAYLOR. *Auto-Biography of an Octogenarian Architect*. 2 vols. London.

Erechtheum, I, p. 126, dimensions of the order of the North Portico, as measured in 1818, and a few unimportant notes. See No. 54.

1871

180. GIUSEPPE CASTELLAZZI. *Ricordi di architettura orientale, presi dal vero*. Venice.

In Athens, 1865. *Erechtheum*: pl. XIII, "Rovine del Eretheo"; pl. XIV, "Dettagli dello stesso" (both of these plates are views of the Porch of the Maidens); pl. XXVIII, "Porta a Nord dell' Eretheo."

The plates are somewhat coarse lithographs. The brief descriptive text contains little of importance.

181. JOSEF DURM. 'Aus Attika,' *Z. Bauwesen*, XXI, 1871, cols. 469-490.

Erechtheum, cols. 482, 484, 486, 487; figs. 11-13, 19, 20, 24-27. Only brief notes on details in construction.

1873

182. THOMAS HENRY DYER. *Ancient Athens: its History, Topography, and Remains*. London.

Erechtheum, pp. 138-145, the date of the Erechtheum; 414-436, description of the building and interpretation of Pausanias.

183. RICHARD PHENÉ SPIERS. "North Portico of the Erechtheum, Athens." Exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts, 1873, No. 1196.

See A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, VII, s. n.; also No. 176.

1875

184. PETER WILHELM FORCHHAMMER. *Daduchos. Einleitung in das Verständniss der hellenischen Mythen, Mythensprache, und mythischen Bauten*. Kiel.

Pp. 1 ff., brief explanation of the myth of Erechtheus according to his old theory that the characters are all divinities of moisture in some form; 129-138, application of these mythical theories to the restoration of the Erechtheum. The plan differs in many respects from that first published in *Hellenica*, I (No. 105), but the underlying principles of interpretation are the same.

1876

185. JAMES FERGUSON. 'On the Erechtheum,' *Sessional Papers R. I. B. A.*, 1875-1876, pp. 139-158, and Supplement, pp. 1-10; 3 pls.

The text of the paper, read at a meeting of the Institute, February 14, 1876, is followed by a report of the ensuing discussion, and completed by a supplement containing critical letters from P. W. Forchhammer and Louis Bernier with Fergusson's reply. The first plate is an enlarged reproduction of the "present state" of the building as drawn by Tétaz (*R. Arch.*, VIII, 1851, pl. 158); the other two plates contain Fergusson's restorations. See also Nos. 191, 193.

186. PETER WILHELM FORCHHAMMER. 'Das Erechtheum und der Tempel der Athena Polias,' *Arch. Ztg.*, XXXIV, 1876, pp. 106, 107.

Brief and clear statement of his old views.

1877

187. NOEL-MARCEL LAMBERT. "Restauration de l'Erechtheion," a manuscript, unaccompanied by drawings, in the Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-Arts, Paris.

This little memoir seems to have been written in connection with Lambert's restoration of the Acropolis. Apparently he did not prepare any separate drawings of the Erechtheum.

188. ADOLF MICHAELIS. 'Zur Periegesis der Akropolis, VII; Pausanias Wanderung durch den Tempel der Polias,' *Ath. Mitt.*, II, 1877, pp. 15-37.

The author later abandoned many of the opinions expressed in this article, in which he was much influenced by the theories of Boetticher.

1878

189. LEOPOLD JULIUS. *Ueber das Erechtheion*. Munich.

A brief description and restoration of the Erechtheum, resulting from a study of the building in Athens.

190. GEORG NIEMANN. 'The Erechtheum from the northwest' (restored), in [Otto Benndorf], *Vorlegeblätter für archäologische Uebungen*, Serie C, pl. XII.

1879

191. JAMES FERGUSON. 'Supplement to Mr. Fergusson's paper on the Erechtheum and Temple of Minerva Polias at Athens,' *Transactions R. I. B. A.*, Session 1878-1879, Appendix, pp. 218-228; pl.

A discussion of the windows in the side walls and of the niche in the southwest corner, with a theory of their functions in the proposed restoration, as well as a polemical reply to a critical letter from Michaelis, who had informed him of the existence of the windows. The plate contains a restored plan and sections. See Nos. 185, 193.

192. PETER WILHELM FORCHHAMMER. *Das Erechtheion: Festgruss und Glückwunsch dem kaiserlichen deutschen archäologischen Institut in Rom*. Kiel.

A final statement of his mythological theories and their application to the Erechtheum, with a plan closely resembling that in *Daduchos* (No. 184).

1880

193. JAMES FERGUSON. *Das Erechtheion und der Tempel der Athene Polias in Athen . . . herausgegeben von Dr. Heinrich Schliemann*. Leipzig.

A translation by Ludwig Meyer of Fergusson's two papers (Nos. 185, 191). The discussion of the first paper and the correspondence with Forchhammer and Bernier are omitted.

194. OTTO JAHN. *Pausaniae descriptio arcis Athenarum in usum scholarum edidit. Editio altera recognita ab Adolfo Michaelis. Aucta cum aliis tabulis tum forma arcis ab I. A. Kaupert descripta*. Bonn.

In this edition pls. VI, VII, and VIII are still valuable, as the restorations of the Erechtheum by Pit-takis are shown by dotted lines. See Nos. 172, 228.

195. ALEXANDER STUART MURRAY. 'The Erechtheum,' *J. H. S.*, I, pp. 224-227.

1881

196. RICHARD BORRMANN. 'Neue Untersuchungen am Erechtheion zu Athen,' *Ath. Mitt.*, VI, 1881, pp. 372-392.

An important paper which proved that the windows in the side walls belonged to the church, and did much to destroy the validity of Bötticher's reconstruction of the Greek temple.

197. JAMES FERGUSON. 'Stairs to Pandroseum at Athens,' *J. H. S.*, II, pp. 83-89.

A criticism of some points in Murray's article; see No. 195.

1882

198. ALEXANDER RIZO RANGABÉ. 'Das Erechtheion,' *Ath. Mitt.*, VII, 1882, pp. 258-273, 321-335.

A summary of a paper on the same subject, read before the Berlin Archäologische Gesellschaft, June 6, 1882, appeared in the *Berl. phil. W.*, II, 1882, col. 795.

1884

199. AUGUSTE CHOISY. *Études sur l'architecture grecque. III, L'Erechtheion d'après les pièces originales de la comptabilité des travaux.* Paris.

200. GOTTFRIED SEMPER. *Kleine Schriften.* 8vo. Berlin.

Erechtheum: pp. 109–121, "Ueber das Erechtheion"; pp. 125–172, "Die neben den Propyläen aufgefundenen Inschriften."

The first article is a German translation of a paper originally written in French, probably about 1852, and previously unprinted. It is a brief statement of the ideas developed more fully in the following article, which is a reprint of the letters in the *Deutsches Kunstblatt* (No. 160).

1885

201. HAROLD NORTH FOWLER. 'The Erechtheion at Athens,' *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, I, pp. 213–236; pls.

202. GUSTAV FRIEDRICH HERTZBERG. *Athen. Historisch-topographisch dargestellt.* Halle.

Erechtheum, pp. 122–127, 129, 227, 228. Unimportant.

203. EUGEN PETERSEN. 'Zum Erechtheion,' *Ath. Mitt.*, X, pp. 1–10.

1887

204. PETER WILHELM FORCHHAMMER. 'Akropolis, Mythologie, neueste Entdeckung eines Tempels,' *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Munich), No. 289, October 18, 1887, cols. 4257 ff.

An argument to show that the foundations (of the Hecatompedon) recently discovered did not belong to a temple, but enclosed a system of cisterns (the Cecropium), and that all the discoveries in and about the Erechtheum since 1837 had confirmed his theories. See Dörpfeld's reply, No. 205.

205. WILHELM DÖRPFELD. *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Munich), No. 315, November 13, 1887, Beilage.

A conclusive reply to the questions and arguments of Forchhammer; see No. 204.

1888

206. FRIEDRICH BAUMGARTEN. *Ein Rundgang durch die Ruinen Athens.* Leipzig.

Erechtheum, pp. 44–55.

This little book is a corrected edition of the *Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums*, Werthheim, 1887.

207. ADOLF BOETTICHER. *Die Akropolis von Athen nach den Berichten der Alten und den neuesten Erforschungen.* Berlin.

Erechtheum, pp. 17, 18, 214–235, including (pp. 229, 230) an adverse criticism of the Porch of the Maidens by the architect, R. Redtenbacher.

208. TALFORD ELY. 'The Temples of Athena,' *The Antiquary*, XVIII, 1888, pp. 233–236.

A summary, with a brief criticism, of the earlier theories of Dörpfeld.

209. FRANCIS CRANMER PENROSE. *An Investigation of the Principles of Athenian Architecture.* New and enlarged edition. London.

Erechtheum, ch. XIII, pp. 88–97; pls. XLI–XLV.

There was no discussion of the Erechtheum in the first edition. Penrose gave most of his attention to the careful measurement of architectural details and refinements; in his restoration of the building he followed Fergusson, and consequently erred in many respects.

1889

210. H. G. LOLLING. *Hellenische Landeskunde* (Müller, *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, III, B, 1). Nördlingen.

Erechtheum, pp. 349–351. See No. 245.

211. ADOLF MICHAELIS. 'Die Zeit des Neubaus des Poliastempels,' *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, pp. 349-366.

See Ch. V, p. 454.

1890

212. JANE ELLEN HARRISON AND MARGARET DE G. VERRALL. *The Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens. Being a translation of a portion of the "Attica" of Pausanias by Margaret de G. Verrall, with introductory essay and archaeological commentary by Jane E. Harrison.* 8vo. London.

Erechtheum, pp. 481-496, 511-513.

The description of the building and the interpretation of Pausanias follow in general the theories of Dörpfeld.

1891

213. ROBERT WEIR SCHULTZ; ERNEST A. GARDNER. 'The North Doorway of the Erechtheum,' *J. H. S.*, XII, 1891, pp. 1-16; 3 pls.

A paper read before the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, February 23, 1891 (*J.H.S.*, XII, pp. xxviii f., *Athenaeum*, 1891, p. 284). Pp. 14-16, 'Note on the Evidence from the Inscription,' by E. A. Gardner.

See Chap. I, pp. 98 ff.

214. SIDNEY H. BARNSLEY. Supplementary Note to Schultz's paper, *ibid.*, pp. 381-383.

1892

215. SERGIUS ANDREIEVITCH IVANOFF. *Architektonische Studien, I, herausgegeben von Richard Bohn.* Text and Atlas. Berlin.

In Athens, 1857-1858. *Erechtheum*: pls. VII-XIV, careful measured drawings, including east, west, and north elevations, and numerous architectural details; pl. XXIV, 2, outline sketch from the southwest.

The text, in Russian and German, contains no information about the Erechtheum.

216. ARTHUR HAMILTON SMITH. *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum.* London.

Erechtheum, I, pp. 231-238, Nos. 407-420.

1893

217. ADOLF FURTWÄNGLER. *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik.* Berlin.

Erechtheum, pp. 192-207. See No. 220.

218. W. SCHULTZ. *Werkmass und Zahlenverhältnisse griechischer Tempel (Erechtheion zu Athen und Athene-Tempel auf Aegina).* Hanover.

Cols. 7-15, an argument directed against Dörpfeld's determination of the length of the Attic foot; cols. 22-39, a discussion of the proportions of the Erechtheum to prove the foot equal to 0.3085 m.; cols. 58, 61, summary of conclusions.

1895

219. JOSEF DURM. 'Der Zustand der antiken Athenischen Bauwerke,' reprinted from *Centralblatt für Bauverwaltung*, XV, 1895.

Erechtheum, pp. 14-16.

220. ADOLF FURTWÄNGLER. *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture. A Series of Essays on the History of Art, edited by Eugénie Sellers.* London.

Erechtheum, pp. 432-442. See No. 217.

1896

221. HERMANN LUCKENBACH. *Die Akropolis von Athen*. Munich.
Erechtheum, pp. 17–23, with plates. See No. 246.

1897

222. HECTOR D'ESPOUY. *Fragments d'architecture antique d'après les relevés et restaurations des anciens pensionnaires de l'Académie de France à Rome*, I. Paris.
Pl. 10, Plan of "present state," Lambert; north elevation and section (restored); North Portico from north, Tétaz; pls. 11–13, Details of the North Portico, Ginain; pls. 14–15, Details of the Porch of the Maidens, Brune and Ginain; pl. 16, Details of the anta, Tétaz; pl. 17, Details of the North Door, Ginain. See No. 263.
There is no date on the title-page, but the volume was deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1897.

1898

223. SIR JAMES GEORGE FRAZER. *Pausanias's Description of Greece. Translated with a Commentary*. 6 vols. London.
Erechtheum, I, pp. 38–40; II, pp. 330–344, pl.; V, pp. 513, 514.

1899

224. ARTHUR STODDARD COOLEY. 'Athena Polias on the Acropolis of Athens,' *A. J. A.*, III, 1899, pp. 345–408.
A practically complete collection of Greek references to the cult of Athena on the Acropolis, together with a discussion of the "Old Temple."

225. ARTHUR MILCHHÖFER. *Ueber die alten Burgheilighümer in Athen*. Kiel.
See No. 234.

1900

226. JOHN HENRY MIDDLETON. *Plans and Drawings of Athenian Buildings . . . edited by E. A. Gardner*. (The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies; *Supplementary Papers*, III). London.
Erechtheum, pp. 12–14; pls. 9–17.
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227. MARTIN P. NILSSON. 'The σχῆμα τριαινῆς in the Erechtheum,' *J. H. S.*, XXI, 1900, pp. 325–333.

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1901

228. OTTO JAHN ET ADOLF MICHAELIS. *Arx Athenarum a Pausania descripta in usum Scholarum ediderunt*, etc. *Editio tertia Actis Arcis et fasciculo tabularum aucta*. Bonn.
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1902

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Pp. 401, 414, 415, a brief statement of his reasons for dating the commencement of the Erechtheum in 437 B.C. See Ch. V, p. 455.
230. ERNEST ARTHUR GARDNER. *Ancient Athens*. London and New York.
Erechtheum, pp. 235–239, 353–372.

231. SPYRIDION LAMBROS. 'Notes from Athens,' *Athenaeum* (London), 1902, No. 3891, p. 665.
Summary of the project for the restoration of the Erechtheum. See No. 236.
232. ADOLF MICHAELIS. 'ΑΡΧΑΙΟΣ ΝΕΩΣ. Die alten Athenatempel der Akropolis von Athen,' *Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, pp. 1-31.
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234. ARTHUR MILCHHÖFER. 'Nachträgliche Betrachtungen über die drei Athenaheilighümer auf der Akropolis von Athen,' *Philologus*, LXI, 1902, pp. 441-446.
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235. EUGEN PETERSEN. 'Die Erechtheion-Periegeese des Pausanias,' *Jb. Arch. I.*, XVII, 1902, pp. 59-64.
A criticism of some of the views expressed in the first article by Michaelis (No. 232).
236. ROBERT WEIR SCHULTZ. *Athenaeum* (London), 1902, No. 3896, pp. 825, 826.
A vigorous protest against the projected restoration of the Erechtheum. See No. 231.

1902-1909

237. Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας. Athens.
Reports on the progress of the restoration of the Erechtheum in 1902, p. 33; 1903, pp. 25, 59-62; 1904, p. 16; 1907, pp. 64, 125-128, pl.; 1908, pp. 56, 224-226, pl.; 1909, p. 59.

1903

238. WILHELM DÖRPFELD. 'Zum Erechtheion,' *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1903, pp. 465-469.
An announcement of the discovery by Balanos of the opening in the roof of the North Portico; see Ch. I, pp. 89ff.
239. KARL HACHTMANN. *Die Akropolis von Athen im Zeitalter des Perikles (Gymnasial-Bibliothek, 35)*. Leipzig.
Erechtheum, pp. 28-37. Unimportant.

1904

240. 'Die Dreizackmal des Poseidon im Erechtheion,' *Berl. phil. W.*, XXIV, 1904, cols. 542, 543.
An anonymous summary of Dörpfeld's note in *Ath. Mitt.* (No. 238).
241. WILHELM DÖRPFELD. 'Der ursprüngliche Plan des Erechtheions,' *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIX, 1904, pp. 101-107.
See Ch. V, pp. 458 f.
242. ADOLF FURTWÄGLER. 'Zu den Tempeln der Akropolis von Athen,' *Sitzb. Münch. Akad.*, 1904, pp. 370-383.
243. [ROBERT] REINHARDT. 'Der ursprüngliche Plan des Erechtheion nach W. Dörpfeld. Vom architektonischen und künstlerischen Standpunkt betrachtet,' *Süd-deutsche Bauzeitung*, XIV, 1904, pp. 393-396.
A criticism of Dörpfeld's theory (No. 241), with elevations showing the building restored according to Dörpfeld. A new (and untenable) restoration is also proposed and illustrated.

1905

244. HERMANN FREERICKS. *Die drei Athenatempel der Akropolis*. [Programm] Münster.
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245. WALTHER JUDEICH. *Die Topographie von Athen*. (Müller, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, III, 2, ii). Munich.

Erechtheum, pp. 243–253. See also No. 210.

246. HERMANN LUCKENBACH. *Die Akropolis von Athen*. Second edition, enlarged. Munich.

Erechtheum, pp. 27–33; figs. 42–51. See No. 221.

1906

247. GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS. 'The East Wall of the Erechtheum,' *A. J. A.*, X, 1906, pp. 47–71.

See Ch. I, pp. 30 ff.

1907

248. MITCHELL CARROLL. *The Attica of Pausanias*. Boston.

Erechtheum, pp. 286–289, Excursus XI.

249. EUGEN PETERSEN. *Die Burgtempel der Athenaia*. Berlin.

Erechtheum: IV, pp. 61–93, "Erechtheus-Poseidon"; V, pp. 93–112, "Das neue Erechtheion"; VI, pp. 112–140, "Die Cella der Polias"; pp. 141–146, a summary of the conclusions.

1908

250. LACEY DAVIS CASKEY AND BERT HODGE HILL. 'The Metopon in the Erechtheum,' *A. J. A.*, XII, 1908, pp. 184–197.

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251. MARTIN LUTHER D'OOGHE. *The Acropolis of Athens*. New York and London.

Erechtheum, pp. 195–227, 310–311 (the church), 352 (Pausanias).

252. AUGUST FRICKENHAUS. 'Das Athenabild des alten Tempels in Athen,' *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIII, 1908, pp. 17–33.

253. AUGUST FRICKENHAUS. 'Erechtheus,' *ibid.*, pp. 171–176.

254. W. R. LETHABY. *Greek Buildings represented by Fragments in the British Museum*. London.

Erechtheum, pp. 158–171. Construction of the Ionic volute, pp. 205–207.

255. EUGEN PETERSEN. *Athen (Berühmte Kunststädte, 11)*. Leipzig.

Erechtheum, pp. 97–116. A brief statement of the views defended in his *Burgtempel der Athenaia* (No. 249), without argument or citation of authorities.

1909

256. EUGEN PETERSEN. 'Hekatompedon,' *Klio*, IX, 1909, pp. 229–247.

A reply to the criticisms of his *Burgtempel der Athenaia* (No. 249) by G. Körte (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1908, pp. 837 ff.) and A. Frickenhaus (No. 252).

1910

257. DANIEL BAUD-BOVY ET FRÉDÉRIC BOISSONNAS. *En Grèce, par monts et par vaux; avec préface par Th. Homolle et des notices archéologiques par G. Nicole*. Geneva.

Erechtheum, pp. 152, 153.

258. BERT HODGE HILL. 'Structural Notes on the Erechtheum,' *A. J. A.*, XIV, 1910, pp. 291–297.

See Ch. IV, Inscriptions XIII, col. i; XVII, col. ii; Commentary, pp. 410 f.

1911

259. LACEY DAVIS CASKEY. 'Die Baurechnung des Erechtheion für das Jahre 409/8 vor Chr.,' *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, pp. 317–343.

See Ch. IV, pp. 322 ff.

260. WILHELM DÖRPFELD. 'Zu den Bauwerken Athens: Erechtheion und alter Tempel,' *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, pp. 39-49.

A defence of his views against the criticisms of Petersen (No. 248).

261. ADOLF STRUCK. *Griechenland, I, Athen und Attika*. Vienna.

Erechtheum, pp. 53, 56, 58, 61, 62, 73, 74 (these passages refer to the later history), 95-100, 140; not important.

1912

262. GEORGE W. ELDERKIN. *Problems in Periclean Buildings (Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology, II)*. Princeton.

Ch. II, pp. 13-18, "An interpretation of the Caryatid Porch"; III, pp. 19-48, "The Erechtheum as built"; IV, pp. 49-58, "The Erechtheum as planned."

263. HECTOR D'ESPOUY ET GEORGES SEURE. *Monuments antiques, relevés et restaurés par les architectes pensionnaires de l'Académie de France à Rome. Notices archéologiques par G. Seure. (Publication de l'Institut de France, éditée sous le direction de H. d'Espouy.)*

Vol. I. "Section Seconde; Athènes; I, Acropole, D, Erechthéion. Envoi de Tétaz (1848)." Brief text, p. 10; pls. 36-41, reproducing eleven of the first twelve drawings of Tétaz (No. 132). The drawings of details are published in part in *Fragments antiques* (No. 222).

264. GUSTAVE FOUGÈRES. *Athènes (Les Villes d'Art célèbres)*. Paris.

Erechtheum, pp. 95-104.

1913

265. WILHELM DÖRPFELD. 'Die Beleuchtung der griechischen Tempel,' *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Architektur*, VI, 1913, pp. 9, 12 f.

The windows in the east and west ends of the Erechtheum and their purpose.

266. CHARLES HEALD WELLER. *Athens and its Monuments*. 8vo. London and New York.

Erechtheum, pp. 311-340.

1916

267. MAXIME COLLIGNON. 'L'Emplacement du Cécropion à l'Acropole d'Athènes,' *Mém. Acad. Insc.*, XLI, 1916, pp. 1-17; 3 pls.

See Ch. I, p. 127, note 2.

268. ARTHUR HAMILTON SMITH. 'Lord Elgin and his Collection,' *J. H. S.*, XXXVI, 1916, pp. 163-372.

For the references to the Erechtheum see App. A, XVI.

1919

269. WILHELM DÖRPFELD. 'Das Hekatompedon in Athen,' *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXXIV, 1919, pp. 1-39; 3 pls.

A full statement of his latest views regarding the "Old Temple" and the route of Pausanias on the Acropolis, with incidental references to the history and form of the Erechtheum.

1921

270. WILHELM DÖRPFELD. 'Zum ursprünglichen Plane des Erechtheions. Eine Entgegnung,' *Jb. kl. Alt.*, XLVII, 1921, pp. 433-439.

A reply to the criticisms of Rodenwaldt (No. 271).

271. GERHART RODENWALDT. 'Die Form des Erechtheions,' *Jb. kl. Alt.*, XLVII, 1921, pp. 1-13; plan; 2 pls.

A criticism of Dörpfeld's theory as to the original plan of the Erechtheum (No. 241).

272. CHARLES HEALD WELLER. 'The Original Plan of the Erechtheum,' *A. J. A.*, XXV, 1921, pp. 130-141.

A criticism and rejection of Dörpfeld's theory (No. 241).

1923

273. G. A. S. SNIJDER. 'De tempel van Roma en Augustus en het Erechtheum op de Acropolis te Athene,' *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, III, 1923, pp. 73-112; 11 figs. on 7 pls.

Also a summary in French, 'Sur le Temple de Rome et Auguste et l'Erechthéion sur l'Acropole d'Athènes,' *R. Arch.*, XIX, 1924, pp. 223-226.

1924

274. GEORGE W. ELDERKIN. *Kantharos: Studies in Dionysiac and Kindred Cults (Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology, XII)*. Princeton.

Chap. X, pp. 77-79, "A possible Allusion to the Erechtheion in the *Peace* of Aristophanes."

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275. LEICESTER BODINE HOLLAND. 'Erechtheum Papers,' *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 1-23, 142-169, 402-434; 2 pls.

I, "The Remains of the Pre-Erechtheum" (pp. 1-23); II, "The Strong House of Erechtheus" (pp. 142-169); III, "The Post-Persian Revision" (pp. 402-425); IV, "The Building called the Erechtheum" (pp. 425-434).

1925

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1926

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ADDITIONAL NOTES

I. THE SUPPORTS OF THE TRANSVERSE BEAM. (Page 154)

There is some evidence which suggests that the corbels on the side walls not only supported the lower ends of wooden struts but also carried marble pilasters beneath the transverse beam (Fig. 235) and thus on the line of the later Roman cross-wall (p. 156). This evidence is contained in the cuttings for the clamps and dowels which held the blocks in courses 2 and 3 of the north wall.

As has been already pointed out (p. 50; Fig. 32), on the inside of the wall these two courses are composed of thin blocks, which mask the ends of the beams and interbeams in the ceiling of the North Portico. The facing blocks in course 2 were held to these beams and interbeams by **—** clamps running north and south. Of the four cuttings for these clamps now visible (PLATE XI; Fig. 55), the two easternmost (in the first interbeam and the second beam) secured a block about five Attic feet long, if we may judge from the spacing of the clamps, which are about three Attic feet apart with the first clamp about one foot from the eastern joint (PLATE XI). The block, therefore, ended

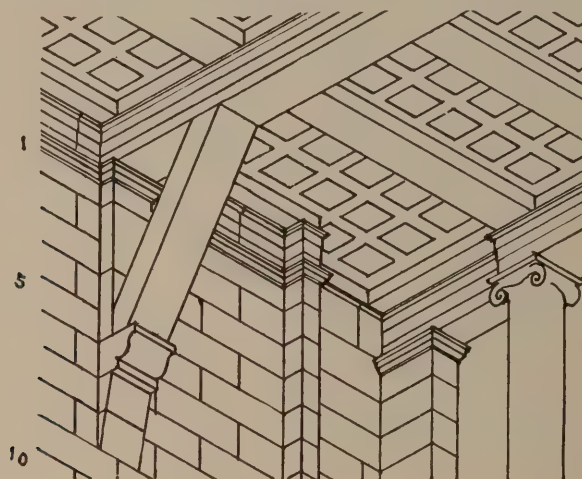


FIGURE 235. ALTERNATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF
SUPPORTS OF TRANSVERSE BEAM: ISOMETRIC

at the east edge of the later cross-wall, that is, at the east edge of the hypothetical pilaster, instead of about one foot farther east, in line with the joints in courses 6, 8, 10, etc. (PLATE XV). The other two clamp cuttings are both in the second interbeam. The eastern one is not perpendicular to the face of the wall but runs obliquely from northwest to southeast, so that the projecting southern end of the clamp must have been very close to the axis of the later cross-wall. It is, therefore, properly placed to hold a block in the position assumed for the pilaster. The oblique cutting is due to the joint between the interbeam and the beam on the east, which prevented the northern half of the clamp from being set on the axis of the pilaster. The western clamp in this interbeam very probably held a block ending at the west edge of the pilaster. The blocks in course 3 were held by dowels in course 4, and the cuttings for these dowels (PLATE XI), which mark the position of the vertical joints in course 3, show plainly that one of these joints fell at the west edge of the Roman cross-wall, instead of on its axis as the normal jointing of the wall requires (PLATE XV).

It is clear, therefore, that in both courses, 2 and 3, the vertical jointing beneath the great beam did not correspond to that in the courses below. Such an irregularity is inexplicable, if the surface

of the wall was here visible, but is easily understood, if at this point a block two courses high, forming a pilaster, was set into the wall. Such a construction was obviously preferable to clamping the pilaster to the face of the relatively thin blocks of sheathing.

The face of course 4 yields no evidence as to the presence of the pilaster, for it has been cut away to receive the Roman cross-wall, and the end of the inserted block is still in place (PLATE XI; Fig. 98). In course 5 the traces of anathyrosis already mentioned (p. 154) show that here the pilaster was applied to the face of the wall, and not inset. The absence of clamp cuttings in the top of this course suggests, however, that this block of the pilaster, like that above, was two courses high and was secured by clamps in the top of course 4. As thus restored the pilaster resembles the north anta of the West Façade, where two blocks, each two courses high, correspond to courses 2 to 5 of the north wall (Fig. 39).¹

Since the four upper courses of the south wall have been reconstructed without reference to the original position of the blocks, which indeed could not be determined, they now afford no evidence as to the existence of the pilaster on this wall, but the slight countersinking with traces of anathyrosis in course 5 (p. 154) indicates that here, as on the north wall, the lower part of the pilaster was applied, not inset.

In the present condition of the epicranitis on the north wall (p. 51; Figs. 32, 34, 55), it is impossible to determine whether the capital of the pilaster was inset, or applied to the face of the wall like the capital of the west anta of the Porch of the Maidens (PLATE XXVII, 7).

If this restoration is accepted, as the evidence just presented seems to warrant, it is clear that the proof of the presence of struts, derived from the anathyrosis in course 5 on both the north and south walls (p. 154), disappears; but in view of the position of the purlins in the roof over the western rooms (p. 76; Fig. 49), and of the obvious desirability of additional support to a beam having so great a span and under so heavy a strain, it is surely reasonable to assume that such struts were employed (Fig. 235), even though no definite traces of their use can now be detected.

[J. M. P.; G. P. S.]

II. THE DATE OF INSCRIPTION I. (Page 280)

From the text of this decree we learn only that it dealt with a temple requiring the services of an architect, and when we divorce it from the tradition which connects it with the Erechtheum and from the restorations which have been prompted by the tradition, all certainty disappears. It may be the decree moved by Epigenes to which reference is made in Inscription II, l. 5, but it can just as well be another decree relating to the Erechtheum. In fact there is no reason for connecting it with the Erechtheum at all, for it may relate to any building enterprise, either large or small, in which Athens was engaged at the time.

The only clue to its date, aside from the character of the lettering (which seems much earlier than 409/8 B.C.), is found in the name of the epistates. Smikythos presided. While the name is not exactly rare, it is not one of the more usual ones, and when we find a Smikythos referred to in the *Knights* of Aristophanes (969), a play which was produced in the spring of 424 B.C., and a Smikythos secretary of the Treasurers of Athena in 424/3 B.C. (*I. G.*, I², 241, 242), the question immediately arises whether there were two men of this name prominent in public life during the period of the Peloponnesian War.

A third contemporary reference to a Smikythos makes him the father of one of the epistatai in charge of the statues of the Hephaesteum (*I. G.*, I², 370), and there can be little doubt that this

¹ The block now in courses 2 and 3 of the anta is modern, but the drawings of Dalton and Page (PLATES L, 2; LII, 3) show that the original block was two courses high.

Apolexis was one of the 30 syngrapheis of 411 B.C. (Harpocration, s. v. Ἀπόληξις = FCG II, 664; cf. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 29), an opponent of Antiphon after the rule of the Four Hundred in 411/10 B.C. (*ibid.* s. v. στασιώτης). One need not hesitate to identify the treasurer of 424 B.C. with the father of Apolexis, for the offices held by the two men class them as men of wealth with a fondness for political life. It is of course unlikely that the relationship should be reversed, and that the Apolexis prominent in 411 B.C. should have been the father of the Smikythos of 424 B.C.

Accepting this identification we learn that the deme of Smikythos was Iphistiadai of the tribe Acamantis. At this point in our investigation we turn to a decree of 427/6 B.C., which was passed in the prytany of Acamantis when —thos presided. Now names ending in —thos are very rare, so rare that it is not difficult to believe that the epistates of *I. G.* I², 111 was the —thos of *I. G.* I², 60; and as the prytanizing tribe is that of Apolexis, the son of Smikythos, our identifications become the more probable. It follows then that the "Erechtheum decree" is to be assigned to the prytany of Acamantis in 427/6 B.C., a date which is much more satisfactory than 410/09 B.C. in view of the fact that the political activity of Smikythos is dated during the period of the Archidamian War, while that of his son, beginning soon after the last recorded office of his father, lasted at least until 411/10 B.C.

Thus although certainty is impossible, it seems best to dissociate Inscription I from the Erechtheum and to associate it with building activity during the first years of the war.

[A. B. WEST]

III. INSCRIPTION XXIX. (Page 422)

Information regarding the following additional fragment of the building inscriptions was furnished by W. B. Dinsmoor in September, 1926.

XXIX. Fragment, 0.085 m. high, 0.19 m. wide, 0.038 m. thick. Broken at the right, at the bottom, and at the back; original top and left edge preserved. *Stoichedon*. In the National Museum.

Lolling, *Δελτίον Ἀρχ.* 1888, p. 118, No. 2. Assigned by Lolling to the Erechtheum, but since overlooked. Brought to the attention of Professor Dinsmoor by Professors Adolf Wilhelm and A. B. West.

Facsimile, Figure 236.

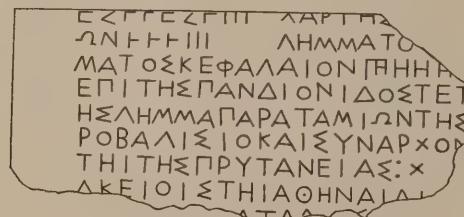


FIGURE 236. INSCRIPTION XXIX

es . . es ἙΙΙΙ. χάρτης [εἰς ἐγγραφὴν ἀντιγράφ-
ων ἙΙΙΙΙ. λήμματο[ς καὶ σύμπαντος ἀναλώ-
ματος κεφάλαιον ἙΗΗΗ[.
ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονίδος τετ[άρτης πρυτανεύσ-
5 ης, λήμμα παρὰ ταμιῶν τῆς [θεῶ, παρὰ Φιλίππο Π-
ροβαλίσιο καὶ συναρχόν[των
τῇ τῆς πρυτανείας :Χ [εἰς θυσίαν τοῖς Ἀν-
ακείοις τῇ Ἀθηναίαι [.
. ατα . . σ [.

- — — — Paper for inscribing the copies,
 3 drachmae, 3 obols. Sum total of receipts and
 expenditures, 800(+) drachmae. — — — —
 In the fourth prytany, that of Pandionis,
 5 received from the treasurers of the goddess, Philippos
 of Probalinthos and his fellow magistrates, on the ———
 day of the prytany, 1000 drachmae. For a sacrifice
 to Athena at the Anakeia — — — —

On this fragment Professor Dinsmoor has supplied the following commentary.

The new fragment is written in Ionic letters, as is the case in XXVII and XXVIII; but the letters themselves are much larger and betray a conscious attempt to imitate the letters of 408/7 B.C. The entries also are of the same character as those of 408/7 B.C. But the width of the column, instead of being about 0.208 m., was 0.277 m. and thus resembled fragments XXVII and XXVIII. For the inscription may be restored with 35 letters to the line, and is perfectly *stoichedon*, with a letter spacing of 0.008 m., so that the width of the column would be $34 \times 0.008 + 0.005 = 0.277$ m. At the left edge is an excessively wide margin of 0.028 m.; assuming that the other margins were 0.012–0.013 m., as in the earlier series, and that there were three rather than four columns to the slab, we obtain for the width of the slab 0.896 m., exactly as in the accounts of 408/7 B.C. And that the slab belongs to the same series is obvious from its appearance; it was evidently of the same thickness, about 0.10 m., and was fastened in the same manner by two dowels on the top and two on the bottom; one such dowel remains, 0.065 m. long and 0.043 m. deep, 0.068 m. from the left edge of the stone and 0.038 m. from the face. The top of the stone forms a polished bed, as in the other slabs; the left edge is also polished and so might have been exposed, but on the analogy of the other slabs we must assume that it was concealed in a joint. The height of the slab was probably the usual 0.958 m., and we must assume that it formed part of the middle or lower tier of the series of three, erected as revetment before it was inscribed; for the horizontal joint at the top cuts exactly through the middle of a line of lettering.

With the knowledge that there were 35 letters in each line, it is obvious that the gap between ΘΕΟ (l. 5) and the demotic of the chairman of the board of Treasurers contained eleven letters; and, since it is certain that the fragment must be dated almost immediately after 408/7 B.C., we are justified in restoring *παρὰ Φίλιππο*, repeating *παρὰ* on the analogy of the seventh and ninth prytanies in 408/7 B.C., and taking the name from the inventory of the pronaos of the Parthenon which can be assigned to 407/6 B.C.¹ It is true that Philippos of Probalinthos is not specifically

¹ *I. G. I*², 255 is assigned to 407/6 B.C. in both editions of the *Corpus*. Probably, however, only the second paragraph of *I. G. I*², 255, containing the names of the ten Treasurers who handed over the treasures to the Hellenotamiae of the following year (the archonship of Callias, 406/5 B.C.), actually dates from 407/6 B.C. The preceding paragraph, separated from that below by an empty gap of 0.10 m., would preferably date from 408/7 B.C., when, as we know from the Erechtheum accounts of that year, Aresaichmos of Agryle was chairman of the Treasurers; by some error of the stone-cutter the prescript of the inscription was omitted. Then *I. G. I*², 254, which is cut on the same stele with a gap of 0.075 m. separating it from the first paragraph of *I. G. I*², 255, should date from 409/8 B.C.; it could not by any possibility date from 408/7 B.C., the date to which it is assigned in both editions of the *Corpus*, because of the discrepancy between the names of the chairmen of the Treasurers, Φι— — — of ——— in *I. G. I*², 254, and Aresaichmos of Agryle in the Erechtheum accounts (XVII, col. i, l. 28; col. ii, l. 25). The assignment of *I. G. I*², 254, to 409/8 B.C. seems to be confirmed, furthermore, by the traces of the name of the chairman of the succeeding Treasurers to whom the treasures were handed over, the name having ten letters with faint traces of what seem to be P and E for the second and third, so that the restoration *Ἀρεσαίχμοι* is perfectly possible (the restoration Καλλι in the *Corpus* is pure hypothesis), while the deme in question is Agryle. Thus the stele (Nat. Mus. 6774) would have contained the inventories of 409/8, of 408/7 (with the prescript omitted), and the statement of 407/6 whereby the Treasurers handed over their charge to the Hellenotamiae of 406/5 B.C. The dating of Philippos of Probalinthos and his colleagues as of 407/6 B.C. is thereby confirmed.

mentioned as the chairman of this board of Treasurers, all ten being named in the order of their tribes; but from the fact that he is so designated in the Erechtheum fragment XXIX, we may infer that if the Parthenon inventory of this year had followed the usual formula, he alone would have been mentioned.

Because of the fact that the official title for the year 408/7 B.C. was symmetrically located with reference to the four slabs in each tier, it is probable that the right half of the fourth slab would have been left vacant and that the accounts of the following year (with a greater width of column) would have been begun on an independent fifth row of slabs. Fragment XXIX formed the left edge of this fifth row, column XV of the entire inscription; and, since it is from the end of the third prytany and the beginning of the fourth, we must place it well down in the column, at the top of the lowest tier of slabs. Probably these accounts of 407/6 B.C. occupied only the three columns (XV–XVII) on the fifth row of slabs; for the building was practically complete and the work was of a trivial nature, with total expenses of only 800 (+) and 1000 drachmae in two prytanies, as contrasted with 1790 $\frac{7}{12}$, 4302 $\frac{1}{6}$, 1239 $\frac{1}{6}$, and 2400 (+) drachmae in four successive prytanies of the second half of the preceding year.

INDICES

INDICES

I. THE FRAGMENTS OF THE FRIEZE

In the Acropolis Museum

Museum Number	Number in Chapter III	Museum Number	Number in Chapter III	Museum Number	Number in Chapter III	Museum Number	Number in Chapter III
284	58	1229	67	1280	108	2818	73
1071	77	1234	12	1281	82	2819	76 lower part
1072	13	1235	106	1282	107	2820	86
1073	66	1236*	p. 276	1283	44	2821	88 (see 1208)
1074	6	1236a	A	1284	15	2822	1
1075	84	1236b	105	1285	19	2825	4
1076	85	1237	11	1286	35	2826	40
1077	78	1238	10	1287a	41	2829	75
1078	87	1239	18	1287b	96	2830	} 8
1133	109	1239a	F	1288	49	2830a	
1169	H	1240	31	1290	2	2832	50
1195	64	1241	33	1291	5	2833	36
1196	92	1242	91	1292	55	2834	37
1197	69	1244	34	1293	83	2836	65
1198	80	1245	76 upper part	1294	3	2837	22
1199	20	1246	38	1295	16	2839	32
1200	68	1247	53	1296	9	2842	29
1201	48	1248	62	1297	81	2843	25
1202	28	1249	27	1298	42	2844	74
1203	52	1250	26	1299	70	3143	G
1204	90	1251	79	1300	7	3277	101
1205	54	1255	89	1301	I	3309	14
1206	71	1261	39	1302	43	4225	J
1208	88 (see 2821)	1262	93	1304	21	4861	97
1209	23	1263	B	1305	47	[4865]	102 (see p. 266)
1216	72	1266	C	1306	45	3437†	59
1217	95	1269	E	1307	17	3438	60
1220	51	1270	24	2286 (?)	p. 276	3439	61
1221	46	1271	100	2473	99		
1227	30	1275	63	2627	94		

No inventory number: 56, 57, 102 (old 4865), D, K.

In the Berlin Museum: 103, 104, 110, 111, L.

In the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England: 98.

In Sir John Soane's Museum, London: 112.

* Not frieze.

† The last three numbers are those of the inventory of the National Museum, Athens (see p. 258).

II. PROPER NAMES IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

- 'Α — — — —, XI, 1, 32; III, 9; XVII, II, 71.
 'Αγαθάνορ, XX, II, 3. —, 'Αλοπεκῆσι οἰκ., XVI, 1, 5; XVII, II, 6.
 'Αγγελῆθεν, XXVII, 12.
 'Αγόρανδρος, ἐν Κολλυτῶι οἰκ., XVII, II, 74.
 'Αγρυλῆθεν, II, 2; XIII, I, 57, 65; XV, XVI, p. 378; XVII, I, 28 (Ἀγρυλῆθεν); II, 9, 26.
 'Αγρυλῆσι, VIIA, 3, 5, 6, 12, 16; X, II, 23; XIII, I, 11, 20, 26. Ἀγρυλῆσι, XVII, I, 11, 51, 88.
 'Αδόνιδος, ἐμ Μελίτει οἰκ., XVII, II, 36, 43.
 'Αθenaίαι, XVII, II, 29; XXIX, 8.
 Αἰγεῖδος, XVII, II, 24.
 Αἰγιναῖα, IX, 9. Αἰγιναῖο, VIIA, 13, 37.
 Αἰσχίνες, XIV, I, p. 384; XVII, I, 38 (Ἡαισχίνες), 75 (Αἰσχίνης); II, 59.
 'Αλεξίο, ἄρχοντας, XXVIII, 26.
 'Αλκίππο, X, II, 22.
 'Αλοπεκῆθεν, XI, II, 21; XIV, I, p. 382; XVII, I, 66 (ῆθεν); II, 49.
 'Αλοπεκῆσι, VIIA, 23, 26, 28; XIII, I, 2; II, 5; XIV, I, 3; XVI, I, 6; XVII, I, 15 (Ἡαλοπεκῆσι), 42, 50, 78, 86; II, 6, 60; XXVII ('Αλωπε.), 5, 8.
 'Αμεινιάδες, ἐν Κοίλει οἰκ., XIV, I, p. 384 (Ἡαμεινιάδες); XVII, I, 37 (Ἡαμεινιάδες), 74; II, 57. Ἡαμεινιάδο, XIV, I, 1; XVII, I, 40, 76; II, 58 ('Αμεινιάδο). 'Αμεινιάδει, X, I, 22, 24, 28, 32; II, 30.
 'Αρακείους, XXIX, 7.
 'Ανδρέαι, ἐμ Μελίτει οἰκ., XIII, I, 9.
 Ἡαντίδοτος, XVII, I, 52, 89.
 'Αντιφάνες, XX, II, 6; XXIII, 5. —, ἐκ Κεραμέων, XVII, I, 6.
 'Απολλοδόροι, XIII, II, 29, 35. —, ἐμ Μελίτει οἰκ., XIII, I, 12.
 'Αρεσαίχμο, 'Αγρυλῆθεν, XIII, I, 64; XVII, I, 28; II, 25.
 'Αριστ — —, XXIII, 7.
 'Αριστῶνα, 'Αλωπε., XXVII, 5.
 'Αρχιλόχος, 'Αγρυλῆθεν, ἄρχιτέκτον, XV, XVI, p. 378; 'Αρχιλόχοι, XIII, I, 56; XVII, II, 9.
 'Αχαρνεύς, II, 3. 'Αχαρνεῖ, XI, III, 7, 20.
 'Αχαιοπίεθος, XIII, I, 18; XIV, I, 5; XVII (Ἡαχαιοπίεθος), I, 44, 81. 'Αχαιοπίεθι, ἐμ Μελίτει οἰκ., X, II, 11, 16.
 Βροσυνίδες, Κεφισιεύς, II, 1.
 Γέρυς, XIV, I, p. 384; XVII, I, 73; II, 55. Γέρυι, IX, 25; XI, III, 29.
 Γλαύκο, XVII, I, 53, 89.
 Δε]μαγάθοι (?) Χσνπεταῖονι, X, II, 34.
 Διο — — —, XX, II, 3.
 Διοκλῆς, XXIII, 3. Διοκλῆος, ἄρχοντας, II, 5.
 Διόνδες, Κεφισιεύς, II, 2.
 Διόνες (βομός), X, II, 43; XIV, I, p. 382; XIV, I, 9; XV, II, 3; XVII, I, 37, 65; II, 49, 64.
 Διονυσόδωρος, ἐμ Μελίτει οἰκ., XIII, I, 46; Διονυσόδωροι, XVII, II, 18.
 Δρόμον, VB, 3. Δρόμονος, X, II, 40.
 Δρωπίδης, ἐμ Μελίτει οἰκ., XXVIII, 32.
 'Ελευσινιακός, II, I, 41; IV, VA, 24. 'Ελευσινιακῶ, IV, VA, 26; VIIA, p. 326.
 'Επιγένης, I, 2 (?); II, 5; XIV, I, 6 (Ἡεπιγένης). Ἡεπιέκες, XVII, I, 46, 82; II, 62.
 'Ερεχθεῖδος, XX, I, 1.
 Ἡερχειύς, XIV, I, p. 382; XVII, I, 67; II, 50.
 'Ετέαρχος, Κυδαθηναιεύς, II, 3.
 Εὐαίνετος, XI, II, 28. — (?), 'Αλοπεκῆσι οἰκ., XIII, II, 5. Εὐαίνετοι, 'Αλοπεκῆθεν, XI, II, 21.
 Ἡεῖδικος, XVII, I, 53, 90. Εὐδίκαι, 'Αγρυλῆσι οἰκ., X, II, 23.
 Ἡεῦδοχος, 'Αλοπεκῆσι οἰκ., XVII, I, 49, 86.
 Εὐθύδομος, ἐ(ν) Σε(μαχιδόν) οἰκ., XI, I, 36. Εὐθυδόμοι, Μελιτεῖ, XI, III, 22.
 Εὐκτέμονος, ἄρχοντας, XV, XVI, p. 378.
 Ἡευμελίδες, ἐν Σκαμβονιδόν οἰκ., XVII, II, 72.
 Ἡερακλείδες, 'Οἶθεν, XIII, I, 48; XVII, II, 20. Ἡερακλείδο, XI, III, 9.
 Θαργέλιος, XIV, I, p. 384; XVII, I, 71; II, 55.
 Θεοδότοι, 'Αχαρνεῖ, XI, III, 7.
 Θευγείτον, Πειραιεύς, XIV, I, 14; XVII, I, 59; II, 67.
 Θευγένης, Πειραιεύς, XIV, I, 9. Θευγένης, XVII, I, 54; II, 64.
 Θρασωνίδηι, Κικκυνεῖ, XXVIII, 33.
 Θνεχῶ (βομός), II, I, 79; II, 95; XVII, I, 62.
 'Ιασος, XX, II, 1; XXIII, 8. Ἡίαςος, Κολλυτεύς, XVII, I, 20.
 Ἡίκaros, XIV, I, p. 382; XVII, I, 68; II, 51.
 Καρίον, XIV, I, p. 382; XVII, I, 68; II, 51.
 Κεκροπίδος, II, 6.
 Κεκροπικά, XIII, II, 24.
 Κεκροπίο, II, I, 9; XIII, II, 23. Κεκροπίοι, II, I, 59, 63, 84.
 Κεραμέων, XVII, I, 7.
 Κέρδον, XIII, I, 18; XIV, I, 3; XVII, I, 43, 79; II, 61.
 Κεττίοι, XI, III, 21.
 Κεφισιεύς, II, 2; X, II, 22; XIV, II, 10; XVII, I, 2, 10, 17. Κεφισιεύ, XXV, 5.
 Κεφισογένης, Πειραιεύς, XIV, I, 10; XVII, I, 55; II, 65.
 Κεφισόδωρος, XIII, I, 20. —, ἐν Σκαμβονιδόν οἰκ., XIV, I, 12; XVII, I, 57; II, 67. Κεφισοδῶροι, X, II, 18.
 Κικκυνεῖ, XXVIII, 34.

- Κλέων, VIII_B, 6; XVII, 1, 51, 87.
 Κο — — (ἐγ — — οἰκ.), VIII_A, 20.
 Κοίλει, X, 1, 22, 25, 28, 32; II, 18, 30; XIV, 1, p. 384; XVII, 1, 38, 75; II, 57.
 Κολλυτεύς, XVII, 1, 20; XXIII, 7.
 Κολλυτῶι, IX, 12, 16, 19, 21; XI, III, 35, 37; XIII, 1, 7, 24, 33, 40; II, 10, 15; XVI, 1, 3; II, 4; XVII, II, 75, 77, 79; XXVIII, 30.
 Κόμονι, ἐμ Μελίτει οἰκ., XI, III, 19, 33.
 Κόνονι, XIII, II, 28.
 Κροῖσος, ἐν Σκαμβονιδῶν οἰκ., XIII, 1, 18. Κροῖσοι, IX, 23; XI, III, 8, 30; XIII, 1, 8; II, 19.
 Κτέσωνι, Λακιάδει, XI, III, 27.
 Κυδαθенаиεύς, II, 3.
 Κυδαθенаиῶι, X, II, 38; XIII, 1, 17; XIV, 1, 11; XVII, 1, 57; II, 66.
 Λακιάδες, XVII, 1, 62. Λακιάδει, XI, III, 27.
 Λάοσσος, XXIII, 8. —, Ἀλοπεκῆθεν, XIV, 1, p. 382; XVII, 1, 66; II, 49. Λάοσσο, XIV, 1, p. 382; XVII, 1, 67, 68; II, 51.
 Λεοντίδος, XIII, 1, 62.
 Λυσανίας, XIV, 1, p. 384; XVII, 1, 39, 76; II, 58. Λυσανίαι, ἐγ Κυδαθенаиῶι οἰκ., X, II, 38.
 Λυσίαι, Κεφισιεύ, X, II, 22.
 Μαμμάνοι, XIII, II, 31.
 Μᾶνις, X, III, 37. Μάνιδι, ἐν Κολλυτῶι οἰκ., XIII, 1, 7, 23; II, 10, 15; XVI, II, 4; XVII, II, 76.
 Μαραθόνιος, II, 7.
 Μέδοι, ἐμ Μελίτει οἰκ., XIII, 1, 11, 26; II, 30, 35.
 Μελιτεύς, XI, III, 23.
 Μελίτει, X, II, 12, 16; XI, 1, 38; II, 30; III, 19, 22, 33, 40; XIII, 1, 10, 12, 13, 27, 47, 54; XIV, II, 12; XVII, 1, 4; II, 3, 19, 37, 40, 44, 70; XIX, 3, 8; XX, II, 2; XXVII, 2, 6, 7, 13; XXVIII, 32.
 Μικίονι, IX, 27; XI, III, 30; XXI, 2. —, ἐγ Κολλυτῶι οἰκ., XI, III, 35. —, ἐμ Μελίτει οἰκ., XI, III, 21, 40.
 Μίκον, XXIII, 4.
 Μυννίον, Ηαγρυλῆσι οἰκ., XVII, 1, 11. Μυννίωνα, ἐμ Μελίτει οἰκ., XXVII, 7.
 Νεσεῖ, ἐμ Μελίτει οἰκ., XVII, II, 2, 70.
 Νικόστρατος, XIV, 1, 14; XVII, 1, 59; II, 67; XXIII, 2. Νικοστράτο, XVII, 1, 49, 85.
 Νικοφάνες, Μαραθόνιος, II, 7.
 Ὀἶθεν, XIII, 1, 48; XVII, II, 20.
 Οἰνεῖδος, XIII, 1, 53.
 Ὀνέσιμος, XVII, 1, 48, 85 (Ηονέσιμος).
 Ποτρυνεύ, XVII, II, 11.
 Παιανιεύς, XIV, 1, p. 384; XVII, 1, 70, 71; II, 53, 54. Παιανιεύ, VIII_A, 31, 35, 40, 42; IX, 6.
 Πανδιονίδος, XVII, 1, 25; XXIX, 4.
 Πανδρόσειον, XXVIII, 36. Πανδρόσειο, II, 1, 45; II, 63, 70; VIII_A, 44; X, 1, 20; II, 27, 41; XI, III, 33.
 Παρμένον, XIV, 1, p. 382; XVII, 1, 67; II, 50.
 Πάτροκλον, Ἀλωπεκῆσι οἰκ., XXVII, 8.
 Πειθ — —, XX, 1, 4.
 Πειραιεύς, XIV, 1, 9, 10; XV, II, 1; XVII, 1, 55, 56, 60; II, 65, 68.
 Πεντελειοί, II, II, 95; Πεντελεικά, VIII_A, 8, 32; IX, 9.
 Πολυκλῆς, XX, 1, 5. —, Λακιάδες, XVII, 1, 62.
 Πραχσίας, XXIII, 6. —, ἐμ Μελίτει οἰκ., XIV, II, 12; XVII, 1, 3.
 Πρέπον, Ἀγρυλῆσι οἰκ., XIII, 1, 19. Πρέποντι, XIII, 1, 10, 25; II, 29, 35.
 Προβαλισίο, XXIX, 5.
 Προστομαῖοι, II, 1, 71.
 Πυργίονι, XIII, 1, 58; XVII, II, 10.
 Ραυδίοι, ἐγ Κολλυτῶι οἰκ., IX, 12, 16, 19, 20; XI, III, 37; XIII, 1, 33, 40.
 Σαννίον, XIV, 1, 6; XVII, 1, 45, 82; II, 62.
 Σατύρας, ἐς Σκαμβονιδῶν οἰκ., XXVIII, 42.
 Σελιδῶς, XI, II, 27.
 Σε(μαχιδῶν), XI, 1, 36.
 Σιμίαι, Ἀλοπεκῆσι οἰκ., XIV, 1, 2; XVII, 1, 42, 78; II, 60. Σιμίο, XIV, 1, 4, 6, 7; XVII, 1, 44, 45, 46, 47, 80, 82, 83. Σιμίαι, VIII_A, 23, 26, 28.
 Σίμων, Ἀγρυλῆσι οἰκ., XVII, 1, 51, 88. Σίμονι, VIII_A, 3, 5, 6, 11, 16.
 Σίνδρον, XIV, 1, 4; XVII, 1, 43, 80; II, 61. Σίνδρονι, XIII, 1, 3.
 Σισύφοι, ἐμ Μελίτει οἰκ., XIII, 1, 53.
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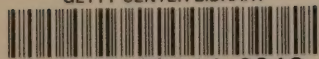
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